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A

TREATISE

OF THE

SIBYLS,

So Highly Celebrated,

As well by the Antient HEATHENS, as the Holy FATHERS of the *CHURCH*;

GIVING

An *Accompt* of the *Names*, and *Number* of the *SIBYLS*, of their *Qualities*, the *Form* and *Matter* of their *Verses*; As also of the *BOOKS* now Extant under their Names, and the *Errours* crept into *Christian* Religion, from the *Impostures* contained therein, Particularly, concerning the State of the *Just*, and *Unjust* after Death.

Written Originally by DAVID BLONDEL;

Englished by *J. D.*

LONDON,

Printed by *T. R.* for the *Authour*,

MDCLXI.

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To the worthy of all Honour,

Sir EDVVARD MAUNSELL of
Margam in the County of *Glamorgan*,
AND
Sir EDVVARD MAUNSELL of
Mudlescomb, in the County of *Carmarthen*.

} *Baronets.*

Most Honoured,

THE *Favours* receiv'd from *Men* have this Allyance, with those descend from *Above*; That, how secretly soever they may have been conferred, we may, without the least hazard of *Modesty*, make the most Publick Acknowledgments we can of them. Nor is it unlikely, that *Addresses* of this Kinde were the *Issue* of some such *Reflection*; They, who make them, being desirous they should rather be thought the Effects of a *Duty*, then the *Satisfaction* Men are apt to conceive, from their acquainting the *World*, how highly they are obliged to *Great* Persons. Hence those excessive Celebrations, frequent in *Dedicatories*; a *Custome* I am the more unwilling to comply with, out of a Caution, lest what I should say, might

might be thought Advanced to Commend my own *Choice*. And yet, what could I not say of two Persons, the Glory of a most Noble, and Antient *House*; *One*, heightned with all the Advantages of a Princely *Education*, and *Travel*; The *Other*, so Transcendent in the *Constancy* of a Noble *Passion*, as, known, would reconcile our Faith to *Romances*, and make us confess it possible, that *Representation* may be indebted to *Reality*.

As to the Present *Treatise*; What Importance it may be of, I rather leave to be seen in the Perusal of it, then insist on here. 'Tis a Discovery of the *Pious Frauds*, and *Impostures*, which, having crept into *Christian Religion*, even in its Infancy, have ever since poisoned it, more or less, by their Continuance therein: a *Design* may justly be termed *Great*, if out of no other Consideration, yet this at least, that it imposed a Necessity on the *Authour*, to unravel all *Antiquity* to find them out, and bring them to the *Tribunal* of a *Rational* Disquisition. For my own Endeavours herein, they are left to the success *Time*, and Mens *Censures* shall afford them, with all my Wishes summ'd up in this, That my addressing of them to so Noble a *Name* may be look'd on, as an Eternal Testimony of my humblest Respects thereto, and the greatest Expression I can, at present, make of my being,

Most Honoured,

Your Most Obedient, and
Most Obliged Servant,

J. Davies.

A TREATISE OF THE SIBYLS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

That the most earnest Pursuers of Truth, are (as others) subject to mistakes.

THough (according to the judgement of *Tertullian*) *it be much better for a man to be less knowing*, then to know *that which is worse*, and *to erre, then deceive*, it being the Characteristick of that *Charity*, which is recommended by St. *Paul*, as the greatest of the Vertues, to *believe, and hope all things*; so far as concurrence and compliance with reason may permit; yet ought not the credulity, which accompanies Charity, nor its hope (what latitude soever we may imagine to allow it) as it were out of a design to be enslav'd to impostures and circumventions, put out its eyes, for fear lest it should be in a condition to discover and elude them. And if it be requisite, it should be free from all servile *stupidity*, since it is the principall effect of the holy Spirit, who calls and conducts us, by the *liberty* of his *Grace* to that of *Glory*, it may with much more reason be expected it should be far from being subject to *blindness*, because it presupposes the conduct of Faith, which is in some sort the eye of the regenerate soul, in whom the *simplicity of the Dove*, which

Adver. Valentin.

1 Cor. 13. 7. 13.

Rom. 8. 26.

Matth. 10. 16.

which is, of it self, inclin'd candidly to interpret what there might be some difficulty to exempt from the censures of persons not easily satisfi'd, is ever attended by the *prudence of the Serpent*, whose vigilancy is employ'd to foresee and prevent surprises.

The same profession of piety, which encourages sincere souls to wa'k in an innocent confidence, is also their perpetuall remembrancer, that *Truth perswades by teaching*, whereas, on the contrary, *Impostors*, who *are loth to communicate themselves, even to their own Disciples, till such time as they have gain'd them, artificially endeavour to perswade, before they instruct:* and, discovering, that *they make it their main busines to conceal what they preach, if so it may be said of those who smother* what they would have the world acquainted with, *that they preach it*, make it appear, that they are therein diametrically opposite to the *Truth*, which *blushes at nothing so much* as the regret she conceives *at her being undiscovered.*

Tertul. loco citato.

Hence comes it to pass, that the just and vertuous, having their brests open, and void of all dissimulation, are, according to the saying of the same *Tertullian*, likened to the *Dove, which is the Figure of the holy Spirit, and loves the East, the Figure of Christ*, and are willing to leave to *Impostors* the shamefull imitation of the *Serpent, who arrogates to himself the image of God, the beast which shuns the light, hides himself as much as may be*, that smothers all the *prudence it hath in obscure places, that lurks in blind holes, that eludes those who would see it, by decietfull contractions of its own length, and goes in folds and wrinckles, and is never at once wholly seen.* For (after the manner of Serpents) those who think it a glory to deceive, are never reduc'd to any complyance with truth, but by force, and can hardly avoid being at difference even with themselves, nor will expres themselves to others; the malice, which they are ever guilty of who are engag'd in a design to surprize others (to make the event of their attempts the more certain) putting on all manner of masks, and leaving no wayes unsought, to prepossess the minds of the good, who thinking there cannot be a greater subtilty, then to live without subtilty, imagine it somewhat unreasonable, to conceive, at the first sight, any suspicion of those by whom they had not as yet been over-reached. And thence it comes to pass, that the best men have this misfortune, upon no other ground then that they are the *best*, to be the more credulous, and inclining rather to *security*, then *diffidence*, easily give advantage to those, who, by their craft and insinuations, make it their design to triumph over their simplicity.

Ibid. Matth. 3. 16. Luke 1. 78. *Tertul. loc. citat.*

CHAP. II.

Instances of certain misapprehensions of Justin Martyr.

THough there be no Age which cannot furnish us with severall examples what effects *Imposture* hath had on such as have been most ardently zealous for the Truth, yet were it hard, in all the series of Time, to meet with any one more remarkable, then that of the mistake of Saint *Justin*, a Person very recommendable, if any may be admitted such:

First,

First, for his *Antiquity*, since he dy'd but very little after the midst of the second Age of the Church. *Secondly*, for his *knowledge*, as being one, who (before his reduction to the *Christain Faith*) had, by profession, been a *Philosopher*. *Thirdly*, for his *piety*, since he became so constant a maintainer of the true Religion, as that he was, at last, honour'd with the Crown of *Martyrdom*. All these advantages might have rais'd him above the ordinary rate of men; yet have they not exempted him from being abus'd by certain advancers of fooliſh Stories, who having perswaded him to take the Idol of *Semo Sangus*, one of the false gods of the *Sabini*, for the Statue of *Simon Magus*, engag'd him (I know not how) to maintain his mistake in the presence even of some of the *Heathens*, and that with so much confidence, as clearly discover'd, he said nothing but what he really believ'd. He it was also, who thought himself very much in the right, when he boasted, that he had seen at *Pharos* neer *Alexandria*, the *remainders of the* LXXII. *Cells, where the Interpreters of the Bible* had been employ'd in that Work; nay some others, as Saint *Irenæus*, Saint *Cyril*, and Saint *Augustine* have believ'd him; and yet Saint *Hierome* (who, as well as the other, had been upon the place, and taken more particular notice thereof) does not onely laugh at it, but says, *I know not who by his glozing hath built them*. With the same security, disputing against the *Heathens*, who (according to the observation of *Origen*) by way of derision, called the *Christians Sibyllists*, he opposes thereto the Authority of *Hystaspes*, a suppositious Author, of whose Works there is, at the present, nothing extant; as also the Oracles of the *Cumæan Sibyl*, whom he pretends to have been the *Daughter* of *Berosus*, * who was later then *Cyrus* by 250 years, and dyed in the 225 year of the foundation of *Rome*, and the fourth of the reign of *Tarquin*, to whom many hold, that one call'd *Amalthæa Sibylla*, sold at an excessive rate, the books since known by the name of the *Sibylline*, and preserv'd in *Rome* for the space of above 440 years, till the civill wars of *Sylla*; not minding, it seems, that (according to the generall perswasion of the *Romans*) the *Cumæan Sibyl* had entertain'd *Æneas*, who dyed 639 years before *Cyrus* possess'd himself of *Babylon*; nor yet reflecting on what *Pausanias*, an Author much about his own time, observes (from *Hyperochus Cumanus*, and other Ancients) 1. That the *Sibyl* who convers'd in that place, was called *Demo*; 2. That the *Cumæans had not any Oracle to shew of hers*: 3. That she had not been preceded by any, but by *Lamia*, the daughter of *Neptune*, sirnamed by the *Lybians*, *Sibylla*; and *Herophila*, the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*, who had her residence sometimes at *Ida* in *Phrygia*, sometimes at *Mapessos*, sometimes at *Samos*, sometimes at *Claros* of *Colophon*, and sometimes at *Delos* and *Delphi*. 4. That her *Monument and her Epitaph, grav'd upon a pillar, was at Troas*: 5. That the *Erythræans would not onely have it that she was born among them of* Theodorus *a Shepherd, and the Nymph* Idæa, *but also that she gave* Hecuba *the interpretation of her dream*: and, 6. That, after the *Cumæan Demo, the Hebrews who live above Palestine, set up* Sabba, *the daughter of* Berosus *and* Erimantha, *who went under the name of the Babylonian or Ægyptian Sibyl*: Nor lastly, regarding, that the very argument, whereof he thought to make his greatest advantage, in order to the conviction of Pagan Idolatry,

Semo Sangus.

Simon Magus.

Lib. 3. c. 26. Catech. 4. De Civit Dei, l. 18. c. 42. In Ezech. l. 10. c. 33. Epist. 104. Lib. 5 advers. Cels.

* *Tatian* sayes, that he dedicates his three books of the *Chaldaick* History to *Antiochus Soter*, who began his reign in the year of *Rome*, 472. or the 472. after the death of *Cyrus*.

Phocai. lib. 10.

Of the same opinion is *Plutarch*, *De Pythiæ Orac.*

expreſly maintains, that ſhe, who compoſ'd it, was wife to one of *Noe's* Sons, and of neere kin to him, who departed this life, 1697. yeares before *Antiochus Soter* was eſtabliſhed in *Babylon*, and that *Beroſus* (whoſe Daughter they would have her to be, meerely becauſe her VVriting intimates her coming out of *Babylon*) could have been allow'd the name of *Father:* For theſe are her words. *O the great joy I have had, ſince I have eſcap'd the deſtruction of the Deep, having before undergone many misfortunes, toſſ'd up and down by the waves with my husband, my ſiſters-in-Law, my Father and Mother-in-Law, and thoſe who were married together.* And elſewhere, *When the World was overwhelm'd with waters, and that a certain man, who had undergone the tryall, was left alone, expoſed to the waters, in a houſe cut out of the Forreſt, with the beaſts, and birds of the aire, to the end that there might be a Reſtauration of the World; to that man was I daughter-in-law, engendred of his blood.*

Lib. 1. ad finem.

Lib. 3. ad finem.

By which words ſhe clearly deſtroyes what ſhe had writ ſome lines before; ſaying, that the *Greeks* took her for the *daughter of Circe*, and *Gnoſtus*, or rather *Ulyſſes*, whom ſhe entitles *known* Father, becauſe of the reputation of his name, never conſidering that 800. yeares and more, were ſlipped away, between the death of *Noe*, and the arrivall of *Ulyſſes*, at *Circæum*. She further affirmes, that ſhe came from *Babylon* in *Aſſyria*, ſpeaking ſo much the more improperly, for that *Babylon* was neither built, nor named, till 153. yeares after the Deluge, nor was it of *Aſſyria* properly ſo called, but of another different Country, that is to ſay, of *Sennaar*, and that it took not the name of *Aſſyria*, till above 165. yeares afterwards. Nay, the impudence of the Impoſture is ſo much the more palpable, in that this pretended daughter-in-law of *Noe*, deſcribes her ſelfe as a notorious ſtrumpet, ſaying, *Ah wretch that I am! what will become of me in that day, for all the things I ſet my mind upon in my folly, having no regard of either my Marriage, or my reaſon?* And again, *What great evills have I heretofore committed, wittingly, and willingly, and how many other things have I imprudently run after, without the leaſt remorſe thereat? I have taken my luſtfull pleaſure with ten thouſand, and have not had the leaſt conſideration of my marriage*, &c.

Lib. 2.

Lib 7. ad finem.

CHAP. III.

The ſuppoſititiouſneſſe of the Writings pretended to be Sibylline, *exemplified in ſeverall particulars.*

IF St. *Juſtin Martyr* had been but pleaſed, I will not ſay to look a little better about him, but only to open his eyes, and faſten them with ever ſo little recollection on what he read, he had met with a thouſand inſtances of impoſture in thoſe pleaſant Oracles, which he objected againſt the Heathens, employing againſt them three Verſes out of the firſt book, as many out of the third, and ſeven out of the fourth. For he would upon the firſt ſight, have perceived, that that ill-digeſted collection,

collection, written in wretched *Greek*, and coming from the hands of a person who discovers his ignorance of the *Hebrew*, could not be attributed either to *Noah's* daughter-in-law, who liv'd above 250. years before the confusion of Tongues, and consequently before there was any *Greek*; nor yet to the daughter of *Berosus*, born in the Metropolis of *Chaldæa*, and later, by almost 1700 years. Nay, he would have thought, that the Impostor, who had made it so much his business to gain reputation by a cheat of so great antiquity, had sufficiently discover'd himself an upstart:

1. In deriving *Adam* from ἄδης, as if it were a word of *Greek* extraction. *Lib* 1. *p.* 7.

2. In saying, * that the same word signifies, *East*, *West*, *South*, and *North*, by its four letters, though in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* it hath but three. * ΑΔΑΜ, ἀνατολὴ, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. *l.* 2. *p.* 19.

3. In supposing that the letters of the Name of *God* make up the number of 1697 which cannot be true, but onely writing it in *Greek* characters, and that barbarously too, ιαχεωιαχ. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 8. The *Hebrew* letters. יהוה יה produce but 41.

4. In drawing, from those of the Name of Jesus, which he makes to consist of four vowels, and two consonants, the number of 888. which again cannot agree With the *Hebrew* יהושע which is onely of five letters, all consonants, and exceed not the number of 391. unless it be in the *Greek* Ιησοῦς. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 12.

5. In affirming that the duration of *Rome* shall be 948 years, because the number 948 arises from the *Greek letters* Ῥώμη, and not from the *Hebrew* רומה which make onely 251. *Lib.* 2 *p.* 58.

6. In placing *Ararat* (where the Ark stay'd) in *Phrygia*. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 10.

7. In affirming that *Phrygia* was the first Countrey discovered after the Deluge, and that *Noe*, who continu'd in the Ark from the seventh day of the second Month, to the twentieth day of the second Month, in the year following, stay'd there but one and fourty days. *Lib.* 1. *p* 9. 11. 7. *p.* 53.

8. In imagining that the Fables of the *Titans* were true Histories. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 11.

9. In supposing (according to the heresie of the *Chiliasts*) that *Jerusalem* shall not only be re-built again, but shall be the Imperiall seat of the Son of God, where the faithfull, having pass'd through the purgatory fire of the worlds conflagration, shall enjoy all manner of delights, corporeall and spirituall. *Lib.* 2. *p.* 14. 17. 18. 3. *p.* 34. 49.

10. In feigning that the *Eurotas*, a River of *Laconia* in *Peloponnesus*, issues aut of *Dodona* in *Epirus*, and mingles with the *Peneus*, a river of *Thessaly*; Again, that *Gog* and *Magog* are among the *Æthiopians*. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 22. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 26.

11. In foretelling that the *Italians* shall become subject to the *Asiaticks*. *Ibid.*

12. In maintaining, that *Nero* is the great *Antichrist*, that he is retir'd into *Persia*, and that returning from *Babylon* with an army of *Jews*, he will destroy *Rome*, and set it on fire. *Lib.* 5. *p.* 41. 43. 44. 49.

13. In confounding *Alexandria* with *Memphis*.

14. In feigning that *Eliah* shall come down from Heaven in a Chariot; That *Joshuah*, rais'd again, shall restore the *Jews*; That *Tyberius* was to set upon *Persia* and *Babylon*; That *Trajan*, a native of *Italica*, in the extremities of *Spain*, was born among the *Gauls*; That *Adrian* *Lib.* 8. *p.* 57. *Lib.* 2. *p.* 15. *Lib.* 5. *p.* 41. *Lib.* 5. *p.* 46. *Lib.* 5. *p.* 41. *Lib.* 8. *p.* 57.

Lib. 8. p. 57. ſtrangled himſelf with a ſtring; That under *Antoninus*, ſirnamed the *Debonnaire*, whom he impertinently calls δικτρότατον, in ſtead of χρησότατον, or, ἐυσεβέστατον; and his two adoptive Sons, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, one whereof muſt neceſſarily ſurvive the other, would be the *Lib. 8. p. 59.* end of the world; That *Rome*, being deſtroy'd in the 948. year after its foundation, ſhould come to its period in the year of our Lord, 195. which was the third year of *Severus*: And laſtly, after all this, in ac-*Lib. 8. p. 66.* knowledging himſelf to be a *Chriſtian*, by theſe words, which abſolutely take off all the precedent ſuppoſitions; *And yet we deſcended from the holy geniture of Chriſt, are called of the ſame blood.*

For, from the conſiſtency of all theſe remarks, this conſequence muſt neceſſarily be deduced; that the *Impoſtor*, who took upon him the name of *Noës daughter-in-law*, and perſwaded St. *Juſtin*, that he was the daughter of *Beroſus*, was, by Profeſſion a *Chriſtian*, but ignorant of the *Hebrew Tongue*, and true *Theologie*, no leſs then of *Geography* and *Hiſtory*, and that he compiled his *Rhapſody* between the year 138. wherein *Adrian* was by death deliver'd of his diſeaſe on the twelfth of *July*, and the year 142. or 151. in which Cardinall *Baronius*, with divers others, affirm, that *Juſtin* preſented his Apology to the Emperor *Antoninus*, and the *Cæſars* his adoptive ſons, and conſequently, that this counterfeit piece was juſt come out of the Mint, and was not quite cold when he undertook the diſperſing of it, and, by his example, recommended it to *Athenagora*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, the Author of the Work, called, *The Apoſtolicall Conſtitutions*; *Lactantius*, *Conſtantine* the Great, *Euſebius*, *Optatus*, *Hierom*, *Auguſtin*, *Proſper*, *Palladius*, *Sozomenus*, *Junilius*, &c. who have all drunk out of the common ſhore, of the *Sibylline Impoſture*, and that with ſo little difficulty, and ſo ſtrong a prejudice, that nothing could ever offend their ſtomacks. If therefore ſo many great men, and *Juſtin* himſelf, who firſt broke the Ice before them, could find any reliſh in ſo unſavory a diſh; and if they have (with a kind of emulation) ſerv'd it up, and commended it to others, with ſo much aſſurance, as begat an imagination, that, to expreſs any horrour thereat, was to quarrell with God himſelf, who can think it ſtrange, that the example of their credulity ſhould be able in as high a meaſure to injure others?

CHAP. IV.

The judgement of Antonius Poſſevinus, *concerning the Writings pretended to be* Sibylline, *taken into examination.*

IT is no miracle to me, if, after the antiquity of the firſt Ages had been circumvented through the exceſs of their credulous ſincerity, ours (though much refin'd from the ſcurf of ignorance, and forc'd by the neceſſity of ſo many difficult experiments, to be more cautious and diffident) ſhould not be wholly free from the remainders of the ſame misfortune, in ſo much, that we now find there are ſome very grave men, ſuch,

ſuch, for inſtance, as *Onuphrius*, *Sixtus* of *Sienna*, the Cardinalls, *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Montague*, enſlav'd by the tyranny of the popular errour, fortifi'd by length of time, and conſent of ſuch *Chriſtians* as are admirers of inveterate opinions. Yet can I not but expreſs my diſſatisfaction with the judgment of *Antonius Poſſevinus*, a Divine of the Society of *Jeſus*, who, having diſcover'd the *Impoſture* of the *Sibylline* books, hath choſen rather to think them *corrupted*, then *ſuppoſititious*. I ſhall therefore in the firſt place, to make a full diſcovery of this forgetfulneſs in him, lay down his cenſure, with ſome obſervations thereupon, and afterwards examine the ground of his Sentiment. *It is apparent* (ſaith he) *both from the Fathers and other Eccleſiaſticall Writers, that there was not any* Sibyl *before* Moſes, *to the end the world might know, that, if, in the* Oracles *publiſh'd under the name of the* Sibyls, *and compriz'd in* eight Books, *there be any thing relative to what was before the Age of* Moſes, *it is counterfeit and falſe, as having been ſince ſown by* Satan, *out of a deſign, that falſhood, being thruſt in together with truth, might bring into queſtion the truth of other times. Of that kind is that which is attributed to the* Sibyl *of* Moſes, *hinting at, and foretelling the* Deluge, Lib. 1. p. 9. *as alſo what is found written in the ſame* Book, pag. 11. *that the* Sibyl *her ſelf, with her husband, her Father-in-law, Mother-in-law, her brethren-in-law, and others, was toſs'd up and down by the waves in the time of the* Deluge. *But it is evident from* pag. 30. *that thoſe very things which have come abroad under the name of* Oracles, *were written fifteen hundred years after the Empire of the* Greeks: *whereof, whether we take the beginning from the reign of the* Argives, *or* Sicyonians, *or* Athenians; *or whether it be taken from* Moſes, *from the reign of* Solomon, *the* Macedonian *Empire, or the four* Monarchies; *thoſe things which are called* Predictions, *will be frivolous, and after the things done. They will be found alſo to be wanting, as to truth, if the government of the* Greeks *began ſince* Moſes; *for from the departure of* Moſes *and* Iſrael *out of* Ægypt, *to the deſtroying of the Adminiſtration or Commonwealth and Government of the* Jews, *under* Veſpaſian, *are reckoned one thouſand fourſcore and two years. Further, what can be ſaid, as to what we find in the* fifth Book, p. 49. *where the* Sibyl *affirms, that ſhe had ſeen a ſecond conflagration of the Temple of* Veſta? *And that* (*according to the teſtimony of* Euſebius) *it happened under the Emperour* Commodus, *in the year*, 199. *for in that year the Temple of* Veſta, *and the Palace, and the greateſt part of the City was burnt, whereas the firſt conflagration happened in the* 134. Olympiad. *Whence it is to be conceiv'd, that the Propheteſs* (*if it may be lawfull to call her ſuch*) *propheſy'd not before the birth of* Chriſt, *but long after, and pretends not to any thing beyond* Commodus, *ſince that in the* eighth Book. p. 57. *ſhe ſays, that three Emperours ſhall reign after* Adrian, *that is to ſay*, Antoninus, *the Debonnaire*, Antoninus *the Philoſopher, and* Commodus. *To this may be added, that it is apparent from the* firſt Book *of* Lactantius Firmianus, Chap. 6. *that each of the* Sibyls *writ her own Book, and yet that now they ſeem to be all the Work of one, becauſe they all go under the name of the* Sibyl, *and that we cannot diſtinguiſh them, nor aſſign to any one her own, unleſs it be to the* Erythræan, *who put her name into her* Poem, *and is called* Erythræa, (*now that was the Work of the* Erythræan, *which takes up the third place among thoſe Books.*) *The Author of the* firſt Book, *feign'd himſelf to be daughter-in-law* to Noë:

Appar. Sacr. verbo Sibyllarum.

the second and the seventh seems to personate a most impudent strumpet, pag. 56. *though there want not some credible Authors, who affirm, that the true* Sibyls *were chast, and inspir'd of God. The sister of* Isis *challenges the* fifth Book; *the rest were publish'd under the names of uncertain Authors.*

Ἰσιδος ἡ γνωσή.

By way of Annotation upon this (granting what he sayes, as to the supposititiousness of the pretended *Sibyl*, as also that *Moses* is more ancient then any that have gone under that name;) I affirm,

In the first place, That the writing which goes commonly under that title, does not introduce *Moses*, but *Noah* himself, *foretelling the Deluge*, which speaks yet a little more confidence.

2. That *from the departure out of* Ægypt, to the taking of *Jerusalem*, by *Titus*, there are 1600. years compleat, 518. more then was thought.

3. That the Author of the *Sibylline* Books, does not affirm, *he saw the second conflagration of the Temple of* Vesta, but the last of *Jerusalem*; *The house sometime so much desir'd by thee* (says he to *Rome*) *when I saw that house pull'd down, and set on fire the second time, by an impure hand; a house ever flourishing, and having God in it*; which house he supposes that *Christ* himself, descending from heaven, will come and re-establish, together with *Jerusalem*, to reign there in his glory. Which manifestly argues, that (though threatning *Rome* with finall destruction) he writes, *The Virgins shall not always find the Divine fire*; yet he neither saw nor foresaw the conflagration that happened in the twelfth year of *Commodus*, which was but the 191. of our *Saviour*, but reflected on the *Prediction* of St. *John*, expressing, that *Rome should be utterly burnt with fire, and be found no more at all:* so that he thought it would be to no purpose to look there for *Vesta's* fire, and other Monuments of her *Paganisme*.

Apoc. 18. 8 21

4. That if his intention had been to denote the conflagration happened under *Commodus*, he could not truly have call'd it the *second*; for that besides the first mentioned in *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and happening under the Consulate of *Gracchus* and *Falto*, in the third year of the 135. Olympiad, and the 516. of *Rome*, there had been a second, observ'd by *Tacitus*, and other creditable Authors, under the Consulship of *Bassus* and *Crassus*, in the fourth year of the 210. Olympiad, which was the 817. of *Rome*, the 64. of our *Saviour*, and 11. of *Nero*.

Lib. 2.

Annal. 15.

5. That he doth not onely not pretend to any thing beyond *Commodus*, but makes an apparent stop at *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, which latter he presum'd must needs (as being the younger by seven years) out-live the other. *After him* (saith he) whose name begins with a *T.* the note of the number three hundred, that is to say, *Trajan, another shall reign, a person with a silver head;* that is, one that was already arriv'd to grey hairs: or shall be, (as he speaks in the *eighth Book*) πολιόκρατος, *hoary, and his* name [that is to say, *Adrian*] *shall be deriv'd from the Sea* [*Adriatick*] *and he shall be good all manner of wayes, and shall know all things: and under thee* (*O man absolutely good, excellent all manner of wayes, and hoary headed*) *and under thy boughs* [that is to say, thy adoptive sons] *the last dayes shall come to pass; three shall reign* [that is to say, *Antoninus, Marcus*, and *Lucius*] *but the last* [that is, *Lucius*] *shall obtain the soveraignty of all things.* And in the *eighth Book*, *After him* [that is to say, *Adrian*] *there shall reign three, who shall see the last days, filling the Name of the heavenly*

Marcus was born in the year 121. and *Lucius* in the year 128.

Lib. 5.

heavenly God, whose kingdom is now and to all ages; that is to say, they shall be called *Antonini*, or (according to our manner of pronouncing) *Andonini*, from the name *Adonai*, and *Adonim*; that is, *Antoninus* the Debonaire, *Antoninus* the Philosopher, and *Lucius Verus Antoninus*, who he pretends ought (as being the youngest) to survive the other two, succeed them, and continue til the 948. year of *Rome*, or the 195. of our Redemption, in which he would have been 67. years of age; never imagining, that *Lucius*, by his irregularities, would prejudice his health, so as to be cut off in the flower of his age, *in the midst of Winter*, between the years 169. and 170. אדי אדנים. *Galen. de præcogn. post. c. 9.*

6. That though *Lactantius*, carried away with the prejudice of his time, conceiv'd that the Books, called *Sibylline*, had no other Authours then the ancient *Sibyls*, celebrated by *Varro*; and that they had been *chast and inspir'd of God*; yet hath he not escap'd a mistake, as we shall make appear more at large hereafter.

7. That the Author of the *third Book*, neither was, nor would be thought the *Erythræan Sibyl*, but wife to one of the sons of *Noah*, come from *Babylon* to *Greece*; for those are her own words: *These things I tell thee far from the walls of* Babylon, *&c. The men of* Greece *will say, I am of another Countrey, born in* Erythræa, *&c.*

8. That the *first Book* is (as all the ensuing) of the same vein.

9. that the *impudence* and *whoredom*, so much bewail'd in the second and seventh *books*, were by the third acknowledg'd for the proper description of the pretended wife to *Noah's* son, who cries, *Men will say, I am of another Countrey, and shameless.* In a word, that all the *eight books* are the extravagant fictions of the same *Impostor*, who, under pretence of advancing the truth, hath perfidiously dishonour'd it. ἀναίδεια.

Chap. V.

The recommendation of the Writing, pretended to be Sibylline, *attributed by* Clemens Alexandrinus *to* St. Paul, *examined.*

TO qualifie, with more ease, the reproach consequent to so unworthy an attempt, and in some sort, to save his reputation that was guilty of it, there are many, who (as it were out of a certain emulation) alledge that St. *Paul* himself recommended the reading of the *Sibyls*, and, to justifie their assertion, bring in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, speaking in these terms: *Besides, the preaching of St.* Peter, *the Apostle, St.* Paul *will declare the same*, saying, *take also the Greek books, acknoweledge the* Sibyl, *how she discovers one onely God, and the things that are to come; and taking* Hystaspes, *read, and you will find the Son of God much more manifestly and openly described.* But I shall not stick to presume their pardon, though I affirm they heap evil upon evil. For if it be blame-worthy for a man (as St. *Justin* did) to subscribe a piece of forgery which he was not able to discover, how odious must needs be the malice of that false witness, who (to deceive *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and other *Christians*) would needs maintain *Strom. lib. 6. p. 136.*

maintain the ſuppoſititiouſneſs of the *Sibylline* writings, by a worſe *Impoſture*, and feign that St. *Paul* himſelf had brought them into credit by his recommendation? If ſouls perfectly vertuous cannot without difficulty endure that *Encomiums* of chaſtity ſhould be beſtow'd on common Proſtitutes, who among ſuch as are truly *Chriſtian*, will be able to ſuffer compariſons to be made between the Prophets of God, and perſons in the depth of an extravagant melancholy, between their celeſtiall Oracles and the diſorder'd reſueries of the other, and that the Projector of ſo baſe a cheat ſhould preſume to give it the greater reputation, produce the *Apoſtle* as a complice of his ſacrilegious inſolence? And yet there are thoſe who would, that, out of this veſſel of election, ſhould come the words alledged by *Clemens*; and whereas there cannot any ſuch thing be found in his *Epiſtles*, they imagine them ſpoken by him in his popular *Sermons*, as if it were poſſible, that he, who ſacrificed his life in a glorious martyrdom, in the 65. year of our *Lord*, ſhould give his approbation to a piece full of errors, and forg'd ſince the year 137. as it were out of a deſign, by that recommendation, to oppoſe the Authority, as well of the *old Teſtament*, and the *Son* of God himſelf, as his own preaching and the moſt excellent of his *Epiſtles*. For if, among the *Heathens*, the *Sibyl* and *Hyſtaſpes*, have not onely *declared one God, and manifeſted the things to come*, but alſo *deſcrib'd the Son of God after a manner more clear and convincing*, with what credit could *David* have written, It is *in Jury* that *God is known*; *God ſheweth his words unto* Jacob, *his Statutes and his Judgements unto* Iſrael. *He hath not dealt ſo with other nations*; *and as for his Judgements, they have not known them?* Or, how comes it that the *Saviour* of the World hath decided the caſe on the behalf of the *Jews*, ſaying, *Salvation is of the* Jews? And upon what ground doth St. *Paul* make this preciſe Declaration to the *Lycaonians*; *God in times paſt, ſuffered all nations to walk in their own wayes:* and ſpeaking to the *Athenians*, (the moſt refin'd people of all the *Europæans*) call the times preceding the publication of the *Goſpel*, *The times of ignorance*; and maintain in his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans* *the advantage of the* Jew, *to be much every way*; *chiefly, becauſe that unto them were committed the Oracles of God:* Again, *that to the* Iſraelites *pertaineth the glory and the covenant, and the giving of the Law, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes*; and put other nations, in compariſon of them, into a qualification of ſuch as are *no people, and a nation voyd of underſtanding?* Certainly, if the *Gentiles* (according to the pretended preſuppoſition of St. *Paul*, in *Clemens Alexandrinus*) have been *depoſitaries of the Oracles* of God *more clear and manifeſt* then the *Prophets*, they neither have, nor ought to have granted, that *God hath not ſhewen them his Ordinances* and *Judgements*, and that on the *Jews* behalf (over whom they were notoriouſly advantag'd) *the advantage was much every way*. For ſince, before the Incarnation of the *Meſſias*, they had, in their hands, the illuminating predications of the *Sibyls*, which furniſh'd them with hiſtoricall deſcriptions of what in the Propheticall Writings, is but ænigmatically propoſed, their time was not a *time of ignorance*, but of *light* and *knowledge*, more diſtinct then that of the *Jews*, and it muſt have been falſe, that God was only *known in Jury*; ſince that we do not eſteem ignorant, at leaſt comparatively to another, him who

Baron. Appar. 19 Sixt. Sen. Bibl lib. 2. Poſſevin. Appar. & Bib. Sel. lib. 2. c. 71. Lib. 17. c 20.

Pſal. 147. 19, 20.

Joh. 4. 22.

Acts 14. 16.

Acts 17. 30.

Rom. 3. 1, 2.

Rom. 9 4.

Rom. 10. 19.

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in the same matter of fact, knowes as much, if not more, then the most knowing, and that these propositions are formally contradictory: *the advantage is of the* Jews, and the *advantage is not of the* Jews. Again, *the advantage of the* Jews *over the* Gentiles *consists, having the Oracles of God committed to them*; and, *the Oracles of God committed to the* Gentiles *by the means of the* Sibyls, *are more clear and manifest then those of the* Jews.

From all which I must needs inferr, that, it being impossible, a person found in his intellectuals, should at the same time, hold both parts of the same contradiction, and there being yet a greater impossibility, that such as are inspir'd from God, should be guilty of such a miscarriage; St. *Paul* did not onely not say what is attributed to him in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, but could not have said it. And thereupon I shall desire the prudent Reader, to take four things into his consideration:

1. That he who hath presum'd to borrow his name, to gain the greater credit to his fond imaginations, does, by the generall description he hath given us of what is contain'd in the pretended *Sibylline* predictions, saying, *they declare one onely God, discover things to come*, and *the Son of God*, clearly shew, that he alludeth to those very books, which are now extant of them, and consequently, that his work was hatch'd after that, entitled the *Sibylline*, and must needs be later then the year of our *Lord*, 137.

2. That, with *Justin* and *Clemens*, he acknowledges but one *Sibyl, who manifested one onely God*, which shews, it were to little purpose to look for different Authors for the *eight books* that are come to our times.

3. That the *most clear and remarkable descriptions of* the Son of *God*, palpably relate to the designation as well of the four vowels and two consonants, which make up the Greek name Ἰησοῦς, as the number precisely arising thence; as also the *Acrostick* of the *eighth book*, wherein we have consecutively the names of *Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour*, and *Cross*, with the Paraphrase on the greatest part of the history of the Gospel.

4. That the more express and historicall these descriptions are, the more apparent it is that they are suppositious, and written after the event, the Spirit of God having never thought it convenient to propose things to come otherwise then ænigmatically, and under the veil of severall figures, and there being no instance but onely of one person, whose proper name it hath express'd in its Oracles, that is to say, *Cyrus*, twice nam'd by *Isaiah*, 175. years before he was possess'd of the Monarchy of the Universe. Isai. 44. 28. and 45. 1.

Clemens might soon have observ'd this, if, to compass his design, he had made it as much his business to exercise his judgement, as exhaust his memory; but having resolv'd to make use of *Heathens* and *Hereticks* against themselves, so to undeceive them all, without taking heed himself of being surpriz'd, he, as well as others, is fallen into the snare, and the cloud of witnesses, he had to produce, suffer'd him not to see the bad marks which some of them carried in their very faces. Accordingly do we find, That this vast Wit, whom nothing escap'd, and who thought to make his advantages of all, and take away (as sometimes *Israel* did) all the treasures of *Ægypt*, after he had with a miraculous ostentation laid down the Depositions of 250. *Heathen* Authors, as well Philosophers,

Philosophers, as Historians and Poets, and given quarter to the most execrable Heretiques, such as *Basilides, Carpocrates, Julius Cassianus, Epiphanes, Heracleon, Hermogenes, Isidorus, Marcion, Prodicus, Tatian, Valentin,* &c. and opened his brest to Apocryphall pieces; that is to say, *the Propheses of Enoch, Cham, Abacuc, Esdras, Parchor,* and *Sophony,* the book of the *Assumption of* Moses, the *Gospels of the Ægyptians* and *Hebrews,* the *Sermons* of St. *Peter,* and St. *Paul,* the *Traditions* of St. *Matthias,* the *Epistle* of St. *Barnabas,* the *Pastor* of *Hermas*; Brother to Pope *Pius* the first, (a piece which dazled the eyes of St. *Irenæus,* and many others) hath also given credit to the counterfeit *Sibyll,* whose discourse he thought so much the more authentick, the more directly it contributed to his design.

CHAP. VI.

An accompt of severall instances of dis-circumspection in Clemens Alexandrinus.

SInce therefore it could not well be otherwise, but that this great man drawing out of so many severall sources, must needs, out of divers of them, bring up dirt rather then water; we shall not fear being thought awanting as to the respect we owe his memory, and the merit of his great abilities and knowledge, if we presume to affirm, that, in what we have left of his Works, we meet with many instances of dis-circumspection, weakness, and an excessive credulity. To come to particulars, what is it else, when he says, after a very uncouth manner of speaking, that the Word is the *minister of the paternall will, and the second cause, which comes neerest the Father:* That the *Angels* fell through fornication: That it is not lawfull for a man to touch blood; nor to swear: That Philosophy hath been, to the *Gentiles*, a *Pædagogue to bring them to Christ,* so far, that it hath *justified them*; that thereby they have *glorify'd God*; and that it hath been *their Testament,* and the *foundation* of all *Christian* Philosophy. That *Numa,* who dyed in the second year of the 27. Olympiad, 134. years before *Pythagoras* appear'd, and 168. years before he came into *Italy,* was a *Pythagorean:* That *Semiramis* was *Queen* of *Ægypt*; That the Devil *may repent:* That it is *in our power to be delivered from ignorance and bad choyce:* That the soul makes *the difference in the election of God:* That man is *saved through his own means:* That in the time of *Debora, Osius* the son of *Rieu* was high-priest: That *Solomon* was Son-in-law to *Hiram*: That *Reboboam* was father to *Abiu,* and *Abiu* to *Athaman,* and this last to *Jehosaphat*; and that *Joram* was father to *Ozias*: That *Jonathan* was son to *Ozias*; that *Amos* the Prophet was father to *Isaiah*: That *Achaz* was father to *Osea,* and *Osea* to *Hezechias:* That from the time of *Samuel,* to that of *Josias,* the Passover was never celebrated: That the false Prophet, *Ananias,* was son to *Josias:* That *Nechao* fought *Josias* neer the river *Euphrates*: That *Helchias* the high-Priest, was father to *Jeremy,* and that he d,'d immediately

Pædag l 1 *c.* 2. *p.* 80.
Strom l. 7. 695. 702 3.
Lib. 3. *c* 2. *Strom. l.* 3 *p.* 450. *& lib.* 4 *p* 550
Padag. l. 3 *c.* 3.
Ibid. c. 11
Strom. lib 1. *p* 280. 309. 18, 19 *lib* 6 636, 637 48
Strom lib 1 *p* 304. 5 *p.* 548.
Lib. 1. *p.* 307.
P. 310
P 311.
Lib 5. *p* 615.
Lib 6 *p* 662
Lib 1. *p.* 324.
P 325. *p.* 326.
P. 327.
P. 328.

diately after he had read the book of the Law: That the ten Tribes carried away (according to the expreſs certificate of the Scripture) in the ſixth year of *Hezechias*, were brought into captivity in the fifteenth year of *Achas*, his father: That the tranſportation of the *Jews* under *Sedechias*, who was later then the birth of *Moſes*, by about 1073. years, and the raiſing of *David* to the Throne, by 517. years, was after the former 1085. years, ſix months, ten dayes; and after the latter 492. years, ſix months, ten days preciſely: That *Zachary*, who began not to propheſie to the people, till the ſecond year of *Darius*, which was the firſt of the 65. Olympiad, is more ancient then *Pythagoras*, who began to come into reputation in the fourth year of the 60. Olympiad. That *Moſes*, before his adoption, was called *Joachim*, and that now he goes under the name of *Melchi*: That he killed the *Ægyptian* by his word: that he was caſt into priſon, and afterwards got out by miracle: That the King, having heard the name of God pronounc'd, fell dumb, and was afterward miraculouſly reſtor'd: That it was to *Philip* our *Saviour* ſaid, *Let the dead bury their dead:* That the body is the *Sepulchre of the ſoul:* That Saint *Matthias* is *Zachæus* the Publican: That the *Sacerdotall Veſtment* was bordered with 360. bells: That the *Son* of God and his *Apoſtles*, did, after their death, preach in hell; that many were there converted; that there was ſo great a neceſſity of that predication, that otherwiſe God had been unjuſt: That our *Saviour* did not eat out of any need his body ſtood in of ſuſtenance, but out of a fear of raiſing any ill opinion of himſelf in thoſe who ſaw him: That he who is endu'd with knowledge, is free from *all animal paſſion*, and cupidity; that he is not *overcome by any thing of voluptuouſneſs*; that he hath *no further need of patience, temperance*, &c. That he is *impeccable:* That Saint *Matthias* was *choſen, becauſe he had ſhewen himſelf worthy to be an Apoſtle*: That the *Sun and the Stars were beſtow'd on the Gentiles, to be adored by them*: That by *the worſhip of the Stars, they ſhould have looked up to God*: That it is lawfull *to lye for the ſafety of another*: That God *would have a faithfull man to be ſo far his own guide, as not to need any other aſſiſtance*: That *after Marcion* (whom he acknowledges to have liv'd under the Empire of *Adrian* and *Antoninus*) *Simon* did (for a ſhort time) hear *Peter* preaching, *&c.* He diſcovers alſo, that he had not met with very skilfull Maſters in the *Hebrew*, when he writ that *Hoſanna*, interpreted in Greek, ſignifies *light, glory,* and *praiſe, with ſupplication to the Lord*: Again, that *Abraham* is, by interpretation, *elected father of the ſound,* and gave other ſuch Etymologies of the *Hebrew* names.

P. 332.
P. 343.
Lib. 3. p. 428.
P. 349.
lib. 4 p. 529
Lib. 4. p. 488.
Lib. 5. p. 564.
Lib. 6. p. 637. 638, 639.
P. 649.
P. 650. 51, 54.
Lib. 7. p. 706. 47.
Lib. 6. p. 667. P. 669.
Lib. 7. p. 730. P. 748.
P. 676.
Pædag. l. 1. c. 5.
Strom. l. 5. 549.

CHAP. VII.

Reflections on severall supposititious pieces, whereby many of the ancient Christians *have been imposed upon and abused.*

ARe we then to think it much, after so many strange remarks, that he, who with an excessive easinesse of belief, could take things from all hands; from *Heathens*; from *Hereticks*; from *Judaicall* Traditions; from the Apocriphall Writings of *Christians*, and (upon the credit of the false *Pastor* of *Hermas*) introduce our *Saviour* and his *Apostles* preaching in *hell*, should be drawn in to admit the predication father'd on St. *Paul* the *Apostle*, and swallow down the pretended *Oracles* of the *Sibyl*, which deriv'd their recommendation from it? And why should we make any difficulty, to acknowledg what experience proclaims, as it were, in the open streets? In the *second Age*, (the first year whereof had been signaliz'd by the decease of St. *John* the *Evangelist*) *Satan*, not satisfy'd with the open war there was against the *Church*, by the persecution of the *Heathen*, would needs fasten on her skirts a numerous crue of *Hereticks* of all sorts, execrable in their *Opinions*, and deprav'd in their *Manners*, and made it his business to pull all into disorder within, by the uncontrolable licentiousnesse of forgers and Impostors, who with a certain earnestnesse, and in a manner, at the same time, have, either to gratifie some particular *Heresie*, or under the specious pretence of engaging against the Idolatry of the *Heathen* with greater advantage, out of a pious fraud, fill'd the world with adulterate and supposititious pieces. In so much, that it may be said, there was not any season more fruitfull in those pernicious excrescencies and Apocriphall Writings, then that Age, nor haply at any time a greater disposition in mens minds to give them credit and entertainment; the simplicity of some not permitting a perfect anatomy of the evil; and the confidence of those who were either satisfy'd therewith, or suspected it, inclining them to this opinion, that they might make some benefit thereof, to the confusion of falshood, and advantage of truth. Nay, those, whom learning had a little more refin'd, and a conversation with the Sciences made more capable of things, as such as being well advanc'd in years had forsaken the banners of *Paganisme*, were apt enough to bring into the *Church* some tincture of the *Opinions* they had been imbu'd with before; and thinking by the correspondence they still held with the *Philosophers*, to make them more susceptible of piety, imagin'd themselves concern'd in point of honour, to reconcile their own *Maximes* to *Christianity*, which, by that base allay, lost much of its naturall lustre and beauty. As therefore men were either totally hereticall, or incendiaries and troublesome, accordingly did they impose upon the credulity of the simple; some broaching and advancing false *Prophesies* and *Histories*; such as were those of *Jaldabaoth*, of *Seth*, of the sons of *Seth*, of *Enoch*, of *Cham*, &c. The *Prayer* of *Joseph*, the *Assumption* of *Abraham*,

Abraham, *Moſes*, *Eldad*, and *Modad*; The Teſtament of *Moſes*, *Eſdras*, *Baruc*, *Abacuc*, *Ezekiel*, *Parchor*, *Zephany*, the leſſer *Geneſis*, the Book attributed to *Zacharias*, father to St. *John*; the *Repentance* of *Adam*, of *James* and *Mambres*; the Book of the Giant *Ogenes*, *Jacobs* Ladder, the Teſtament of *Job*, the greater and leſſer *Symphony*; the Propheſies of *Marſiades* and *Marſian*, the Aſcenſion of *Iſaiah*, &c.

Others, vented counterfeit *Goſpels*, ſuch as were thoſe of *Eve*, *Peter*, *Andrew*, *James* the leſs, *Philip*, *Barnabas*, *Matthias*, *Thaddæus*, of the Apoſtles, of the *Ægyptians*, of the *Hebrews*, of *Judas*, according to *Baſilides* and *Apelles*; that which the *Gnoſticks* call'd the Goſpel of *Truth* and *Perfection*; whereto, upon the declination of the *third Age*, the *Manichees*, added that of *Thomas*, and ſome others, later *Impoſtors*, that of *Nicodemus*.

Others, falſe *Acts*; as thoſe of *Peter*, *Andrew*, *Paul*, and *Tecla*, *John*, *Philip*, *Thomas*, forg'd in ſome part by *Nexocharides*, or *Lucius Charinus*, and *Manes*, after whom, a new *Impoſtor*, 300. years after, puts upon the world the life of St. *John*, under the name of *Prochorus*; and a *Rhapſodiſt*, who liv'd about 860. years ſince, and took upon him the name of *Abdias*, the *Babylonian*, the lives of all the *Apoſtles*.

Others ſcatter'd abroad falſe *Relations*; ſuch were the Books, entituled, *The infancy of our Saviour*; of the *Queſtions of Mary*; of the *extraction of Mary*; of the *Aſſumption of Mary*; of the *Nativity of our Saviour*; of the *Lots of the Apoſtles*; of the *commendation of the Apoſtles*; of the *Aſcenſion of Saint Paul*; of the *Itinerary* of Saint *Peter*; of the *preaching of* Saint *Peter*; of the *doctrine of the Apoſtles*; of *Apoſtolicall Conſtitutions*; of the *Controverſie between* St. *Peter* and *Appion*; of the *Paſſion of* St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, by *Linus*; the *Paſtor of Hermas*; whereto, about the beginning of the *fourth Age*, *Maximian* the *Emperor*, caus'd to be joyn'd the *Acts of Pilate*.

Others diſperc'd counterfeit *Epiſtles*; ſuch as was that of *Abgarus*, Prince of *Edeſſa*, to our *Saviour*, with our *Saviours* pretended anſwer thereto; thoſe that go under the name of St. *Barnabas*; of the B. *Virgin* to St. *Ignatius*; of St. *Ignatius* himſelf; of St. *Paul* to the *Laodiceans*; of the ſame, a third *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*; as alſo a third to the *Theſſalonians*, the ſecond to the *Corinthians*, wrongfully attributed to St. *Clement*.

Others ſtarted counterfeit *Apocalypſes*; ſuch as were thoſe of *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Eliab*, *Paul*, *Thomas*, *Stephen*, &c.

Others there were, who, looking with a jealous eye on what ever was remarkable, among either *Jews* or *Heathens*, would needs make it contribute to *Chriſtianity*, and appropriate all the glory of it to the *Church*. Thus to rob the *Grecian Jews* of their golden-mouth'd *Philo*, it muſt be feign'd he had had ſome converſation with St. *Mark*; and to apply to *Chriſtian* Monks (who began not till the times of *Paul* and *Anthony* the *Hermits*, whereof one dy'd the tenth of *January*, in the year 343. and the other the ſeventeenth of *January*, 358.) what he had expreſly written of the *Eſſeni*, a *Sect* much given to *contemplation*, ſeated neer *Alexandria*, upon the Lake *Maria*, *Euſebius* himſelf (who had acknowledg'd as much in his *eighth Book* of *Evangelicall* preparation, *Chap.* 11.) does, in his *Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory*, retract what he had deliver'd before, and, by his example, hath ſo prepoſſeſs'd thoſe that came after him, that

St. *Epiphanius* was perſwaded, that *Philo* ſpoke not of the *Eſſeni*, whom he * names in expreſs terms, but of the *Teſſeni*, of whom he ſaid not any thing either good or evil, ſuppoſing them to be ſome of the firſt *Chriſtians*, and to have derived their denomination either from *Jeſſe*, the father of *David*, (whence St. *Paul* takes occaſion, after *Iſaiah*, to call out *Saviour, the root of Jeſſe*) or from *Jeſus* himſelf. But all without any ground, for the deſcription of *Philo* cannot any way be attributed to *Chriſtian* Monks, ſince he ſays of his *contemplative Eſſeni*:

* Pag. 688. Ἐσσαίων περὶ διαλεχθεὶς, οἱ τὸν πρακτικὸν, &c. αυπ-ηκα, ἢ περὶ τῶν θεωρίαν ασπαζομένων, &c.

Pag. 690 91. 1. That they *went away, ſo as never to return again, forſaking brethren, children, wives, kindred*, &c. directly contrary to the command of Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 12. &c.

2. That they ſpent the *whole day*, as *well in reading the ſacred books*, and the *Commentaries of the Ancients*, to *Allegorize* upon them; as in the compoſing of certain Hymnes: which ſhews their converſation to have been onely with the *Old Teſtament*, and their ſtudy therein wholly after the manner of the *Jews*.

3. That they met together every *ſeventh day*, that is to ſay, every *Saturday*.

Pag. 692. 4. That the moſt auſtere among them, did not break their faſt, but onely on the *ſixth day*, conſequently *Friday*, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Chriſtians*.

5. That they celebrated the *Pentecoſt* as their principall Feaſt; and that in honour of the number of *ſeven, ſeven times reiterated*, a conceit not deriv'd from the *Goſpel*, but the Diſcipline of *Pythagoras*.

P. 695. 6. That in their common Feſtivities, the *Males* were *ſeated on the right hand*, and the *Females on the left*, a cuſtom which never was of any account in the *Church*.

7. That there was no fleſh eaten among them; but onely *leavened bread, ſalt and Hyſſop*.

P. 696. 8. That they drunk nothing but *Water*, *Wine* being accounted *poyſon* with them; an evident teſtimony that their entertaiment had nothing common, either with the *Euchariſt*, where there is ſuch a neceſſity the *Chalice* ſhould be fill'd with *Wine*; that thoſe who endeavour'd to reduce it to *Water*, have been branded as *Heretiques*, under the name of *Aquarii*, and *Hydroparaſtati*; nor with the Love-feaſts of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, who uſed *Wine* freely, and in abundance, and condemned the *Tatianites* and *Encratites*, who abſtain'd from it, as what might not lawfully be drunk, and call'd it, in imitation of the *Eſſeni*, *The poyſon of the Dragon*.

P. 647. 9. That having ended their Feaſt, they ſpent the night in dancing and ſinging: firſt in *two Quires*, afterwards in *one*, in imitation of *Moſes* and his ſiſter *Miriam*, after the paſſage through the *Red-Sea*; a ceremony, which hath not onely never been obſerv'd in the *Church*, but hath

Can. 53. been expreſly condemn'd by her in the Councel of *Laodicea*, forbidding dancing, even at the marriages of *Chriſtians*.

P. 698. 10. That ſeeing the day break, *turning towards the Eaſt*, they pray'd; which done, every one return'd to his Cell; Which laſt ceremony, is all that might ſeem contrary to the common practice of the *Jews*, and to have ſome relation to that of the *Chriſtians*, who, in their Prayers turn to the

the *East*, whereas the *Jews* look'd towards *Jeruſalem*, in what part ſoever of the world they made their ſupplications. But as to what he obſerves that this Sect of people were not ſerv'd by ſlaves, as eſteeming that the *poſſeſſion of ſervants was abſolutely contrary to nature*, it ſpeaks ſomewhat diſſonant from the generall belief and practice, as well of the Ancient *Jews*, who permitted ſlavery, as the *Primitive Chriſtians*, who diſallow'd it not, as appears by the words, both of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 7. 21. *Philemon* 16, and St. *Peter*, 1 *Epiſt. Chap.* 3. 18. but it was indeed, common to all the *Eſſeni*, of whom *Philo* ſaid, *There is not ſo much as a ſlave among them, but all are free, yet mutually ſerving one another; and they condemn Maſters, not onely as unjuſt, defiling holineſs, but alſo as impious.* P. 696. P. 678.

With the ſame deſign of making ſome advantage of *Joſephus*, hath ſome bold hand or other inſerted into his *Antiquities*, *Lib.* 18. *cap.* 4. certain words which are ſo much the leſs likely to come from him; for that they contain an honourable teſtimony, as well of the perſon of our *Saviour*, as of the holineſs and truth of *Chriſtian* Religion, from the profeſſion whereof that Author ever ſtood at a great diſtance; beſides, it is notoriouſly remarkable, that they are hedg'd in, ſo as not to have any coherence with the reſt of his Diſcourſe, either going before, or coming after, and put into the place which they take up, rather out of affection to ſome certain party, then any reaſon there was to do it.

Of the ſame thread is alſo (if I am not deceiv'd in my conjecture) that *Encomium* of St. *John*, inſerted in the *ſixth Chapter*; for, beſides that, he deſcribes him as *a very good perſon, one whoſe advice it was to thoſe* Jews *who exerciſed vertue, and were obſervers of juſtice one towards another, and piety towards God, to become*, as it were, *one by Baptiſme*; and that this Diſcourſe can ſpeak no leſs of him who made it, then that he was a Diſciple of St. *John's*, the contexture of the whole Story formerly concludes, and evidently ſhews, that it was thruſt in (it may be) out of ſome zeal, but certainly with much want of ſincerity. *Tiberius* (ſays *Joſephus*) *being extremely incenſed, at the attempt of* Aretas, *writes to* T. Vitellius, *that he ſhould declare war againſt him, and if he took him alive, to ſend him bound in chains to him, if he were kill'd, that he would ſend him his head.* Tiberius *ſent Orders to the Generall of his Army in* Syria, *that he ſhould do theſe things;* * *and* Vitellius, (*as it were, for the war againſt* Aretas) *prepar'd two Legions*, &c. And it is to be noted, that the defeat of *Herod* by *Aretas*, happening ſeven years after the ſuffering of St. *John* (ſeeing *Vitellius* being upon his way to take his revenge of that affront, receiv'd four days before his arrivall at *Jeruſalem*, the news of *Tiberius's* death) there is very little likelihood, that the *Jews* (who had delivered our *Saviour* to *Pilate*, though they had follow'd and admir'd him, after the martyrdom of St. *John*, which had not wrought any alteration in them) ſhould have had, for ſo long time, ſo lively a remembrance, both of the unworthineſs of his death, and the ſanctity of his life.

* In this place is inſerted a Diſcourſe of 20. lines concerning St. *John*, his Baptiſme, death, and the defeat of *Herod*.

It was alſo conceiv'd in the time of *Origen*, that *Joſephus, deſirous to find out the cauſe of the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and the Temple, had ſaid, that thoſe things were happened to the* Jews, *in revenge of* James *the Juſt, who was the brother of* Jeſus, *called* Chriſt, *ſince they had kill'd him, though a juſt perſon:* and no doubt, theſe words were to be read in his time, in the *Advers. Cels. lib.* 1. *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 2. *c.* 23. *Hieron. Catal.*

the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh war*; but at preſent, there's no ſuch thing to be found, and the falſification, as to that particular, hath loſt its credit.

With the ſame obſervance of civility and ſincere dealing, which makes us concern our ſelves many times, where we have leaſt to do, was it, that *Paulus Oroſius*, a *Spaniſh Prieſt*, who had read in *Joſephus*, that, in the time of *Claudius*, about the year of our *Lord*, 46. *Izates*, King of the *Adiabenians*, had (with his mother *Helene*) embrac'd the *Jewiſh* Religion; that the ſaid Princeſs, being come to *Jeruſalem* to *adore* in the Temple, and to *offer ſacrifices* (acts of devotion, proper onely to *Judaiſme*) had contributed very much to the relief of the City then hard put to it by the famine; muſt needs infer thence, that, having been *converted to the Law of Chriſt, ſhe had made very great contributions towards the relief of the neceſſitous Chriſtians in* Jeruſalem. But there needs no more to refute this miſtake, then, Firſt the magnificent Sepulchre of *Helene*, a monument which the *Jews*, the implacable enemies of the *Church*, would never have ſuffer'd to be erected to the memory of a *Chriſtian* Princeſs ſo neer *Jeruſalem*: Secondly, the Palaces which were known in *Jeruſalem*, as well by her name, as that of *Monobazus* her husband: Thirdly, the obſtinate continuance of her Grand-children in that City, when beſieg'd by *Titus*, after the generall retreat of the *Chriſtians* to *Pella*, there having not any thing been heard of this miſtake, till the *fifth Age*, at the beginning whereof, *Oroſius* writ; and ſo I return again to theſe of the *ſecond*.

Antiq lib. 20. cap. 2.

Oroſ lib. 7. c. 6.

As it hath happened on the one ſide, that the exceſſive deſire of advancing the credit of the true Religion, engag'd ſome in conſiderate *Chriſtians*, to feign of the *Jews*, ſuch things as were not true: So wanted there not thoſe on the other, who thought themſelves oblig'd to do the ſame offices to the *Pagans*, and thence came the ſuppoſititious *Letters*, written under the name of *Lentulus* to *Tiberius* concerning the ſtature and beauty of our *Saviour*, and others from *Pilate* concerning his death. And whereas St. *Paul* had, during his abode at *Rome*, brought the light of the *Goſpel* even into the *Prætorium*, and gain'd to *Chriſt*, ſome of *Nero's* retinue; it gave many occaſion to imagine, that the paquet muſt needs (rather then to any other) be directed to *Seneca*, a man learned, grave, and by Profeſſion a *Stoick*, that is, the Sect that came neareſt, in appearance, to the perſwaſion of the *Chriſtians*. Thence ſtarted up the Opinion of his pretended familiarity with St. *Paul*, and the *Letters* which it is reported he writ to him; the paſſion to *Chriſtianize* ſo great a man, having prevail'd more on the refin'd Wit of St. *Hierome*, to make him a place in the *Catalogue of Saints*, and to authenticate his pretended *Letters*, though written in *Latine* bad enough, then the roughneſs of their ſtile, and the little gravity they diſcover, hath hitherto had power to have them (as it were but juſt) proclaim'd counterfeit. Let us not therefore expect a more convictive proof of the force of theſe charming prejudices, then to find St. *Hierome*, one of the ſharpeſt underſtandings of all Antiquity, ſo overcome with the fume thereof, as to have numbred, if not among the children, at leaſt among the friends of the *Church*, a perſon who confounded her with the rebellious *Jews*, ſaying (according to the relation of St. *Auguſtine*;) *The cuſtom of this moſt*

Phil. 1. 13. 3. 8. 4. 22.

De Civit. Dei lib. 6. c. 11.

most wicked race of people hath prevail'd so farr, as that now it is receiv'd all over the world, and the conquer'd have given Laws to their Conquerours; and one, who, having (with a *Pagan* resolution) made use of Iron, poyson, and the heat of the Bathes, to put a period to his life, took leave of it with these Idolatrous expressions; *I pour out this liquour* (his blood) *to* Jupiter *the Deliverer*. *Tacit. Annal. 15.*

But, if, to convince the incredulity of the *Jews*, the *Church*, deriving her proofs from their own *Library*, drew them by the collar to the acknowledg'd revelations of their nationall *Prophets*, as to the true foundations of her Faith; she could not deal with the *Heathens* upon terms so advantagious, there being not between them and her any common principle, other then the light of *Reason*, nor she finding any other *Oracles* in their hands, then what were prophane and deceitfull, as such as were the suggestions of the spirit of Errour, who is a *liar and murtherer from the beginning*. *Jo. 8. 44.* And yet there have risen up amongst such as had given up their names to *Christianity*, those, who had the confidence to feign in its behalf, what it could not any way pretend to, and (producing to Infidels adulterate allegations) to prepare for it the solemnities of an imaginary triumph: nay, they urg'd them with so much the greater shew of ostentation, the more certain they were that they had to do with adversaries, whose abilities went not much beyond a confused knowledge of names, whereof they were, in effect, ignorant of the things signify'd thereby.

Chap. VIII.

The different opinions of the Ancients concerning the Sibyls.

EVery one had heard talk of the *Sibyls*, *Rome* made it her brag, that she had books of them, wherein might be read her destiny; but there was not any one fully satisfy'd as to the number, or times of those who had gone under that name, nor assur'd of the ground of their predictions. *Diadorus Siculus* had had no knowledge but only of one, to wit, *Daphne*, the daughter of *Tiresias*, taken at the sacking of *Thebes*, by the *Epigoni*, and plac'd at *Delphi*, some 27. years before the taking of *Troy*, and of her he affirm'd, that *Homer* borrowed. But *Virgil*, and *Pausanias*, and *Suidas*, call her *Manto*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Artamis*, and *Apollodorus*, in *Lactantius*, attributes what *Homer* had borrowed to the *Erythræan Sibyl*; *Plautus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Josephus*, *Justine Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Celsus*, *Lucian*, and *Juvenal*, speak of the *Sibyl* in the singular number, as acknowledging but one; only *Strabo*, (who assigns her residence at *Erythræ*) observes, that (some Ages after) she was seconded by another *Propheteß* of the same place, named *Athenais*; and *Pliny* relates, that in his time, there were, at *Rome*, three little Statues of the *Sibyl*, so ancient, as that they might have been thought the first of any, and to have been made in the time of *Tarquinius*

Lib. 4.
Æneid. 10.
Bœotic. lib. 4.
Lib. 1. cap. 6.
Lib. 1. 4. 6. & 10.
Lib. 13. 17.
Lib. 7. c. 33.
13. cap. 13.
Antiq. l. 1. c. 5.
Apol. & Legat.
Exhort. ad Autolyc. lib. 2.
Apud. Orig. l. 7.
In Peregrino & Pseudomanti.
Lib. 34. c. 5.

neus Priſcus, which relation of his, many have miſunderſtood, ſo conceiving him, as if he affirm'd, they were *the Statues of the three* Sibyls. *Martianus Capella* gives us an account of *two*, that is, *Erophila*, the daughter of *Marmeſſus*, born in the Territories of *Troy*, otherwiſe call'd the *Phrygian* or *Cumæan* Sibyls; and *Symmachia* of *Erythræ*, the daughter of *Hyperchus*, or *Hyperides*. *Solinus* reckons three, the *Delphick*, whom he affirms (from *Boethius*) to have preceded the wars of *Troy*, and was a kind of *Patroneſs* to *Homer*; *Eriphila* of *Erythræ*, who follow'd the precedent not many years after, and gave notice to the *Lesbians*, long before it happened, that they ſhould loſe the ſoveraignty of the Sea; and the *Cumæan*. *Pauſanias* (as hath been already ſeen) numbers *four*; *Lamia*, otherwiſe called the *Lybian* Sibyl; *Herophila*, otherwiſe called the *Delphick*, or *Erythræan*; *Demo*, the *Cumæan*; and *Sabba* the *Babylonian*. *Ælian* raiſed the number to *ten*, that is, the *Erythræan*, the *Samian*, the *Ægyptian*, the *Sardinian*, the *Cumæan*, the *Judaick*, and four others. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, though he cites not any thing of them, but what's in the ſingular number, expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms, whence it may be inferr'd, he admitted divers; *Manto, and a multitude of* Sibyls, *the* Samian, *the* Colophonian, *the* Cumæan, *the* Erythræan, Phyto, Taraxandra, *the* Macedonian, *the* Theſſalian, *the* Threſpotick. *Lactantius* (from *Varro*) affirms their number to be *ten*, and obſerves, that *the firſt was of the* Perſians, *of whom* Nicanor, *who writes of the Acts of* Alexander *the* Macedonian, *makes mention.* The ſecond *was the* Lybian, *mentioned* by Euripides *in the Prologue to his* Lamia. *The third, the* Delphick; *of whom* Chryſippus *ſpeaks in a book he writ*, Of Divination. *The fourth, the* Cumæan, *or of* Cumæ *in* Italy, *named by* Nævius *in his books of the* Punick War, *and by* Piſo, *in his* Annals. *The fifth, the* Erythræan, *whom* Apolodorus *the* Erythræan *affirms to have been of the ſame City with him*, &c. *The ſixth, the* Samian, *of whom* Eratoſthenes *hath written, conſonantly to what he had found written before in the ancient* Annals *of the* Samians. *The ſeventh, the* Cumæan, *under the name of* Amalthæa, *who by others is alſo called* Demophila, *or* Herophila, *&c. The eighth, the* Helleſpontick, *born in the country neer* Troy, *at the Town of* Marpeſſus, *near the City* Gergithum, *whom* Heraclides *of* Pontus, *writes to have liv'd in the time of* Solon *and* Cyrus. *The ninth, the* Phrygian, *who Propheſied at* Ancyra. *The tenth, the* Tiburtine *called* Albunea, *who is ſerv'd as a* Goddeſs *at* Tibur, *which ſtands not far from the River* Anio, *in the bottome whereof, it is reported, that her Image was found holding a book in her hand. Iſſidorus* of *Sevil* follows *Lactantius*; ſave that, ſpeaking of the *Delphick*, he addes, that ſhe was *begotten in the Temple of* Apollo *at* Delphi: That the *fourth* was the *Cimmerian* of *Italy*: That the *fifth*, that is to ſay, the *Erythræan* called *Erophila*, *was Originally a* Babylonian, *and that ſhe was called the* Erythræan, *becauſe her Verſes were found in that Iſland*; and that the *ſixth, namely, the* Samian, *was called* Samonota, *from the Iſle of* Samos, *whence ſhe took her ſirname*. In a word, *Suidas*, who hath glean'd together all he could meet with in other Authors, ſtanding much upon the number of *ten*, in imitation of *Lactantius*, ſays, that the *Chaldæan* or *Perſick*, *whoſe proper name was* Sambetha, *was deſcended from the moſt bleſſed man*, Noah; That ſhe *ſpoke before of the things that are reported of* Alexander *the* Macedonian; *that* Nicanor; *who hath*

Cap. 7.

De Var. Hiſt. l. 12. c. 35.

Strom. 1.

Lib. 2. 1. 6.

Tivoli.

Teverom.

Orig. l. 8. c. 8.

hath writ the Hiſtory of the life of Alexander, *makes mention of her*; that *ſhe foretold ten thouſand things, concerning* Chriſt *our* Lord, *and his coming*; that *the reſt agree with her, and that moreover, there is of hers* four and twenty books, *treating of all nations and places*; Again, that *her fathers name was* Beroſus, *and her mothers* Erymantha; that *the* Delphick *was born at* Delphi; that *the* Samian *was called* Phito, *the* Cumæan, Amalthæa, *or* Herophila. And whereas *Lactantius* and *Iſidorus* have written, that the *Helleſpontick* had liv'd in the time of *Solon* and *Cyrus*, he makes this referr to the Town of *Marpeſſus*, and the little City *Gergithum*, which ſometime were in *Troas*, in the time of *Solon* and *Cyrus*. And elſewhere, ſpeaking of the *Sibyl* in generall, he makes this Diſcourſe: *The* Sibyl *was the daughter of* Apollo; *and* Lamia; *according to ſome, of* Ariſtocrates *and* Hydole; *and* (*as others would have it*) *of* Crinagoras; *or*, (*as* Hermippus *affirms*) *of* Theodorus. *She is called* Erythræa, *becauſe ſhe was begotten at a place of* Erythræ, *called* Batti, *and now that place encreaſed into a City is called* Erythræ. *Some have thought her a* Sicilian, *others a* Sardian, *others a* Gegithian, *others a* Rhodian, *others a* Lybian, *others, a* Lucanian, *others a* Samian, *&c. The* Sibyl Heliſſa *hath written, in Verſe, certain Propheſies, and Oracles. The* Colophonian *Sibyl, whoſe name was* Lampuſa, *the daughter of* Calchas, *hath alſo written in Verſe, certain Oracles, and Divinations, and other things. The* Theſſalian *Sibyl, whoſe name was* Manto, *was the daughter of* Tireſias. *The Sibyl by ſome, called* Sarbis, *by others* Caſſandra, *by others* Tarraxandra, *hath alſo left Oracles. Nor have the* Cumæan, *and* Threſpotick *Sibyls left us without their Oracles.*

Thus then (according to his account) the *two Sibyls* of *Martianus Capella*; four of thoſe of *Ælian*, that is, the *Erythræan*, the *Samian*, the *Ægyptian*, the *Sardian*; three of thoſe cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that is, the *Samian*, the *Erythræan* and *Phyto*; five of thoſe, mentioned by *Lactantius*, as alſo by *Iſidorus*, who hath follow'd him, that is, the *Libyck*, the *Erythræan*, the *Samian*, the *Helleſpontick*, and the *Phrygian*, all reduc'd to *one Sibyl*. *Pauſanias*, who diſtinguiſhes the *Libyck* from the *Erythræan*, makes another kind of reduction, affirming, that the *Phrygian*, the *Samian*, the *Colophonian*, the *Delphick*, and the *Erythræan*, were all but one and the ſame perſon, reſiding in ſeverall places. *Martianus Capella*, gives us another after his dreſſing, making the *Cumæan* and *Erythræan* one and the ſame *Sibyl*. And *Juſtin Martyr*, ſhoots his arrow much to the ſame mark, when he takes for one *Sibyl*, the *Cumæan* and the *Babylonian*, as *Iſidorus*, after the Author of the book, *De mirabilibus auſcultationibus* in *Ariſtotle*, confounds the *Erythræan* and *Cumæan*. And as the ſame *Iſidorus* is extremely miſtaken, when he reckons *Erythræ* (which was in the Continent over againſt *Chio*) among the Iſlands, and makes his *Samonota* fly with the wind: ſo *Suidas*, maintaining (after *Juſtine Martyr*) that the *Chaldaick* Sibyl was the daughter of *Beroſus*, does in ſome ſort agree with *Pauſanias*, who places her among the laſt: but he palpably contradicts: *Firſt*, what he had ſaid of her being daughter to *Noah*, and more ancient then *Alexander*; and, *Secondly*, the ſentiment of *Varro*, who had, in *Lactantius*, adjudg'd to the *Perſick* (who was no other then the *Chaldaick*) the prerogative of Antiquity. Another contradiction of his, is, where he writes that

Conſtantine the Great, in his *Oration* to the *Aſſembly of the Saints*, follows *Pauſanias*, in that he maintains, that the *Erythræan* Sibyl was at *Delphi*; but he leaves him again, when with *Diodorus Siculus*, he calls her *Daphne*.

Saint *Cyril* in his first book against *Julian*, places the *Erythræan* Sibyl under the 9. Olympiad, and distinguishes her from *Herophila*, whom he makes to flourish in the 17. Olympiad. *Strom.* 1. *p.* 304. 323.

the *Erythræan* was 483. years after the war of *Troy*, in which assertion, he comes neer the opinion of *Eusebius*, who hath given her place in his *Chronologie*, under the reign of *Romulus*, who began it 431. years after the taking of *Troy*; for in the next *page*, he acknowledges she was before the taking of that place, which confirms the sentiment, as well of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* who relates that she was consulted by *Æneas*, as that of *Lactantius*, who affirms (from *Apollodorus*) that she *foretold the* Grecians *the issue of the siege* they were to make to that famous place; and that of *Solinus*, who observes, that she was some *few years after the* Delphick, who had liv'd before the expedition of the *Greeks*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, lays it down for certain, that the *Delphick* (whom he names *Artemis*, the daughter of *Lamia*, a *Sidonian*) liv'd before the time of *Orpheus*, who made one of the *Argonauts*, 79. years before the *Trojan war*; and in the mean time, *Diodorus Siculus*, (who calls her *Daphne*, the daughter of *Tiresias*) makes her taken, together with her father, 52. years after, at *Thebes*, by the *Epigoni*. *Diodorus* affirms further, that she was *seated by them* at *Delphi*; and *Pausanias*, that *she came thither from* Asia; *Plutarch*, from *Helicon*, and that she was the daughter of *Lamia*. On the other side, *Isidorus* and *Suidas* pretend, that *Delphi* was the place of her Nativity; nay, this later, who names her *Manto*, the daughter of *Tiresias* a *Thebane*, seems to have forgotten his Geography, when he makes her a *Thessalian*, as if *Bœotia* and *Thessaly*, neighbouring Countries, had been in effect, the same *Canton*. What he writes also of *Lampusa* the *Colophonian*, the daughter of *Calchas*, contradicts not only what is affirmed by *Pausanias*, who bestows the title of *Colophonian Sibyl* on *Herophila*, descended from *Jupiter* and *Lamia*, but also that probability, which seems not easily to permit, that the daughter of *Calchus*, an *European*, who had accompany'd the *Greeks*, should, be born in *Asia*. *Virgil* calls the *Cumæan Deiphobe*, the daughter of *Glaucus*, and makes her contemporary with *Æneas*; but there is not any one of the other Authors that speak of her, agrees with him about either her name, her extraction, or the time she liv'd in, but make her to flourish a long time after. *Pausanias* gives the *Chaldaick* the name of *Sabba*; *Isidorus* calls her *Erophyla*, and *Suidas*, *Sambetha*; and here I think it not unfit to observe by the way, the inadvertency of *Possevinus*, who making generall what *Suidas* had particulariz'd, sordidly imagin'd that all the *Sibyls* went, among the *Chaldæans*, under the name of *Sambethæ*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* hold that the *Cumæan Sibyl* having written three Books, burnt two of them, and sold the third to *Tarquinius Superbus*; but this latter pulls down with one hand what he had built with the other, relating this sale to have been in the 50. Olympiad, which was about the 35. year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and the 47. before the reign of his *Son*; besides that *Varro*, in *Lactantius*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and * *Aulus Gellius* (who in the mean time, attribute it to the later *Tarquin*) and * *Servius*, and *Isidorus*, and *Suidas*, affirm there were nine books, whereof six were burnt, and three remaining, sold to *Tarquinius Priscus*. *Eusebius* not agreeing with the sentiments of others, nor indeed, with himself, gives entertainment to the *Samian Sibyl*, one while under *Numa*, and another under *Tullus Hostilius*: and *Suidas* (to satisfie the world, that there is nothing so fantastick

* *Noct. Attick. lib.* 1 *c* 14.
* *Servius in Æneid lib* 6.
Suidas, verbo Σιβυλλαι, *tres libros à Sibylla Erythræa Romam allatos, aut, sive sub Tarquinio, sive sub Consulibus, itaque sibi non constat.*

taſtick, but there may be ſome brain which hath garret-room to receive it) contrary to the opinion of all Authors, who generally hold, that *Sibyl* is an *Æolick* word, would have it paſs among us for a *Roman*, as if it had been of the invention of the *Latines*, and receiv'd its originall from them.

Chap. IX.

The Precautions of Rome, *while yet in* Paganiſme, *to prevent the reading of the Books which ſhe believ'd really* Sibylline.

INto whoſe hands ſoever of the *Roman* Kings the Sibylline Writings fell, and whenſoever it happen'd, is not much materiall; it is evident from the unanimous conſent of all the Ancients; that they have been always kept under ſo ſtrict a guard, that (as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* obſerves) *the* Romans *kept not any thing, how holy or ſacred ſoever, as they did thoſe* Oracles. *Tarquin* had, at the very begining, committed them to the cuſtody of two perſons of quality, who (under the title of *Duumviri* of the ſacred things) had the expreſs charge to preſerve them religiouſly; as alſo to conſult, read, and interpret them, when need ſhould require; which was not put in execution, but in ſome extraordinary emergency, and was obſerv'd with ſo much rigour, that *Tarquin* inflicted the puniſhment of Parricides on *M. Attilius*, who had lent them, to be copied out, to *Petronius Sabinus*. Some 213. years after, that is to ſay, in the year of *Rome* 388. the number of the keepers being increaſed to *ten*; their Colledge went under the name of, The *Decemviri* of ſacred things; and under their charge and inſpection, the Writings of the *Sibyl* was kept entire 283. years, being diſpoſed *under ground in a cheſt of ſtone, plac'd in the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus, till the conflagration of the Temple, which happened in the year of *Rome* 671. and was the ſecond of the 147. Olympiad, and the 83. before the Incarnation of our *Lord*, under the Conſulſhip of *Scipio* and *Norbanus*. Now theſe execrable Monuments of *Heatheniſh* Idolatry, coming by that accident to be conſum'd with the other Ornaments of the Temple, to repair the pretended damage of this imaginary loſs, there were, after a ſolemn debate in the Senate concerning it, ſent away three Ambaſſadors, namely, *P. Gabinius*, *M. Octacilius*, and *L. Valerius*, *who brought from* Erythræ *about a thouſand Verſes, which had been tranſcrib'd by private perſons*. And thence it comes, that *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, ſpeaking of that recovery, ſays, that, *thoſe which are now extant, are pieces glean'd up from ſeverall places; ſome having been brought from the Cities of* Italy, *others from* Erythræ *in* Aſia, *according to the decree of the Senate, Ambaſſadors having been purpoſely ſent to take Copies thereof; others came from other Cities, copied out by private perſons, among which there are ſome impoſed upon the* Sibyls, *which are diſcover'd by thoſe things which are called* Acroſticks. *Lactantius* adds to what he had obſerv'd concerning the ſale of the *three Books* of the *Cumæan Sibyl* to *Tarquin*, that, *the number hath ſince been increaſed, upon*

Lib. 4.

Dionyſ. l. 4. *Val. Max. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

Lactant. lib. 2. *cap.* 6. *ex Feneſtella.*

Lib.

the repairing of the Capitol, as having been (under the name of some Sibyl *or other) got together, and brought to* Rome *from all the* Italick *and* Grecian *Cities, especially from* Erythræ. And whereas *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, had concluded his Discourse, with this protestation, *I follow in this, what* Terentius Varro *hath related*, *Lactantius* puts a period to this, with this conclusion, which is equivalent; *We have already shewen that* Varro *hath delivered the same thing*; and yet prejudicially to this, and contrary to what *Dionys. Halicarnassæus* had gathered, as well from the Treatise of *Varro*, as the practice of his time, which was, that all the *Oracles* brought out of *Italy* and *Asia* to *Rome*, were so carefully kept in the same place; that none could have the sight thereof but the Commissioners particularly entrusted with the charge of them, he sayes, *The* Poëms *of all these* Sibyls *are publish'd, and all easily met with, except those of the* Cumæan, *whose books are kept secret by the* Romans, *who permit them not to be seen by any but the* Quindecimviri. For if (as *Pausanias* assures us) the *Cumæans* themselves had not any *Oracle* of the *Sibyl* to produce, what production could be made thereof at *Rome*, if so any were desirous to do it? If the books of all the *Sibyls* were equally sought for up and down, were all committed to the oversight of the same Guardians, who kept them lock'd up altogether in the same place, and *all preach'd one only God, especially those of the* Erythræan *esteem'd the most famous and most noble among them*, what reason or likelihood is there, they should not be as highly valu'd and priviledg'd as those of the *Cumæan?* And if he cite Verses out of the *Erythræan*, with this particular remark thereupon, *That she inserted her own reall name into her* Poëm, *and foretold that she was to be call'd* Erythræa, *though she were originally of* Babylon, shewing, that he speaks of the pretended Authoress of that *Rhapsody*, which we have at this day; how came it into his imagination, that the *Heathens* extraordinarily jealous of the secret of their Mysteries, would have been so careless of a piece, which they thought *the noblest of all*, and that was, in effect, so opposite to them, as that should it have fallen into the hands of the *Christians*, they must needs expect it would have been publish'd to their confusion?

But observe by the way, that he speaks of the *Quindecimviri*; for that between the year of *Rome*, 671. wherein the *Capitol* was burnt, and the 675. in which *Sylla* laid down the Dictatorship, *fifteen men* had been appointed to keep that collection which the Senate and People of *Rome*, had made of the *Oracles* they had met with up and down, through the diligence of their Embassadors. For though since that time (according to the observation of *Servius*) the number of these Guardians was augmented to *fourty*, there was no alteration, either as to their former Title, or their Function; nay (after the coming of *Christian* Princes to the Empire) the fall of *Paganisme*, the cessation of the priviledges of its Ministers, the prohibition of sacrifices and the desolation of Temples, had not abolished either the *Sibylline* books, transferr'd by *Augustus* to the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*, nor yet the ancient regulation made for the custody thereof among the *Infidels*, who (notwithstanding the loss of their credit) abated nothing of their courage in maintaining their inveterate customes. *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates, that in the

Lib. 23.

year

year of our *Lord*, 363. *The Sibylline books were consulted at* Rome, by the command of *Julian*, and that the twentieth of *March*, *in the night time*, Apronianus *being* Præfect, *the Temple of* Apollo Palatinus *was set on fire in the eternall City; where (had it not been for the assistances of all sorts of people) the greatness of the flames had consum'd the* Cumæan Poëms. In like manner, from the *Itinerary* of *Rutilius*, *Claudius Numatianus*, it appears that they had been preserv'd even to the year of our *Lord*, 389. since that, that Author, who writ in the year of *Rome*, 1199, or the 416. of our *Lord*, objects to *Stilico*, kill'd by the command of *Honorius*, on the three and twentieth of *August*, 408. *that he had not onely committed his rapines against* Rome, *by the arms of the* Goths, but that *he had before burnt the* Destinies *of the Sibylline* assistance, as not presuming to fasten that execution on *Honorius*, who had commanded it out of revenge, for that the Idolaters had forg'd, *I know not what* Greek *Verses*, *as if they had been communicated by the Divine* Oracle, *to some person that consulted it, wherein they made* Christ *really innocent*; as to the Religion they abhorred, *as of a sacriledge*; *but that* Peter *had by Magick founded the worship of the Name of* Christ *for 365 years, and that at the expiration of that number of years, there should be no more heard of it.* But certain it is, that the Emperour justly incensed at the impudence of a rascally sort of people, that durst presume to bark at the Dignity of the Religion he profess'd, and terminate the continuance thereof to 365. years, expiring under his fourth Consulship with *Eutychianus*, in the year of our *Lord*, 398. issu'd out his commands the year following, that the *Sibylline* books (whence the pretended Propheſie had been taken) should be burnt, and the Temples demolish'd. *The year following*, (saith St. *Augustin*) Manlius Theodorus *being* Consul, *the time being already come, wherein (according to that* Oracle *of evil spirits, or humane fiction) there should have been no longer any profession of* Christian Religion, *&c. in the most eminent and known City of* Africk, *namely*, Carthage, Gaudentius *and* Jovius, *Governours under the Emperour* Honorius, *did upon the ninteenth of* March, *cause to be pulled down the Temples of the false gods, and their Images to be broken. Prosper Africanus* confirms the same thing, though he attributes that command to *Theodosius*, who dy'd at *Millain*, the seventeenth of *January*, 395. and the Edicts of the nine and twentieth of *January* directed to *Macrobius*, Præfect of *Spain*, of the thirteenth of *July* to *Eutychianus* Præfect of the *Prætorium* in the *East*, and of the twentieth, and twenty ninth of *August*, to *Apollodorus*, Proconsul of *Africk*, do yet satisfie the world of it.

Lib. 2. *Quamvis fedecies denis & mille peractis, Annus præterea jam tibi nonus eat.*

August. de Civit. Dei lib. 18. cap. 53.

Cap. 54. Idem Epist. 201. 2. 53, 54, 67.

De promis. l. 3. c. 38.

Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 10. c. 15, 16, 17, 18.

But however the case stands, it matters not; while the *Sibylline* books were in the custody of the *Heathens*, and they possessors of the Empire, the provision made on that behalf, was, that they should never be consulted without express command from the Senate; the sight and reading thereof was absolutely forbidden all, but the *Quindecimviri*; and all the places whence they had been gotten depending on the *Roman* Monarchy, must necessarily have been oblig'd, to the same Law. Whence it came, that, as nothing more sharpens the edge of curiosity, then the rigour of prohibitions, and that the dis-satisfaction men conceive at their being incapable to exercise it openly, makes them beyond all reason daring; so were they not a few, who endeavour'd to sift the secret out

out of the *Quindecimviri*, or made their brags that they had learn'd part thereof of themselves. Nay, sometimes it came to that heighth, that the State became engag'd in the distractions occasion'd by that superstitious passion. Of that nature was what happen'd in the 710. year of *Rome*, when (to gratifie *Cæsar*, and compell the Senate to honour him with the royall Diadem) those who were the Guardians of the *Oracles*, scatter'd abroad of themselves this false report, that *(according to the saying of the* Sibyl) *the* Parthians *could not be destroy'd, nor the* Commonwealth *be secure from their arms but by a* King; which no doubt had been put to the triall of experience, had it not been for the murther committed in the person of *Cæsar* the fifteenth of *March* the same year, which was the four and and fourtieth before our *Saviour*. Twenty years after, under the Consulship of the two *Lentulus's*, Augustus *gave command to the Priests, to copy out with their own hands, those of the* Sibylline Verses *which time had defac'd, to the end that no other should read them.* And to the same effect, *Suetonius* relates, *that after he had taken upon him the charge of the High-priesthood, of the* Divinatory Writings, *as well* Greek *as* Latine, *he burnt above two thousand books brought together from all parts, and divulg'd, either without* Authors, *or under the names of* Authors *not much to be credited, and reserv'd onely the* Sibylline, *and that after tryall made thereof, he lock'd them up in two golden Drawers, under the basis of* Apollo Palatinus: To which relates also that saying of *Horace*, Lib. 1. Epist. 3.

Dion. lib. 46. Sueton. in Cæsare Plutar. in Cæsare. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1.

Dio. lib. 54.

In Octavio. cap. 13.

——— *Et tangere vitet*
Scripta Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo.

So that it was then in vain to look for them any more in the *Capitol*, or for any to pretend a more familiar acquaintance with them then before. Under the *Consulship* of *Silanus* and *Norbanus*, in the year of *Rome*, 771. which was the ninteenth after the *Incarnation*, according to our accompt now, and the fifth of *Tiberius*, *a certain* Oracle, *which agreed not with the time of the City, put the people into no small disturbances: for it said*, that, *three times three hundred years being come and gone, an intestine sedition, and a kind of* Sibaritick *madness would prove the destruction of the* Romans. *But* Tiberius *found much fault with that Verse, as guilty of imposture, caused a review to be made of all the books which contain'd any prediction, rejected some, as being of no worth or credit, and retain'd others.* And in the eighteenth year of his Empire, which was the 785. of *Rome*, and the two and thirtieth of our *Lord*, under the *Consulship* of *Domitius* and *Camillus*, *it was propounded in the* Senate *by* Quintilianus, *Tribune of the people, concerning the* Sibyls *book, which* Caninius Gallus, *one of the* Quindecimviri, *had requested might be receiv'd among other books of the same* Prophetess, *and demanded it might be so established by Decree of the* Senate. *Which being unanimously granted,* Cæsar *sent Letters, somewhat reprehending the Tribune, as ignorant of the old custom by reason of his youth, and upbraided* Gallus, *that having grown old in knowledge, and the Ceremonies, he had nevertheless demanded the opinion of the* Senators, *it being uncertain who was the* Author *thereof; and before the* Colledge *had yielded their judgement; neither, as the custom was, the Verses having been read, and taken into consideration by the Masters. He further represented what abundance of vain things were published under so celebrious a name; that* Augustus *had, under a certain penalty,*

Dio. lib. 57.

Tacit. Annal 6.

set

ſet down a day, within which ſuch books ſhould be brought to the Prætor of the City; and that it was not lawfull for any to have them in their private poſſeſſion. That the ſame thing had been decreed by their Anceſtors; that after the burning of the Capitol, *during the time of the civil war, their Verſes were ſought at* Samos, Ilium, *and* Erythræ, *through* Africk *alſo,* Sicily, *and the* Colonies *of* Italy, (*whether there were one* Sibyl *or many*) *and a charge was given to the Prieſts to diſtinguiſh the true Propheſies from the falſe, as near as might be by the judgement of man; ſo the book was referr'd to the examination of the* Quindecimviri.

To be ſhort, two and thirty years after, *viz.* in the year of *Rome*, 817. which was the 64. of our *Lord*, and the tenth of *Nero*, under the Conſulſhip of *Baſſus* and *Craſſus*, the City having been ſet on fire on the ninteenth of *July*, *the fire could not be ſtopped, till it had devour'd the Palace, and* Nero's *houſe, and all about it.* And though (as *Tacitus* obſerves) *recourſe was then made to the books of the* Sibyl, yet the whole Quarter, where they had been diſpoſed by *Auguſtus*, being deſtroy'd by the fire, it is very probable they were in no leſs hazard then they had been ſix and fourty years before, when the *Capitol* was burnt, as it was again afterwards in the year of *Rome* 822. in the month of *December*.

Sen. 2. Annal. 15. Dio. lib. 6. Suet. in Neron.

Chap. X.

The Motives which he might have gone upon, who was the firſt Projector *of the* eight books, *which at this day go under the name of the* Sibylline.

After ſo many irreconcileable differences, making it undeniably apparent, that the ancient *Heathens* never had any thing which might be rely'd on as certain, concerning their *Sibyls*; after the conflagration of the books ſold by one of them to *Tarquin*, and the ſeverall accidents, which ſince the time of *Sylla*, happened to that confuſed collection which the ſuperſtition of the *Romans* had glean'd together from all quarters of the world; after the *Senate* had in the firſt place interpoſed their judgement on all that had been ſent to them; and that *Auguſtus* had 65. years after, ſmothered to the number of two thouſand books, ſuch as were thought either ſuppoſititious, or of little conſequence, and exerciſed his cenſure on the reſt; after that *Tiberius* had, two ſeverall times, taken into a re-examination the ſentence of *Auguſtus*, to cull out as ſuperfluous what he had any quarrell at; and the fire, if not devour'd or prejudic'd, at leaſt come very near what had, after ſo many diſquiſitions and retrivals, been preſerv'd; who, I ſay, all theſe things conſidered, can think it ſtrange, that Poſterity ſhould, from time to time, have been guilty of a preſumption of furniſhing the *Romans* with ſome new piece of that kind, though it were done meerly by reaſon of their being the more inquiſitive after Writings of that nature, by how much they both were, and were oblig'd (by their own proviſions, and orders to that purpoſe) to be ignorant of what they contain'd; and conſequently,

quently, that they ſhould deferr the publiſhing thereof, till after the death of *Adrian*, at which time, ſuppoſititious pieces of that kind had free toleration even among the *Pagans*, 74. years after the conflagration of *Mount Palatine* under *Nero*, and 69. after the deſolation of the *Capitol* under *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*? And to give a check to the Authority of the *Heatheniſh* Propheteſſes, and confirm this common principle of both the *Jews* and the Fathers, that, *the moſt ancient monuments of Idolatry, were later then the Writings of* Moſes; and to raiſe a greater reverence thereof in the *Chriſtians*, who were not acquainted with any thing at ſo great a diſtance from their own times, they brought upon the ſtage *Noah's* danghter-in-law, who liv'd eight Ages before; and much about the ſame time that the *Gnoſticks* (who called his wife *Noria*) made it their brag, among the *Chriſtians*, that they had ſome of her Writings, out of a deſign, to corrupt the ſimplicity of the *Church*, by a ſuppoſititious piece, pretending to ſo great Antiquity, the *Millenaries*, and ſome counterfeit *Chriſtians*, ſcatter'd up and down certain ſpurious *Oracles* and *Predictions*, under the name of one of his ſons wives, eſpecially among the *Gentiles*, imagining (not without ſome likelihood) that the curioſity of thoſe blinded wretches would open a gap for the cheat, and dazle their underſtandings into admiration, and that the *Chriſtians* over-joy'd to find therein the condemnation of idolatry, the preaching of one only God, the prediction of the *Incarnation* of the Word, the redemption of mankind *by the blood of the Croſs*, the generall reſurrection, and the laſt judgement, would the more eaſily ſwallow down the venome of the impoſture craftily inſtill'd among ſo many truths, and would be rather inclin'd to ſet up this new Engine to pull down errour, then to diſcover the miſchievous intent of him who had invented it. Nay, further, to gain it entertainment (ſuch as had ſometime the *Trojan Horſe*) with greater pomp, and to perſwade people the more effectually, that among all nations of all Ages, there roſe up witneſſes equally authentick and creditable to maintain the ſame truth, there were ſpead abroad (under the title of *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, whom *Diodorus* affirms to have been Secretary to *Oſiris*, or *Mitſraim*, the ſon of *Cham*) certain *Greek books* of *Pæmander*, and *Aſclepius*, whereof the latter hath impoſed upon good St. *Auguſtine*, and *Proſper Africanus*, and ſuborn'd a counterfeit *Hyſtaſpes*, who, in the very heart of *Perſia*, muſt be a maintainer of the truth in the *Greek Tongue*; and in fine (to raiſe up things to the greateſt heighth of impudence) deriv'd from the name and recommendation of the Apoſtle St *Paul*, a certain reputation to ſuch *old wives tales*, whereto, as to this particular, *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath (as we have already obſerv'd) given but too too much credit. For he, giving abſolute credit thereto, hath (as well as ſome others of the Fathers) made no difficulty at all to object them, (nay, with a certain oſtentation) to the *Heathen*, who knew not what they ſpoke to them of. Nay, ſo far was the rigorous obſervance of the Ancient proviſion made on that behalf, (which reſerv'd the reading of thoſe Propheticall Books only to the *Quindecimviri*, and allow'd it not to them, but in caſe of extraordinary neceſſity) from raiſing (as it ſhould have done) a jealouſie in the *Chriſtians*, that thoſe Writings, which came not to the knowledge

See in *Lucian* the ſuppoſititious *Oracles* advanced in favour of *Alexander Abonotichites*, and *Peregrinus*, notorious cheats.

Epiph. hæreſ. 26. calls her *Barthenos.*

Coloſ. 1. 20.

Philo Biblianus from *Sanchoniathon*, a *Beritian* called *de Saturno*, *Euſeb. præp. l.* 1. *c.* 20.

Bibl. De Civit. Dei, l. 8. *c.* 23, 24, 26.

De Promiſſ. i. 3 *c.* 38.

ledge of any but the Guardians thereof, to whose custody they were committed, had no relation to, or any thing common with the pieces put into their hands; or that imagination from prevailing so far with them, as to weaken the resolution they had taken to make their advantages thereof, that, on the contrary, it hath extremely fortified it, every one being apt to believe, that the very remorse of conscience, and the shame it was to see Idolatry condemn'd by the *Sibyls*, had occasioned the prohibition of reading those *Oracles*; and consequently, that there was some ground to press the unbelievers with these earnest and stinging reproaches. *You indeed have them* [the Writings of the *Sibyls*] *in your possession, but conceal them out of an aversion to the truth which they discover; You prohibit the reading thereof, because they speak what is contrary to your opinions. What is come to our hands of them, is onely the extract of what there is among your* Archivi, *where the* Originals *are still to be found, to your conviction; and yet you perversly deny it: or if they are not there, they have been out of a mischievous design suppress'd. And as on the one side the retrenchments made at severall times by your chief Priests and Emperors, of such things as they were not pleased with, are to be look'd on as an effect of diabolicall rage against the worship of the true God; so may it be thought, on the other, that those accidentall fires, which have consum'd your evidences, proceeded from the train of an infernall malice, to the prejudice of the Religion we propose to you. But since it hath pleased the divine Providence, out of its excessive indulgence towards you, to rescue out of so many horrid ruines brought about by the implacable enemy of mankind, and opposer of your salvation, some small remainders of your ancient treasures, be not so irreclaimable against the cordiall remonstrances of those who kindly invite you to joyn with them in a consideration of their divine beauty, and such as you have so much the less reason to be jealous of, in that they press you purely upon the credit of Copies extracted our of your own* Originals, *of familiar arguments drawn out of your breasts, and your own domestick witnesses, whose depositions and testimonies (being much more valuable then the antiquity of all your devotions, and all your gods) deserve you should, without any further contradiction, afford them the submission due thereto in point of honour and soveraign Authority.*

Chap: XI.

A Discovery of the mistakes of Constantine *the Emperour, concerning the* Sibyl *and her Writings.*

ALl these being imagin'd with abundance of ingenuity, and spoken with a more then ordinary measure of confidence, was enough to shew, that those, who gave entertainment to such conceptions, and express'd them with so much freedom, spoke consonantly to their perswasion, and without any indirect design. But if the violent prejudice which pre-possess'd their minds, were, on the one side, somewhat extraordinary, the insolence of the cheat which occasion'd it was most unworthy, and their simplicity so much the more to be bemoan'd, by

how much it had been the more miſerably over-reach'd and beſotted with an imagination, that the counterfeit money, which was put into their hands to diſperſe, had been current amongſt the ancient *Heathens*.

But above all, the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperour, *Conſtantine*, was ſo far prepoſſeſs'd with this opinion, that that great Monarch, (now 1330. years ſince) would needs undertake to maintain it in the face of the *Church*, and grounded his proof thereof on certain conſiderations, which ſo much heightned his piety, and the excellence of his great parts, that (if ever the Imperiall Diadem might have ſerv'd for a mask to diſguiſe *Truth*) we were all oblig'd to entertain *Her*, put into that dreſs by ſo noble a hand: but ſince her dignity never had any dependance on the authority of men, and that *Conſtantine* had no other deſign then to make her more glorious, and not to gain any reputation to himſelf, by miſrepreſenting *Her*, and enſlaving *Her* to falſhood, it will be no preſumption in us (to the end *ſhe* may appear in *Her* own true light) to take notice of his inadvertencies who hath miſapprehended *Her*.

Orat. ad Sanct. cœt. c. 18. The firſt miſtake we obſerve in him, is, where he ſayes, That *the Erythræan Sibyl* (whom with *Pauſanias* he places at *Delphi*, and, with *Diodorus*, calls *Daphne*) *had written of her ſelf, that ſhe had liv'd in the ſixth race after the Deluge*. For beſides that the daughter of *Tireſias* (taken by the *Epigoni* at *Thebes*, about 1212. years before our *Saviour's* time, above eleven hundred years after the Deluge, and conſequently in the twelfth Age, or thirty ſixth race after it) could not have ſaid with any truth, that ſhe was *of the ſixth*, it is clear as any thing can be, that the Emperour had miſunderſtood the words by him attributed to her; ſince that, having formally diſtinguiſhed that part of mankind which preceded the Deluge, into five races, and laid it down, as acknowledg'd, That the laſt was that wherein the *Gyants* flouriſhed, ſhe expreſly began the ſixth, which he calls, *The firſt*, and *golden Age*, upon the disburthening of the Ark, wherein ſhe, with a ſtrange impudence, affirm'd, that ſhe had been *kept in one and fourty days*, a thing which never either came, or could come into the imagination of *Daphne*.

Lib. 1. p. 8. *Ibid. p.* 11. *Ibid.*

The ſecond is, when, after he had ſaid, *That on a certain time, the* Sibyl, *fill'd with a divine inſpiration*, utter'd the 33. Verſes, which make up the *Acroſtick* of theſe words:

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ, ΣΩΤΗΡ, ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ,

he adds, *It is manifeſt that* Cicero, *having read this* Poem, *tranſlated it into the Language of the* Romans, *and inſerted it into his* Works, *and that he was kill'd while* Anthony *had the ſupreme power of the Empire in his hands, and that* Auguſtus *(who reign'd* 56. years*) came after* Anthony, *and that* Tiberius *ſucceeded* Auguſtus, *in whoſe time was the coming of the* Saviour *into the World, and the myſterie of the moſt holy* Religion *came into reputation.* For not to take much notice, that the *Acroſtick* of the pretended *Sibyl*, ſuch as we find it in the *eighth Book* of her Writings, conſiſts of four and thirty Verſes, among which *Conſtantine* hath left out this:

Ἐκκαύσει δὲ τὸ πῦρ γῆν, οὐρανὸν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν,

which is the ninth, and (according to the tranſlation of the ancient Interpreter

Interpreter in Saint *Auguſtine*, and *Proſper*) rendered thus: *De civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 23.*

Exuret terras ignis, pontumque polumque.

whence it follows, that the ſpurious *Sibyl* had writen χ^ιs^Θ, and not *De promiſ. l. 3. c. 6. 14.* χριsΘ, as hath been notoriouſly diſcovered by the Author, of the Traduction copied by Saint *Auguſtine*, wherein the *Latine* Acroſtick runs in this order of the Letters, *Jeſues Qreiſtos*, &c. Nay, further, to paſs by (as what's generally acknowledg'd, that *Anthony* was the contriver of *Cicero's* death; that *Auguſtus* reign'd 56. years afterward, or thereabouts, and that *Tiberius* ſucceeded him; and not to urge, that though the moſt remarkable accidents of the reign of *Tiberius* were the Baptiſme and Paſſion of our *Saviour*, yet his coming into the World cannot be properly attributed to that time, ſince he took fleſh of the bleſſed Virgin, in the fourty ſecond year of *Auguſtus*'s government, and conſequently, that he was going out of the fifteenth year of his age, when the ſame *Auguſtus* departed this life: Now, I ſay, to make any advantage of all this, I anſwer, that it is not onely not manifeſt, either from the reading, or the verſion, nor yet from the record pretended to be made thereof by *Cicero*, that any ſuch thing was, but that (what is directly contrary) it is evident, from the very ground whence it might be imagin'd, that *Conſtantine* deriv'd his opinion, that is to ſay, from the ſecond Book of *Divination* (written by *Cicero*, between the fifteenth of *March*, in the year of *Rome*, 710. wherein *Julius Cæſar* was murther'd in the Senate, and the ſeventh of *December*, in the year 711. in which he was himſelf put to death by the command of *Anthony*,) that he neither did, nor could have done what is pretended. From the 27. of *Novem.* in the year 711. to the 19. of *Auguſt*, in the year of *Rome* 767.

The firſt reaſon is, for that he maintains in generall terms, that there is no *Divination* by inſpiration, ſuch as it is ſuppoſed, was that of the *Sibyls*. *What authority* (ſaith he) *is there in that fury, which you call* Divine, *which is ſuch, as that a perſon diſtracted, ſeeth what a wiſe man ſees not, and that he who is at a loſs of humane abilities, ſhould have acquir'd divine?* *De Divin. l. 2. c. 110.*

Secondly, for that he particularly obſerves, that the Author of the Verſes which were kept at *Rome*, under the title of the *Sibylline*, was ſo far from doing what he did, by vertue of any inſpiration, that it was the effect of a jugling and crafty invention, out of a deſign to cheat. *We take notice*, ſaith he, *of theſe Verſes of the* Sibyl, *which it is reported fell from her in a fury, out of which it was thought not long ſince* [that is to ſay, in the year 710] *that the Interpreter* [Cotta] *would tell the Senate things that were not true, according to the common report of men*, to wit, *that if we would be ſafe*, [from the *Parthians*] *we muſt call him King, who in effect was our King. If this be in the Books, what man, what time does it particularly deſign?* For, *finally, he who hath compoſed theſe things, hath ſo done his work, as that (whatſoever ſhould happen) it might ſeem to be foretold, the determinate obſervation of men and times being taken away. He hath alſo put on a vayl of obſcurity, that the ſame Verſes might ſeem applyable, one while to one thing; another, to another. But that the* Poem *is not the work of a perſon in fury, on the one ſide, the* Poem *it ſelf declares it; for it is rather the effect of Art and diligence, then of tranſportation and extaſie; and on the other, the* Acroſtick, *as they call it, when there may ſome connexion be made of the firſt Letters of the Verſe, as in ſome of* Ennius's Poems; *this ter-* *Cap. 111.*

tainly is the work rather of an attentive mind then of a diſtracted.

Thirdly, in as much as he concludes that that the Poëms, committed, in *Rome*, to the cuſtody of the *Quindecimviri*, tended rather to impiety, then the eſtabliſhment of Religion. *Wherefore* (ſaith he) *Let the* Sibyl *be ſtill ſecret and ſequeſtred from us, that (as it hath been ordered by our Anceſtors) the books be not read without the permiſſion of the Senate, as contributing more to the putting off religious worſhips, then ſubmiſſion thereto. Let us treat with the Prieſts, that they would draw any thing out of them rather then a King, which neither gods nor men will ever hereafter ſuffer in* Rome. *Cap.* 112.

This he ſpoke in relation to the deſign of *Cotta* and his *Colleagues*, to have *Cæſar* proclaim'd King, the poor man not in the leaſt imagining that he was himſelf upon the threſhold of his greateſt misfortune, for having through an almoſt fatall inconſiderateneſs, contributed to the tranſlation of the Royall power, which *Cæſar* had been poſſeſs'd of, into the hands as well of a remote deſcendant [*Auguſtus*] of that Prince, as of *Anthony* his moſt inexorable enemy. And thence it may be deduc'd:

1. That he had not (though *Augur*) read the *Sibylline* books, in as much as he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms, *If that be in the books*; and with greater reaſon, that he had not been the Interpreter of them, nor inſerted into his Works any pieces thereof.

2. That though they had been abſolutely at his diſpoſal, yet would he not have taken the trouble upon him, either to tranſcribe ought out of them, or give any interpretation thereof, ſince he did not acknowledge there was any thing Divine in them, but onely artifice, mixt with impoſture and impiety.

3. That it is not poſſible he ſhould account the *Sibyl* (whatever ſhe might be) a *Propheteſs*, in as much as he deny'd there either were, or could be any *Prophets*; it being not imaginable in an underſtanding man, and a *Philoſopher*, that after he had laid down this univerſall negative Propoſition, *No perſon was ever ſeiz'd by Divine fury*, he would betray ſo much forgetfulneſs, as to maintain the contradictory affirmative, *Some perſon* (to wit, the *Sibyl*) *hath been ſeiz'd by a Divine fury.*

3. That what he obſerves of the *Acroſtick* and the *Poëm* which was full of ambiguity and artifice, ſignifies, that it was (in his judgement) an attempt of ſubtil knavery, and not the effect of any Divine inſpiration.

CHAP. XII.

The ſentiment of Cicero *concerning the* Acroſtick *attributed to the* Sibyl, *further clear'd up.*

BUt I proceed further, and ſay, That though it were granted, that *Cicero* could have been perſwaded that the Pieces kept at *Rome* in the cuſtody of the *Quindecimviri*, were Divine, yet would he never have made that judgement, either of the eight Books now extant among us, nor yet of the thirty three Verſes taken by *Conſtantine* out of the eighth.

He

He would not have made it of the whole body of the eight books; for all the *Sibylline Oracles* were (as being not much unlike the Centuries of *Noſtradamus*) little fragments of *Poetry* writ down one after another, but diſtinguiſh'd as well in regard of the form as ſubject, and diſpoſed by way of *Acroſticks*. Whence it is, that *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, writing under *Auguſtus*, and ſome few years after the death of *Cicero*, ſayes, that *The Verſes attributed to the* Sibyl, *are diſcover'd by the* Acroſticks; And *Cicero* himſelf, who had ſpoken of an *Acroſtick* in the ſingular number, ſhews that the artifice of it was common to all the *Poëms* that went under the name of the *Sibylline*. *In the* Sibylline *books* (ſaith he) *of the firſt verſe of every ſentence, is made the beginning of the contexture of all the* Poëm; *by the firſt Letters of that ſentence; this is the work of a perſon that writes, not of one in a fury; of a man that does things with circumſpection, not of one that is extravagant.*

C. 12. Atqui in Sibyllinis ex primo verſu cujuſque ſententiæ primis literis illius ſententiæ carmen omne præcxitur.

So that it might be ſaid of theſe Pieces, that there was in them not a ſimple, but a double artifice, as wherein the firſt verſe was written, as it were, in the frontispeece, and down along ſideways, making the beginning of the *Poem*, and containing, in order, the firſt letters of every of the following verſes. Of that kind was that forc'd Preface which *Athelme*, Biſhop of *Sarisbery* writ, about the year, 705. and put at the begining of this *Poem, Of the praiſe of Virgins*; the firſt verſe, which was,

Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina caſtos,

contains an *Acroſtick* of all the reſt of the work, ſo that as the firſt Letter, that is, *M*, begins the whole body of the Preface; the ſecond *E*, is the firſt Letter of the ſecond verſe; the third, which is *T*, of the third; and ſo of the reſt. And hence it is apparent, that, though the *Acroſtick* of thirty three, or thirty four verſes, copied by *Conſtantine*, as alſo by St. *Auguſtine*, had been truly *Sibylline*, the reſt of the eight books, according to the preſuppoſition of *Cicero* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, could not be the like; ſince that there is not any Tract of an *Acroſtick* elſewhere. But that thoſe thirty three verſes, whereof the Capitall letters make up the name of our *Saviour*, neither have been, nor could be ſuch as the ancient *Chriſtians* believ'd them, is further apparent from this, that the firſt verſe contains not the *Acroſtick* of all that follows, and does not any way expreſs the artifice: of the *Sibylline* verſes, obſerv'd by *Cicero*. Whence it muſt neceſſarily follow;

The ſame thing may be ſaid of the verſes, which *Zoſimus* attributes to the *Sibyls*, and for the ſame reaſon.

Firſt, that the perſon, who was the Author, as well of this part of the eighth book, as of all the reſt of both that and the other books, which many upon ſuch triviall grounds, would have us entertain for *Divine Oracles*, had onely heard ſo much of the *Acroſtick* mention'd by *Cicero*, as that he never underſtood it.

Secondly, that it may with much more reaſon be believ'd, that he never had any ſight or knowledge of the *Sibylline* books celebrated by the ancient *Heathens*.

Thirdly, that *Conſtantine* the Great, and thoſe Fathers who were later then *Juſtine Martyr*, as *Tertullian*, and *Optatus*, dazled with the falſe luſtre of an impoſture, which carried ſome appearance of piety, were deceiv'd not onely when they receive'd, with open arms, for *Divine* and *Prophetical*, what was not ſuch; but alſo when (critically endeavouring

Tertul. de Bapt. c. 1. Optat. l. 3. Auguſt de civ. Dei, l. 18, c. 23.

to

to find ſomething of myſtery in it, and ſtriving to go beyond the *Acroſtick*, which they ſo much, though without any juſt cauſe, admir'd) they ſhuffled together the capitall Letters of theſe five *Greek* words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, to raiſe out of them the word ΙΧΘΥΣ, which ſignifies a *Fiſh*, and to gather thence, that our *Saviour* is the onely *Fiſh of Salvation*, and that the *Chriſtians* are *Piſciculi*, the *little fiſhes*, whom he nouriſhes and enlivens in the *Fiſh-pond* of his *Baptiſme*. For though it be moſt certain, that *Baptiſme* is the *waſhing of regeneration*, and that our *Lord* and *Saviour* (who was the Author and conſecrator thereof) is the *Fountain of our ſpirituall life*; yet was the ground whence they thought to derive this truth, moſt falſe. Nor do I make this remark out of any deſign to caſt a blemiſh on thoſe holy perſons, who made their advantage of it (for who is not ſubject to be ſurpized?) but out of compaſſion, to ſee their plain dealing, and want of caution, ſo unworthily play'd upon, and their piety ſo inſolently abuſed by a ſort of perſons, who (without any ſhame or conſcience) have preſum'd to lodge their own fantaſticall imaginations in the moſt honourable places of Gods Sanctuary, one while as *Propheticall Oracles*, pronounc'd immediately after the Deluge; another, as *Apoſtolicall Predications*, added ſome 2400. years after, to confirm and raiſe them into greater veneration.

Tit. 3. 5.

Pſal. 36. 9.

CHAP. XIII.

The ſentiment of Virgil *in his fourth Eclogue examin'd and clear'd up and that it hath no relation to the Writing pretendedly* Sibylline, *which was compoſed a long time after, made apparent.*

HAving made the beſt advange he could of this Certificate of *Cicero's* on the behalf of the *Sibyl*, the Emperor *Conſtantine* produces that of *Virgil*, to the ſame purpoſe, the gravity of which ſecond Witneſs deſerves a more particular examination of what is alledged by him. I take no notice of the conceit which the Prince, who produces his teſtiſtimony, had, when he thought that this verſe,

Ἔνθεν ἔπειτα νέων πληθὺς ἀνδρῶν ἐφαάνθη,

whereby he would expreſs the *Latine*,

Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto,

is *out of ſome other place of the Bucolicks* then that which begins *Sicelides muſæ*; for though it be indeed out of that very *Eclogue*, and clearly diſcovers that *Conſtantine* either had not read it exactly, or had it onely upon the report of ſome other, I ſhall not, I ſay, make any advantage of this miſtake of little conſequence, but intreat the *Reader* to remember, that whether he be pleaſed to reflect on the occaſion of the *Poem*, or on the whole contexture of it, he ſhall not find any thing in it, which does not ſavour of *Paganiſme*, and accordingly is ſo much the further from

Divine,

Divine, or may ſhew, that the Author had his thoughts fixt on any *Oracle* which might ſet his fancy on work.

In the year of *Rome*, 713. which was the third of the *Triumvirate*, and the one and fourtieth before our *Saviour*, under the Conſulſhip of, *L. Antonius*, and *P. Servilius*, *Auguſtus*, victorious over *Caſſius* and *Brutus* whom he had defeated the Summer before, to recompence his old Soldiers, beſtow'd on them the Lands beyond the * *Po*, ſo that the Inhabitants of *Cremona* and *Mantua* were cruelly treated, and *Virgil*, then in the twenty ninth year of his age, had been put to great extremities (his eſtate being fallen to the ſhare of *Claudius*, a *Veterane*, or *Arius* a *Centurion*, who coming to take poſſeſſion thereof had put him into ſome danger of his life) had it not been for the ſupport of *Aſinius Pollio*, *Alfenus Varus*, and *Cornelius Gallus*, who procur'd his indemnity. And as (to repreſent the miſery of the poor *Mantuans*) he had introduc'd *Melibæus* crying out:

Shall ever I again my old aboad, &c.
Shall th' impious Soldier have theſe new-plow'd Fields?

And *Mœris*, complaining that the new-comers ſaid to the antient Inhabitants, Depart, and that *Mantua had been too neer to ſad* Cremona, and ſaid elſewhere, *That unhappy* Mantua *had loſt her fields*; which *Martial*, in imitation of him, alluding to, writes, that *Tityrus* had *loſt his Lands neer wretched* Cremona: So, to expreſs his gratitude, he call'd *Auguſtus* the *god who had been the Author of his quiet*; and ſpeaking of himſelf, ſayes, that he had ſeen at *Rome*,

——— *That gallant* * *youth, for whom*
Twice ſix dayes annually his altars fume.

And that he anſwering firſt his ſuit, ſaid, *Shepherds, feed your cattel as before, and let your Oxen plow:* and celebrated *Pollio*, by his third and fourth *Eclogues*, *Varus* by the ſixth and ninth; and *Gallus* by the tenth, beſides, that he had fill'd the fourth of his *Georgicks* with the praiſes of the laſt; But, (to comply with the humour of *Auguſtus*, who forc'd him fourteen years after, to kill himſelfe, as guilty of ſome attempt againſt his life) he transform'd all into the Fable of *Ariſteus*.

In the year of *Rome*, 714. which was the fourth of the reign of *Auguſtus*, the firſt of *Herod's*, and the fourtieth before our *Saviours* coming, *Pollio* being raiſed to the Conſulſhip, with *Domitius Calvinus*, and his wife brought to bed of a ſon, *Virgil* thought himſelf obliged to take occaſion, upon theſe two honourable and pleaſing accidents, to break forth into praiſes (I am loth to ſay flatteries) and vows for *Auguſtus*, for *Pollio*, and for his child. Thence is it that he ſays in his fourth *Eclogue*, that there was then coming on *a new age*, and *a golden race* of mankind, beginning with the Conſulſhip of *Pollio*, and the Nativity of *Saloninus* his ſon, that, in *Pollio*'s happy reign, all nations ſhould be *freed from fear* of the *Iron age*, if any Track of it remain, *Apollo*, that is, *Auguſtus*, *already reigning* who ſhall live the *life of the gods*, and be *mixt* with them, that is, converſe familiarly with them and the *Heroes*, and ſhall rule the World by his *mighty Father's* power, *Julius Cæſar*. That the little *Saloninus* ſhall be ſurrounded with ſuch happineſs, that the earth ſhall no longer bear any *peruitious plant*, nor *Serpents*, but produce *Aſſyrian*

* *Servius* upon the ninth Eclogue, ſayes, that the Inhabitants of *Cremona* having entertain'd the forces of *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and *Anthony*, *Auguſtus*, overcoming *Anthony*, gave away their lands; but he is miſtaken, ſince that donation had been made ten years before the war againſt *Anthony*.

Ecl 9.

Georg. l. 2.

Ecl. 1.

* For that *Auguſtus*, born in *Sept.* 23. 691. was then in the 22 year of his age.

Donatus in *Virgils* life, writes, that *Cicero* had ſeen his *Bucolicks*; but it is more likely, he took (from the recovery of his eſtate) occaſion to write them two years after *Cicero*'s death.

Syrian Roſes, and play-games for his Infancy. That during his youth, *Harveſts* and *Vintages* ſhall come without trouble, and *honey* from the *Oak* diſtill, though as yet there muſt be ſetting out of *Ships*, fortifying of *Cities*, *War* and *Tillage*. But when he ſhall have attain'd the age of a perfect man, there ſhall be no longer any *commerce by Sea or Land*, no *Agriculture*, or *Mechanicks*; foraſmuch as *all places ſhall bring forth all things*. And thereupon, deſiring *Auguſtus*, burthen'd with the weight of the *Worlds government*, to accept the honours due to him, he wiſhes himſelf a long life to deſcribe his atchievements.

Now, what is there in all this, not ſuitable to a *Heathen?* Or, what is there that makes the leaſt diſcovery of any *Divine revelation?* Nay, indeed, what is more remarkable all along, then that there is not any thing which ſpeaks not the perſon wholly Idolatrous, as one, whoſe imagination cannot raiſe it ſelf to ought more excellent then the fabulous ſtate of the world under *Saturne*, but withall, promiſing himſelf (according to the *Platonick principle*) the reſtauration of it, in the revolution of the great Months of the long year, which that *Philoſopher* imagin'd to himſelf ſhould come, and mingling the frivolous hope of that feign'd proſperity with the invocations of the falſ Deities, ſo far as to cry out;

As when he ſays, in the 6. of the *Æneids*, *Longa ætas*, meaning a thouſand years.

O chaſt *Lucina*, aid the bleſſed birth, *&c.*
The *Fates* conſpiring with eternall doome,
Said to their *Spindles*, Let ſuch ages come?

Accordingly, could not the good Emperour *Conſtantine* give any *Chriſtian interpretation* to his Verſes, without making them ſpeak otherwiſe then they do in themſelves; For, whereas *Virgil* had ſaid,

Tu modo naſcenti puero quo ferrea primum
Deſinet, ac toto ſurget gens aurea mundo,
Caſta fave Lucina: *tuus jam regnat* Apollo.
Téque adeo decus hoc ævi, te conſule inibit
Pollio; *& incipient magni procedere menſes.*
Te duce, ſiqua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri
Irrita perpetuâ ſolvent formidine terras.

J. O.

O chaſt *Lucina*, aid the bleſſed birth,
Who ſhall from *Ir'n* extract a golden Age,
And to thy *Phœbus* all the world engage.
Thou child being Conſul, *Pollio* ſhall that year
Be moſt renown'd, then glorious dayes appear.
If any print of antient crimes remain,
Thou ſhalt efface them in thy happy reign;
And from perpetuall fear all nations free.

He makes him ſay,

Τὸν δὲ νεωστὶ πω τεχθέντα φαεσφόρε μιλίη
Ἀντὶ σιδερείης χρυσῆν γενεὴν ὀπάσαντα
Πρόσκωπαι, τῷδ' ἄρχοντος τὰ μὲν ἕλκεα πάντα βροτέα
Καὶ σοναχαὶ τε κατευπάζονται ἀλιτρῶν.

Who would ever imagine (without notice given him aforehand) that thoſe four *Greek Verſes* were brought to expreſs the ſeven *Latine* ones

ones of *Virgil*; or that any one ſhould thence take occaſion to diſcourſe of the Adoration due to *Chriſt*, and the reconciliation of the World to God through his blood? Since they attribute that to the *child newly born*, which the *Poet* had expreſly ſaid of the Conſul *Pollio*; * they turn the prayer he made to *Lucina*, to be *favourable* to the little *Saloninus*, into a command directed to the *Moon*, to *adore* the *Saviour* of the World; and referr to the ſpiritual tranquillity of mens Conſciences, effected by the remiſſion of ſins, what he had hinted at concerning the eſtabliſhment of temporal peace, by a reſtauration of the government of *Saturn*, ſucceeding, under *Auguſtus*, *the crimes of the Iron-Age*, which was (according to his ſuppoſition) to give place to the *Golden-Age*, coming in under the Conſulſhip of *Apollo*. Nor that onely, but they muſt alſo omit the clauſes, which made mention both of that Conſulſhip, and the reign of *Apollo*, by which name the *Poet* had meant *Auguſtus*; and the more probably, not onely for that the *Heathens* (as * *Macrobius* obſerve) *referr'd all the gods*, whom they thought *below the heaven, to the* Sun, *or* Apollo: but alſo by reaſon of the particular devotion which *Auguſtus* had for *Apollo*, to whom (not many years after) he dedicated a magnificent Temple in the *Mount Palatine*; and that in his ſecret Debauches (as for inſtance, in his Banquet, firnam'd *Of the twelve gods*) he had repreſented *Apollo*, and that with the greater Analogie, in regard of his being the great King among men, as the *Sun* amongſt the *Starrs*, and was then in the prime of his age, being four and twenty years old; as the *Sun*, who never growing old, looks always with the ſame countenance.

* To keep cloſe to *Virgil*, it ſhould have been rendred, Σὺ δ' ἀρχὸν τόδε.

* *Virgil* had indeed ſaid *Our crime*, out of a reflection, that he, and all thoſe, who had preceeded the *Conſulſhip* of *Pollio*, had been under the *Iron-Age*, and participated of the crime thereof.

* *Saturn* lib. 1. cap. 17.

According therefore to his firſt miſ-repreſentation, *Conſtantine* imagin'd that *Virgil* had, by the *multitude of new men*, meant the *Chriſtian Church*. But it is clear, that his imagination ran onely upon that race, which he ſuppoſed was (under the Conſulſhip of *Pollio*) to begin the *Golden-Age*, after the expiration of that of *Iron*. From thence the Emperour comes to make this Remark, *What can there be more manifeſt?* for he adds, *The Oracle of the* Cumæan *Prophecy is come to its period*, clearly ſignifying the *Cumæan Sibyl*. And I acknowledge, that *Virgil* (ſpeaking of the coming of the *laſt Age* of the *Cumæan* Prophecy) reflected on that of the *Cumæan Sibyl*: but I affirm withall;

Firſt, That to alledge any ſuch thing, is manifeſt to ſhoot wide from the Mark, and not to ſay any thing pertinent to the Diſcourſe, which had preceeded, that is to ſay, that *Cicero* had copied out, and tranſlated the *Acroſtick* attributed to the *Erythræan Sibyl*. *Erythræa*, and *Cumæ*, are they the ſame thing? And to perſwade people, that thoſe, who had ſpoken of the Inhabitreſs of one of thoſe two places, are at no difference with the Authours, who maintain the other, was it not neceſſary to make it appear before-hand, that ſhe made her reſidence in both ſucceſſively?

Secondly, I ſay, that (this ſuppoſition being allow'd) it would not follow from the words of *Virgil*, that he had, or could have read the *Sibylline* Prophecy, ſince he was neither *Patrician*, nor *Quindecem-vir* (to whoſe Colledge that priviledge was reſerv'd) nay, indeed, not of a competent age to be entertain'd into that Society, which conſiſted onely of antient men; and not of young men, ſuch as *Virgil* then was, as being about the thirtieth year of his Age.

Thirdly, That, though he had been one of the *Quindecem-viri*, yet can it not be granted, he could have any knowledg of thoſe *Cumæan Oracles*, which had been brought to *Tarquin*; for they were deſtroyed fourty three years before, in the time of *Sylla*: & thoſe, which *Rome* was poſſeſſed of in the time of *Cicero* and *Auguſtus*, were (according to the obſervation of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*) certain *Collections*, gotten out of a thouſand ſeveral places, and went under the name of the *Cumæan*, improperly onely, in as much as they were diſpoſed into the place of the real *Cumæan* ones.

Fourthly, That, though it were granted, that the true *Cumæan* Writings (which had nothing common with thoſe reputed ſuch at this day) had been preſerv'd entire, and that *Virgil* had been of the number of thoſe, to whom the reading thereof was allow'd: yet had he (according to what is ſuppos'd) diſcover'd therein any thing of Prediction concerning the Saviour of the World, he would not (as he hath done) wholly have adapted the Sence of the Oracle to *Pollio* and his Son, and principally to *Auguſtus*, not onely in that place, but alſo above ſixteen years after, in the ſixth Book of the *Æneids*, where he introduces *Anchiſes*, ſaying to his Son *Æneas*, of the Prince * ſo highly qualified in the *Bucoliks*; and called

* *Marcellus*, whoſe Death is bewayl'd by *Anchiſes*, in the ſixth Book of the *Æneids*, died in the year of *Rome* 731.

Ec. 4.

Æn. 6.

——— *Heav'nly race, great progeny of* Jove, *&c.*
There, there's the Prince oft promis'd us before,
Divine Auguſtus Cæſar, *who once more*
Shall Golden days bring to th' Auſonian *Land,*
I'th Kingdoms where old Saturn *did command.*

All therefore, that can be with any reaſon gather'd from the allegation, which he hath in a word made of the *Cumæan Prophecy*, is, that being carry'd away (as well as others of his time) with the common perſwaſion, that the Oracles, which were kept at *Rome*, in the place of the *Cumæan*, and, upon that occaſion, went under their name, contained the Fate as well of that City, which pretended to Eternity, as of the Univerſe; and conſequently were to regulate both, till the return of the great *Platonical* year, which ſhould reinſtate the world in the felicity of the Age of *Saturn*; and accordingly, to flatter the growing power of *Auguſtus*, and to heighten with extravagant hopes the Ambition of *Pollio*, one of his greateſt Benefactours, and moſt intimate Friends: he ſeems to have held it, as a thing moſt manifeſt, that that Age, crown'd with peace and glory, would be reſtored under the Monarchy of *Auguſtus*, and take its Commencement from the Conſulſhip of *Pollio*.

The Emperour, proſecuting his deſign, ſaies, Virgil *is not ſatisfied with this, but preſſing farther, there being a neceſſity of his Teſtimony, what hath he more to ſay?* " This ſacred Order of Ages is rais'd for us, the " Virgin comes, the ſecond time conducting the deſirable King. *Who then ſhall be the returning Virgin; but ſhe, who is full of, and hath conceived by the Divine Spirit? And who hinders, but that the Virgin, who hath conceived, and is full of the Divine Spirit, ſtill is, and continues a Virgin? He will alſo come the ſecond time, and upon his coming will comfort the Univerſe.* To this I anſwer;

First,

First, That there is a great distance between the *Greek* and the *Latine*, which (as it were particularly, to point at the great Revolution of the *Platonick*-Year, and the Restauration of the *Saturnian* Age, and to discard all other speculations) spoke thus much,

——— *Now Time's great order's born again,*
The Maid returns, and the Saturnian *reign*;

So that (to render it exactly) it should have been written, Ἄγεται Κρόνου βασιλῆα, or Κρόνῳ βασιλείαν.

Secondly, That, though the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed *Mother* of our Lord and Saviour, and the *Conception* of that great *Saviour by the Holy Spirit*, and his happy return at the last Judgment, ought to be acknowledg'd by all the World: yet doth it not thence follow; that *Virgil* had any knowledg thereof, and much less, that he spoke ought of it. Besides, that in rigour it cannot be said of the Blessed *Virgin-Mother*; that she *return'd* into the World, when she Conceiv'd our *Saviour*: so as that, having been before upon Earth, she had been absent from it; to the end, she might *return* thither again *in the fulness of time*; or haply, that, having been brought forth once before, she was snatch'd out of it, and then *return'd* again into the World by a second Production: and consequently, That, which way soever it be taken, this Imagination will still have a savour of *Origenism*, if not some thing worse. Gal. 4. 4.

To conclude therefore: since it is impossible, without great Inconveniences, to adapt to the sacred *Virgin* this Discourse of *Virgil*; who neither did, nor could have thought of her: there will arise a necessity to acknowledg, that the Phantasie of this poor blinded *Prophet* amounted to no more, then that the *Kingdom of Saturn* being to be restor'd, the celebrated *Virgin* of the *Heathens* (that is, *Urania*, or *Astræa*) would *return*. Of whom *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*, had written; That, *at the Commencement of the Iron-Age, the Virgin* Astræa, *the last of the Celestial Deities, had relinquished the Earth, flowing with Blood.* So that, in the pretended *Prophecy* of *Virgil*, there is no other *Virgin* to be sought; but (*a*) *Astarte*, or *Hastoreth*, and *Asaroth*, and *Atargatis*, that famous Goddess of the *Sidonians*, which (*b*) *Salomon* ador'd in his old age: which the (*c*) antient *Idolaters* of *Israel*, and (*d*) *Apuleius*, and (*e*) *Varro*, and the (*f*) *Romanes* in general called the *Queen of Heaven*: which *Philo Biblianus*, in (*g*) *Eusebius*, affirms (taking it from *Sanchoniathon* of *Berytus*) to have been the daughter of *Uranus*, Sister to *Rhea* and *Dione*, and one of the *Wives* of *Cronus* or *Saturn*, her Brother by the Father's side. For to her it is, that he particularly gives the Title of *Virgin*. (*h*) *Tertullian* calls her the *Celestial Virgin, who promiseth rain*; (*i*) St. *Augustine*, *the Celestial Virgin worshipped by the Carthaginians*; (*k*) *Apuleius* (an *African* also, and a most superstitious Adorer of this imaginary Deity) *the Virgin, which sumptuous Carthage serves, who riding on a Lion ascended to Heaven*: upon which account it is, that in the antient *Medals* of *Severus*, and *Caracalla*, she is represented riding on a *Lion*. And (*l*) *Lucian*, who proposes her under the name of *the Goddess Tyria*, or *Juno of Hierapolis*, says, (in two several places) that *Lions* carry her; which is affirm'd also by (*m*) *Macrobius*. Metam. l. 1. v. 2. Satyr. 2.

(a) עשתרת (b) 1 King. 11. 5. (c) Jer. 7. 18. 44. 17. 25. (d) *Lib* 9. (e) *De Ling. Lat.* lib. 4. (f) *P. Victor in descript. Regionis* 12. (g) *De præp.* lib. 1. cap. 10. Θυγατέρα αὐτῆς, παρθενον Ἀστάρτην. (h) *Apol.* c. 23. (i) *De Civit. Dei.* l. 2. c. 4. (k) *Lib* 9. (l) *De Dea Syria.* (m) *Saturn.* lib. 1. cap. 23.

CHAP. XIV.

Remarks of ſome leſs Conſiderable Miſtakes of the Emperour Conſtantine, *in the Explication of* Virgil's *fourth* Eclogue.

THe Obſervations, which we have made of theſe Principal Miſtakes of the plain-dealing Emperour *Conſtantine*, were enough, to take off the Credit of what other Conjectures he may have made upon the *Poem* of *Virgil*: yet, to make his Miſapprehenſions the more apparent, I ſhall not think much to add theſe further Remarks.

He ſays, in the firſt place, "That the *Poet* had written; That *Altars were to be erected, the Temples to be adorn'd, and Sacrifices to be offered to the new-born childe*: but there is not a Syllable to this purpoſe in all the *Eclogue*. Then he is deceiv'd again; when he conceives it is of the ſame *new-born childe*, that the *Poet* ſaid; *He ſhall lead the life of the incorruptible God*: for, beſides that the *Latine* hath it, *Ille Deûm vitam accipiet, The life of the Gods*; it is moſt evident, that the words of theſe Verſes, and the two next enſuing, were by the Authour applied to *Auguſtus*: under whom had happened the Birth he ſo much celebrated. As to theſe inſinuating Expreſſions, *The Flocks ſhall not be afraid of the great Lions; The Serpent ſhall be cruſh'd, and the noiſome Plant deſtroy'd; Aſſyrian Amomum grows every where*; upon occaſion whereof the Emperour obſerves, that, *The Faith ſhall not be daunted at the greatneſs of Royal Courts*; that, *The Serpent, and Death, are overcome by* Jeſus Chriſt; that, *The Church ſhall ſpread it ſelf* from *Syria* all the world over: I ſo acknowledg the undeniable Truths of thoſe Remarks; as, while I admit them, to affirm withall, that they have not been rationally deduced. For *Virgil*, having no more in his fancy, then to promiſe the Reign of *Auguſtus* the felicity of that of *Saturn*, makes a *Deſcription* of the Advantages thereof, ſuitable to the imagination, which the *Heathens* had of the firſt Race of men, and their Lives: ſo, as they are repreſented by (a) *Ovid*, when he ſays;

(a) *Metam.* I.

* *Sandys.*

* *The yet-free Earth did, of her own accord,*
(Untorn with Ploughs) all ſorts of Fruit afford.
—Warm Zephirus *ſweetly blew*
On ſmiling Flowers; which without ſetting grew.
Forthwith the Earth Corn, unmanured, bears;
And every year renews her golden Ears.
With Milk and Nectar were the Rivers fill'd;
And Hony from green Holly-Oaks diſtill'd.

Add to this; That, from the Analogie, and reſemblance, there may be between the *Deſcriptions* of *Heathen Poets*, and thoſe we finde in the *Scripture*, (where we read, that, under the Reign of the *Meſſias*, (b) *There ſhall be a handfull of Corn ſown upon the Top of the Mountains; the Fruit whereof ſhall ſhake like Lebanon, and the People of the Cities ſhall flouriſh like Graſs of the Earth*; and, (c) *The Wolf alſo ſhall dwell with the Lamb;*

(b) *Pſal.* 72. 16.

(c) *Iſa.* 11. 6, 7 8, 9. and 65. 25.

Lamb; and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid; and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together; and a little childe shall lead them: And the Cow, and the Bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the Lion shall eat straw like the Ox: And the sucking childe shall play on the hole of the Asp, and the weaned childe shall put his hand on the Cockatrice's den; they shall not hurt, nor destroy:) there is not any ground to conclude; That the Idolatrous Writers had any sentiment of the future; and, That they themselves, or their *Sibyls*, were Divinely-inspir'd: becaufe there seems to be a consonancy, as to the Words and Sense, between them and the *Prophets*. For, besides that the *Bible* was Translated into *Greek*, two hundred and nine years before the Birth of *Virgil*, the Writings of the *Prophets* had not been, even before, absolutely kept from the knowledg of the *Gentiles*. Nay, it being supposed, that, having had some acquaintance with the *Prophetical* Oracles, they might have adapted the words thereof to the *Description* of their Mythological *Golden Age* under the Reign of *Saturn*; and apply'd to things *past'd* what the Spirit of God denounc'd as *to come:* there were not any inconvenience at all; provided it be remembred, that these People have not pronounc'd the Sentences of Celestial Predictions otherwise, then as *Parrats*, without meaning, or aiming at, any thing thereby; but to heighten their particular Fancies with something, that were strange and borrow'd. Thus it is more then probable, that *Virgil*, for example, (it being granted, he had seen somewhat of the *Prophecy* of *Esay* in the *Greek*) having no other design, then in *Hyperbolical* Terms to express his wishes for the Prosperity of *Augustus*'s Reign, and the Felicity of his Friend *Pollio*, had no more in his Fancy, then the restauration of the *Saturnian Age*; and accordingly makes a *Description* of it, not onely suitable to that of *Ovid*, in the first Book of his *Metamorphoses*; where, to represent the Tranquillity of the first Inhabitants of the Earth, not interrupted by any trouble, and that, (as yet) there was no object of Fear, he says; that it was not, *till the coming in of the* Iron-*Age, that Poison began first to be mingled, War to be made*, &c. and that, *after the Deluge, the Earth first brought forth Monsters, and among others*, Python; *whose Serpentine Figure was unknown to the new Race of People:* but also in a manner the very same, with what he makes himself elsewhere; *viz.* in the first of his *Georgicks*, speaking of *Jupiter*;

Before Jove's *time*, &c. *J. O.*
All common was, and, of her own accord,
The Earth full plenty freely did afford.
He to foul Serpents deadly Poison gave,
Commanded Wolves to prey, and Seas to rave,
Robb'd leaves of Hony, Fire conceal'd, and Wine,
Which ran before in Rivers, did confine:
That various Arts by Study might be wrought
Up to their height: ——

For, having the same *Idæa* in his mind, his desire was to make a *Pastoral* Representation of it; speaking of the Security of the Flocks, and the cessation of the Production of *Serpents*, and *venemous* Plants: never minding, whether any such thing had been written by any other, upon some

ſome other account. All therefore he would have ſaid amounts but to this; that as (according to the Opinion of his Time) there had been neither *Serpents*, nor *Poiſons*, nor *hurtfull* Creatures, nor *War*, under *Saturn*: ſo there ſhould not be any of all theſe under *Auguſtus*: and, conſequently, there is no more Myſterie in what he writes in his Fourth *Eclogue*; that,

Every where Aſſyrian *Roſes grow,*
——— *And the unpruned Thorn*
Shall dangling Grapes with purple Cluſters fill:

then when he ſaid, in the Third,

Such Joys as thine, who loves thee, Pollio, *ſhare;*
For him flows Hony, Shrubs Amomum bear.

For no body needs be told, that the fertility of *Briers* and *Thorns* in bearing *Roſes* and *Grapes* is much alike, and that there were no leſs Miracle in one then in the other.

As to what *Conſtantine* adds, That the *Poet, having exclaim'd againſt the War, and Towers,* or *Fortreſſes, hath deſcrib'd the Saviour engaging in the War of* Troy, and that, in his *Eclogue*, Troy ſignifies *the world*; I cannot but ſo much the more pity, the more apparent it is, that he conſidered not the whole diſcourſe, on which his ſpeculation is grounded. For firſt, *Virgil* does not exclaim onely at *War* and *Fortifications* of places, but alſo at *Navigation* and *Agriculture*, things moſt innocent, not to ſay neceſſary, if not to the being, at leaſt to the convenience of mens being in the world.

2 He ſpeaks not of the *War of Troy*, otherwiſe then by way of example, as he had propoſed in matter of *Navigation*, the expedition of the *Argonauts*, and alledged thoſe two facts, as two illuſtrious Arguments of that great Revolution, which he ſuppoſed muſt have followed that of the *Platonical* year, and began under the Monarchy of *Auguſtus*.

3 If by *War of Troy* he had meant the conqueſt of the World by our Saviour, he would certainly have excepted it out of the number of thoſe (*wars*) which, in his judgement, deſerved to be exclaimed at: and if he was unwilling (which he could not have denyed without crime) to celebrate it with its due praiſes, he would not have preſumed to accuſe, and put it into the rank of things condemnable. But having deteſted all *Navigation* and *Wars* abſolutely, he (to confine himſelf to ſome known fact) alledges the voyage of *Tiphys* and the *Argonauts* to *Colchos*, and the going of *Achilles* to the *Trojan wars*: who yet was not General in the *Grecian* Expedition, but went under the command of *Agamemnon*, and did not conquer *Troy*, but died before the taking of it. Whence it is manifeſt, he could not be any way taken for a Type of our Saviour, who was not under the charge of any other Chief, but hath onely been known by the Title of (a) *Captain of the hoſt of the Lord*; nor ever made uſe of any Army for the Conqueſt of the world, but hath effected it (b) *by himſelf*; nor (c) *came into the world to judge and deſtroy the world* (as *Achilles* went to *Troy* to lay it deſolate; but *to ſave it, and to* (d) *reconcile it to God by his blood.*

(a) Joſh. 5.14.
(b) Heb. 1. 3. Luke 19. 12.
(c) Jo. 3. 17. 12. 47.
(d) 2 Cor. 5. 19. Epheſ. 2. 13. Coloſ. 1. 20.

So *Virgil* ſays, that the equipping of Fleets for Sea, and the undertaking of Wars would be *diſcoveries of the ancient fraud*; that *another*

Tiphys

Tiphys *ſhould undertake the Conduct of another* Argo; and, that *the great* Achilles *ſhould be once more ſent to* Troy; to ſhew, that he was far from approving any thing of War: and particularly, that he accounted not the Deſigns of *Tiphys* and *Achilles* among the commendable; but among the criminal Enterpriſes of the *Iron-Age* of old. So that thoſe, who think, that (under the Coverture of theſe borrowed Names) his Deſign was to ſpeak of the ſpiritual War between the *Saviour* of the World and the *Devil*, imagining by that means to make him a *Prophet* of his Victory, make him a *Blaſphemer* of his Majeſty; from which he muſt notoriouſly derogate, by making a parallel between the glory of his admirable Combat, and the *remainders of the antient Fraud.*

He had repreſented the Felicity of *Auguſtus*'s Reign ſo great; that *all parts of the Earth ſhould bear all kinds of Fruits,* and that there would be no farther uſe of Cultivation. Upon which *Conſtantine,* (who ſhould have remembred, that this Fiction was onely a *Paſtoral Hyperbole,* grounded on the antient *Mythologie* of the *Saturnian-Age,* wreſting thoſe Words to his own advantage, asked, *Whether any one, in his Wits, could imagine this of the Race of men, and of a childe born of a man; What reaſon there was that the Earth ſhould be without ſowing and labouring, and the Vine ſhould not feel the Pruning-hook, and be exempted from other huſbandry; How it could be conceived, that that was ſaid of humane Race, that Nature, who is ſubſervient to the Ordinance of God, ſhould be the Executreſs of the command of man:* inferring from all this, that the *joy of the Elements,* deſcribed by the *Poet,* ſignified *the deſcent of a God, not the conception of ſome man.*

I anſwer, that *Nature* indeed does not properly ow Obedience to any word, but that of its Authour; that in effect the Earth, ſince the Fall of man, never was, nor ever will be, without need of Cultivation; and that no body either could, or can imagine, that it hath, or ought to be in that condition, without renouncing his Reaſon. But I think it withall as true, that it is no leſs an Errour to deny; that the *Heathens* were guilty of ſuch an Imagination, as believing, and peremptorily writing, that to the firſt Race of men, under the *Golden-Age,* all things happened according to their Wiſhes, without any trouble, and that the ſame Happineſs would infallibly return: and it having been the particular Suppoſition of *Virgil*; that it would happen, not onely under *Auguſtus,* but for his ſake, it were a ſtrange courſe, to cure the extravagance of his Imagination, which was in effect abſurd and groundleſs, to bring it into queſtion (contrary to the plain matter of Fact) whether he ever had any ſuch, and thereupon convert his Diſcourſe into *Allegories,* which he never dream'd of.

Virgil, concluding his *Poem,* had ſaid, ſpeaking to *Pollio*'s little Son, *Ecl.* 4.

Begin, ſweet Babe, with Smiles thy Mother know,
Who ten long Months did with thy burthen go:
Sweet Babe, begin; whoſe Smiles ne'r Parents bleſt;
No Goddeſs grants him Bed, no God a Feaſt.

Which words, as they had a formal relation to the *Heatheniſh* Opinion; that the *Sun,* and *Moon* (together with *Love,* and *Neceſſity*) are the two principal Deities, which preſide at the Birth of men: ſo they ſhew'd, that

that *Pollio*'s Wife, who had been very much indiſpoſed during her Pregnancy, ſhould, after her Delivery, make her ſelf known to her childe by her joy; that that Joy was, as it were, the Earneſt of the child's Bleſſing; as it were a ſignification of Misfortune to him, if his Parents were not joyfull at his Birth.

But the *Emperour*, transforming the Diſcourſe of *Virgil* according to his own way, makes him ſay, *Begin, laughing, and lifting up thy ſight, to know thy Mother, who ſhould be dear to thee: for ſhe hath carried thee in her womb many years: thy Parents have not ſmiled on thee at all, thou haſt not been put in a Couch, nor had ſplendid Banquet.* Whereupon he adds, by way of Comment upon it, *How have not the Parents ſmiled on this childe? Certainly, it was becauſe he, who begot him, is a certain Power, that hath no Qualities; nor can be figured by the delineation of other things; nor hath a humane body. Now, who knows not, that, being a holy Spirit, it can have no experience of Coitions? And what inclination, and deſire, can be imagined in the diſpoſition of that good, with a greedineſs whereof all things are inflamed? Or what compliance is there between Wiſdom and Pleaſure? But let theſe things be ſaid onely by thoſe, who introduce, I know not what, humane generation of God, and endeavour not to cleanſe their minds of every bad Word, and Work.*

What a ſmall matter needs there to divert men from the Truth; ſince the pure Imagination of a Myſtery, where there is not any, is able to do it. Certain it is, that, as *God the Father* hath neither Qualities, nor Figure, nor Body, nor Paſſions, nor Deſires; ſo the eternal Generation of his *Word* hath nothing common with that of men. But nothing of all this coming to the knowledg of *Virgil*, and his words neither expreſſing, nor capable of expreſſing it; (ſince the *Greek*, properly ſpeaking, is a corruption of the *Latine*,) which tended to no other end, then to promiſe Happineſs to *Pollio*'s young Son: to what purpoſe have ſome thought to *Philoſophize*, as they have done? For there had been no occaſion given, had they not altered the Senſe, by ſuppoſing (as many have done) that *Pollio*'s little childe had *laughed* aſſoon as he was born; and that, upon that extraordinary Laughter, the whole Prediction of his Happineſs had been grounded; and imagining, that *Virgil* had ſaid of the child's Laughter what he meant of the Mother's; as alſo that ſhe had *born him ſeveral years*; and that, he was not deſcended of Parents, ſubject to, either any inclination to Laughter, or the natural neceſsity of Sleep and Reſt. For ſhould that Great man have returned to Earth again, he might with reaſon have ſaid to *Conſtantine*, what St. *Auguſtine* ſaid ſince to *Julian* the *Pelagian*; *Reſtore me my Words, and thy dreaming Imaginations will vaniſh.*

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

That it cannot be ſaid, That Virgil, *in his Fourth* Eclogue, *diſguiſed his own Sentiment.*

THe ſame thing may alſo be ſaid of the ſame *Emperour*'s ſuppoſing; that the *Poet* ſpake *Figuratively*, and *diſguiſed the Truth, out of a fear, that any of the Potentates of the Royal City ſhould charge him with writing againſt the Laws of his Country, and derogating from what had ſometime been the ſentiment of his Anceſtours concerning the Gods*; and, that he wiſhed the prolongation of his own life, *to ſee the coming* of our *Saviour*. For, as it happened (about three hundred years ſince) that the Poet *Dante*, mov'd by an Admiration of that incomparable Wit, would needs deliver him out of his Hell; in like manner, the good opinion *Conſtantine* had conceived of him, hath made him read in his *Poem*, what indeed is not in it, out of ſuch an Imagination, as thoſe have, who, looking up to the Clouds, think they ſee ſuch and ſuch Figures therein. And thence comes it, that he hath ſpoken ſo much to his advantage; though without any ground, either in Truth it ſelf, or indeed, in the very outward Dreſs of his Work, which was not done according to the certain Pattern of any antient Oracle of the *Sibyls*, nor yet to the eight Books now extant among us, and which were writ above one hundred fourſcore and ſix years after the *Conſulſhip* of *Pollio*; but was deſign'd, onely to expreſs the deſire, which *Virgil* had to comply with *Auguſtus*, and *Pollio*, and to inſinuate more and more into their Favour. Whereupon I conclude; That the antient *Paganiſm* (what Opinion ſoever *Conſtantine*, and others, may have had to the contrary) hath not given any Teſtimony, either in favour of theſe pretended *Sibylline* Oracles, which openly oppoſe *Idolatry*; or yet to confirm the perſwaſion, which the *Fathers* have had thereof.

Chap. XVI.

That Apollodorus *had no knowledg of the Eight Books, called the* Sibylline.

FOr to think (with the generality of modern *Chriſtians*) that *Apollodorus*, the *Erythræan*, had ſeen the Third Book; becauſe (as (a) *Lactantius* obſerves from *Varro*) he had affirmed of the *Erythræan Sibyl*; That *ſhe was of his City*; and that, *ſhe had Prophecied to the* Greeks, *going to* Ilium, *that* Troy *ſhould be deſtroyed*; and, *that* Homer *ſhould write Lies*: is a manifeſt abuſe. The Words we read to this purpoſe, are theſe; (a) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 7.

(b) *Lib.* 3. pag. 28.

(b) Ἴλιον, οἰκτείρω σε, &c.

Troy, *I compassionate thy Miseries:*
A (c) *fair* Erinnys *shall from* Sparta *rise;*
Which Europe, *and the* Asian *Realms will vex,*
But thee, 'bove all, with many Woes perplex;
Her self much crown'd with Fame, that never dies.
An (d) *Aged Man, Authour of many Lies,*
Shall flourish next, of unknown Country, blind
His Eyes; but of a clear, quick-sighted Mind.
He his conceptions into Verse shall frame,
And what he writes, stile with (e) *a double Name;*
Profess himself a Chian, *and declare*
Th' Affairs of Ilium, *not as they were,*
Yet clear, both in my Words and Verse; for he
The first, that looks into my Works, shall be.

(c) *Helene.*

(d) *Homer.*

(e) *Ilium* & *Ulysses*, in the *Iliads* and the *Odysseis.*

This, I say, is a manifest Mistake. For

First, It is no hard matter to imagine, that the *Impostour*, who composed the Eight Books of the *Sibyls*, and had impudently taken upon him the name of *Wife to* Noah's *Son*, two hundred years after the Death of *Varro*; who died, according to *Eusebius*, in the seven hundred twenty and sixth year of *Rome*, (*f*) might at his ease, and long enough before, have read what he had alledged out of *Apollodorus*, who was more antient, whether in his *Latine*, or in the *Greek* Text of *Apollodorus*; and that he could do no less, for his own Reputation, then produce, as a probable Argument of his pretended Antiquity, what he had found in him.

(f) Twenty seven years before our *Saviour*, and nine years before the Death of *Virgil.*

Secondly, For that *Apollodorus*, who attests of the *Erythræan Sibyl*; that she was *born in his City*, and acknowledged a *Native* thereof, whether by common Report, or upon the Credit of her Writings, could not have said any such thing of our Counterfeit *Sibyls* who says she *came from Babylon*, and was *Noah's Daughter-in-law*, and formally denyes, that she was by Country an *Erythræan*, and charges the *Greeks* with Imposture, for presuming to derive her thence. A manifest Argument; that *Apollodorus* could not ground his pretension on her contradictory Testimony: but that the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, having seen (as being later by many Ages) what he had written, took occasion to oppose it, as incompatible with his Fiction.

Thirdly, For that she quarrels with the *Greeks*; for having said, of her, things, which not any one in particular could be convinced to have affirmed: to wit, That she was the *Daughter of* Circe, *and, by Father, of* Gnostus; for all those among the Antients, who have left any thing behind them, have made the *Erythræan Sibyl*, the *Daughter of* Jupiter, or *of* Apollo *and* Lamia, or *of* Aristocrates *and* Hydole, or *of* Crinagoras, or, in fine, *of the Shepherd* Theodorus *and the Nymph* Idea; and not any one, *of Circe*: besides, that indeed they could not have done it without Absurdity. For, how could it have come into their minds, to make her born at *Erythræ*, a City of *Asia*; if they had thought her the Daughter of *Circe*, by Nation an *Italian*, born, and dwelling near *Rome*, upon the Mount called, to this day, by her name, *Monte Circello?*

I pass

I pass by (as of less Consequence) the Stupidity of that pretended *Propheteſs*, who (to put a slur on the reputation of *Homer*) betrayed her own Ignorance; saying, *That* Homer *should write not truly, but clearly, of* Ilium; *because he should see her Works*. For, who will say, they are things incompatible, *To say the Truth*, and, *To speak clearly?* Are they, who speak Truth, necessarily obliged to conceal themselves; and *Liers*, to discover themselves? Or, can it be said, that the Consequence is good, *He hath my Verses*; therefore, *He shall not speak the Truth*: unless it be presupposed, that those Verses are full of Untruths, and teach him, that hath them, to Lie? But the Books, pretended to be writ by the *Sibyls* (though they have for these fourteen hundred years, and still do, dazle the eyes of many) swarm with such Impertinences.

Chap. XVII.

That Pausanias *hath not written any thing, which may give credit to the Books, mis-named the* Sibylline.

NOr is there any more reason, we should take the Discourse of (a) *Pausanias*, who says, *The Isle of the* Rhodians *hath been much shaken; so that the* Oracle *of the* Sibyl, *which had been given concerning* Rhodes, *is come to pass*, for any confirmation of what the pretended *Sibyl* had writ in two several places, (b) *The greatest unhappiness, that may be, shall happen to the* Rhodians. For he speaks of the *Earth-quake*, which happened in that *Isle*, almost two Ages before, under *Augustus*; soon after which *Tiberius* had in a manner raised it again, through his (c) continual Residence therein, from the year of *Rome* 748. to the year 755. (upon which account it is, that the *Epigram* of *Antiphilus* calls him its *Restorer*;) and the pretended *Sibyl* (d) threatens it with a Ruin, to come at the end of the World; when *Rome*, having accomplished its Period, nine hundred fourty and eight years, shall be so destroyed by *Nero*, returned from *Persia*, that it shall become ῥύμη, that is to say, *a street*, Delos *shall be no more*, and *Samos* be turned into an *Heap of Sand*. Which may serve to justifie the mistake of *Tertullian*; who, thrusting into his Book *De Pallio* these last words, dis-joynted from the Precedent and Consequent, applies them to that Desolation of those *Isles*, which reached to his Time; saying, *Of the Isles*, Delos *no longer is*; Samos *is become Sand*; *and the* Sibyl *is no Lier*: whereas he should necessarily have concluded; That she had lyed, in referring to the end of the World, and of *Rome*, what had happened long before; as also, that all the eight Books, in three whereof the Mis-fortune of that *Isle* was recapitulated in the same Terms, were (contrary to the Opinion, since embraced by *Lactantius*) the Draught of one and the same hand.

(a) *Corinthior.* lib. 2. pag. 47.

(b) *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 38. & *lib.* 8. *pag.* 54.

(c) *Dio*, lib. 55. *Paterc.* lib. 2.

(d) See *lib.* 3. *pag.* 27. & *lib* 4 *pag.* 38. & *lib.* 8. *pag.* 59. And these fine allusions: Ῥώμη, ῥύμη· Δῆλος, ἄδηλος· Σάμος, ἄμμος.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the Prohibition, *made to read the Books, called the* Sibylline, *and that of* Hyſtaſpes, *adds no Authority thereto.*

(a) *Apol. 2. pag. 82.*

THere is yet leſs ground to rely on the Words of (a) *Juſtine Martyr*, writing to the Emperours; *Through the working of Evil Spirits, is it come, that it is forbidden, upon pain of Death, to read the Books of* Hyſtaſpes, *or the* Sibyl, *or the* Prophets; *that ſo thoſe, who read them, might, by fear, be diverted from taking cognizance of good things: for we not onely read them without any fear; but alſo (as you ſee) we recommend them to your inſpection, knowing they would be acceptable to you all. Yet, if we perſwade but a little, we gain much; for that, as good Labourers, we ſhall receive a reward from the Maſter.* For though we may (with ſome likelyhood) conjecture, that the Antient *Prohibition*, to read the *Prophetical Books*, was much more ſtrictly obſerved, after the diſcovery of the forged *Pieces* of *Hyſtaſpes*, and the *Sibyl*, among the *Heathens*; and that they had a particular averſion for thoſe, who gave credit thereto: Yet is there not found in their Books any Law to that purpoſe; nor does it appear, that they made it much their buſineſs to prevent the reading of thoſe Writings, which they, juſtly, eſteemed *Suppoſititious*, and ſuch, as had never been among their *Archivi*; nor yet that they decreed any Puniſhment to be inflicted on the Readers, and Admirers, of the *Prophets* of *Iſrael*: ſince the exerciſe of the *Jewiſh* Religion had been always tolerated in the *Empire*, and the *Synagogues* were continued every where. And, if the liberty of ſuch, as were inclined to *Judaiſm*, was leſs, after the tumult of *Barchochebas*, and the whole Nation more hated: yet did not that Hatred occaſion the interdiction of the *Prophetical* Books; but onely the Baniſhment of the natural *Jews* out of *Paleſtine*, and ſome addition to their Taxes. And, as *Juſtine* neither ſays, nor could have ſaid, That the *Prohibition*, made to read the *Fatidick Books* in the *Empire*, was more particularly levelled againſt the *Chriſtians*, then others; ſince it was ſo general, that it comprehended all Nations under the *Romane* Juriſdiction, without diſtinction or exception; and that it is manifeſt, it was done upon occaſion of the Books laid up firſt *in the Capitol*, and afterwards *under the Baſe of Apollo Palatinus*: So was there not any ground to imagine, that it proceeded from the ſuggeſtion of Devils rather, then from a deep Political Prudence; which very rationally apprehended, that theſe *Oracles*, for which the Common People, though they knew them not, had ſo great an eſteem, upon this very account, that they introduced Novelties into the antient Superſtition, and (if I may ſo expreſs it) clad it in a new Dreſs, notoriouſly derogated from the *Cuſtomes*, derived from Father to Son, were likely to fill mens minds with fruitleſs Curioſities, and (as *Cicero* ſays) *Valebant ad deponendas Religiones.*

As for the *Suppoſititious* Pieces of *Hyſtaſpes*, and the *Sibyl*; which, under pretence of teaching the Worſhip of one God, and recommend-

ing

ing unto men the Myſteries of *Chriſtian* Religion, filled it with falſe Opinions, and raiſed upon ſome ſound Foundations a mud-wall of *Chimeras*: the *Heathens* juſtly laughed at them. Every one (whatever *Juſtine Martyr*, and many others, imitating him, might think) was obliged to believe it an *Artifice of the Devil*, ſuggeſting it into the minds of ſome beſotted Zealots, to lie, that the Truth might be believed, and (according to the Obſervation of Saint *Paul*) (b) *do evil, that good might come of it.* And a compliance with ſo unworthy an *Impoſture*, and the confidence to produce it (as *Juſtine*, and others, out of ſimplicity, did,) ſhould not have ſatisfied any, that would have adviſed, ever ſo little, with Reaſon. For St. *Juſtine* himſelf, minding things more calmly, might eaſily have perceived; Firſt, That he miſtook, as well the *Prohibition*, made by the *Romanes*, to read the *Fatidick Books*, as the *Motive* of it. Secondly, That he was as much to blame, in applying it to the *Oracles*, lately forged. Thirdly, That the *Heathens* never had them in their poſſeſſion, nor knew of them. Which makes me wonder; how it hath been, or can be poſſible, for any *Chriſtian* to entertain a perſwaſion; that the ſight of ſuch *adulterate* Pieces ſhould contribute to the advancement of true Piety: when the account of their Extraction is as flat, and impudent; as if ſome *Jew*, having lately forged VVritings, full of criminal Accuſations againſt the *Saviour* of the World, ſhould maintain to the very faces of the *Chriſtians*, That he found them in the *New Teſtament*; That the *Apoſtles* were the Authors thereof; and, That the *Church* (having always had them in her cuſtody) hath concealed them, out of very ſhame for the *Impoſture* of him, whom ſhe adores. But as, to prevail any thing with the *Jews*, the way were not, to preſs them with *Apocryphal* Revelations of unknown *Prophets*, feigned to have been of their Nation; for that ſuch an *Impoſture* would be ſo far from convincing them, that it would exaſperate them againſt the Authours of it; And again, as, for the pulling down of *Mahumetiſm*, it were no Prudence to bring in (as from *Mahomet*) a new *Alcoran*, directly oppoſite to his *Cheat*: So was there not any probable reaſon, for any to promiſe themſelves, from the *ſuppoſititiouſneſs* of the Books of *Hyſtaſpes*, and the *Sibyl*, any other of the *Heathens*, then a more inveterate deteſtation of *Chriſtianity*; ſome Profeſſours thereof being engaged in ſo wicked a Deſign, and that with ſo ſtrange and incredible confidence, againſt them. Accordingly, was it not God's pleaſure, that any good ſhould be the effect of ſuch an *Impoſture*; for it filled men (not provided againſt ſuch Surpriſes) with erroneous Prejudications, and brought into repute, among the firſt *Chriſtians*, the extravagant Imagination of the *Millenaries*, and filled their minds with vain and ſottiſh Conceptions of the *World to come*.

(b) Rom. 3. 8.

CHAP. XIX.

That the Letter written by L. Domitius Aurelianus *to the Senate, gives no Credit to the* Sibylline *Writings.*

NOr can we, laſtly, derive any recommendation of the eight Books of theſe falſe *Oracles*, which have been preſerved even to our Times, from the *Letter*, which the Emperour *Aurelian*, engaged in the *Marcomannick* War, writ to the *Senate*, in the year of *Chriſt*, two hundred and ſeventy one; ſaying, (a) *I cannot but wonder, (Holy Fathers) you have been ſo long time in doubt, whether the Books of the* Sibyls *ſhould be opened; as if you were to treat in ſome* Chriſtian *Church, and not in the Temple of all the gods.* For, though Cardinal (b) *Baronius* (who writes *Valerian* for *Aurelian*) infers thence; That *it was not ſafe for the* Chriſtians, *to read, and ſearch into the* Sibylline *Books:* as if that *Prohibition*, which had been made five hundred and fourſcore years before our *Saviour*, had concerned them more, then others; and that the *Church* had ever had an inclination to look into ſuch Ordures: Yet is it moſt certain, that *Aurelian* meant not the eight Books we now have againſt *Idolatry*; but thoſe, which the *Quindecem-viri* had in their Cuſtody, under the *Baſe* of *Apollo Palatinus*, in favour of *Idolatry*; and that there is a thouſand times more reaſon, to conclude from his *Letter*, what (c) *M. Petavius*, the *Jeſuit*, hath very well obſerved, to wit, That *the* Chriſtians *had an horrour for the reading of ſuch prophane Books in their Churches*, where they permitted not the reading even of the *Apocryphal* Books, excluded out of the *Canon* of the *Bible*; as the *Council* of (d) *Laodicea* hath ſince expreſly decreed. The *Emperour* ſays then, "That the Delay of the *Senate* had been excuſable in an Aſſembly of *Chriſtians*; who could not have touched "Books that taught *Idolatry*, but with an extreme remorſe, and would "have thought it an intolerable pollution of the Purity of the *Church* "to introduce thoſe execrable Monuments into it: but, that there "ſhould no ſuch ſcruple ariſe in the minds of an Aſſembly, conſiſting of "perſons, wholly devoted to the Worſhip of the gods, and met toge-"ther in their common Temple. Accordingly Cardinal *Baronius*, as it were, came to himſelf, and to perſwade us, that no good could be expected from the *Sibylline Oracles*, acknowledges, (e) That *the Heatheniſh* Prieſts, *being greater Enemies then all others, under a feigned pretence of Religion, had out of them taken occaſion to raiſe the Perſecution againſt the* Chriſtians. Which they could not have done, had they expreſly taught matters of Piety. And certainly this is remarkable, let there be as much ſearch, as may be, made in what *Hiſtories* relate of the Conſultations, which *Rome* from time to time held about them, it will be found; that ſhe never had any recourſe thereto, but the Conſequence was ſome new Abomination. For, if the Diſpute was of *Sacrificing*, after ſome extraordinary manner, to the *Infernal* gods, and inſtituting *Solemn Games* to them; if about ſending for the *Mother of the gods* from *Peſ-*

ſinus

(a) *Vopiſcus, in Aureliano.*

(b) *Appar. Sect.* 20.

(c) *Doct. Temp. lib.* 13. *ad A. D.* 271.

(d) *Can. ult.*

(e) *A. D.* 272. *Sect.* 20.

finus in *Phrygia*, and *Æſculapius* from *Epidaurus*, which is now *Raguſa*; or about *Sacrificing* a *Gaul* of either Sex, to appeaſe the Devils, under the Names of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Cybele*, *Saturn*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, &c. the Orders for it were taken out of them. (f) See *Varro*, (*De Lingua Latina*, lib. 5. *De Re Ruſtica*, lib. 1. cap. 1.) *Cicero*, (*Epiſt. Famil.* lib. 1. 7. & *Verrina* ult.) *Livy*, (*Decad.* 1. lib. 3, 4, 7, 10. *Decad.* 3. lib. 1, 2, 5, 9. *Decad.* 4. lib. 1, 5, 7, 10. *Decad.* 5. lib. 1, 2, 3, 5.) the *Epitome* of *Florus*, (*Decad.* 3. lib. 2, 9. *Decad.* 4. lib. 1. *Decad.* 6. lib. 9.) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, (lib. 1, 3, 10.) *Tacitus*, (*Annal.* 15.) *Solinus*, (cap. 7.) *Valerius Maximus*, (lib. 1. cap. 1, 9.) *Plutarch*, (in *Poplicola*, *Fabio Maximo*, *Mario*, &c. and his Book, entituled, *De iis, qui tardè à Numine corripiuntur*,) *Pauſanias*, (*Phocaic.* lib. 10.) *Capitolinus*, (in *Gordiano* Juniore) *Trebellius Pollio*, (in *Gallienis*) *Vopiſcus*, (in *Aureliano* & *Floriano*) *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, (in *Claudio*) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, (lib. 22, 23.) *Macrobius*, (*Saturnal.* lib. 1. cap. 17.) *Servius*, (upon *Æneid.* 6.) *Zoſimus*, (lib. 2.) & *Procopius*, (*Gothic.* lib. 1.)

(f) *Joſephus*, in the firſt of his *Antiquities* (chap. 5.) cites the words of a Pagan *Sibyl*; who ſays, *That the Gods having ſent Winds, overthrew the Tower, and gave to every one his own Language; and thence it happened, that the City was named* Babylon: which the Counterfeit *Sibyl* hath expreſſed in part, (*lib. 3. pag. 21.*) borrowing from *Joſephus*.

CHAP. XX.

Other Remarks of Forgery, tending to ſhew the Suppoſititiouſneſs of the Sibylline *Writing ſo called.*

SOme of the *Fathers*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who, in the firſt of his Books, entituled, *Stromata*, tranſcribes theſe three Verſes of an Idolatrous *Sibyl*;

Ὦ Δελφοὶ, θεράποντες ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
Ἦλθον ἐγὼ χρησθεῖσα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
Αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ κεχολωμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.

Ye, Delphians, *who* Apollo's *Servants are*,
To you great Jove's *mind I'me come to declare*,
Being with my Brother Phœbus *much incens'd.*

And (a) *Lactantius*, who acknowledges, that, after conſultation with the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Romanes* beſet themſelves to appeaſe *Ceres*, ſending Ambaſſadours to *Enna*, and had made ſearch in *Aſia* for the *Mother of the Gods*; and St. *Auguſtine*, (b) who takes notice of the Tranſportation of *Æſculapius*: might well (had they lai'd Prejudice aſide) have concluded; That the *Poems*, out of which they drew Proofs againſt *Idolatry*, though for no other reaſon, then that they were directly oppoſite to the *Oracles*, conſulted by the *Romanes*, could not be of the ſame Vein with thoſe antient *Sibyls*; which had been, for ſo many Ages, the Admiration of the *Heathen*, and the proper ground of their Superſtition. For how ſhould it come to paſs, that the ſame Mouth ſhould, at the ſame time, breath Life, and Death? They had alſo another very clear Proof; to wit, That not any thing of all, that is related

(a) *Lib. 2. cap. 4, 7.*

(b) Lib. *De Civitate Dei.*

related by the *Heathen*, as from the *Sibyls*, is, either as to the Substance, or in expreſs Terms, in the eight Books of the pretended *Daughter-in-law* of *Noah*. For where ſhall we finde, in all that ſimple *Rhapſody*, the leaſt Track of what (c) *Cicero*, and (d) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, and (e) *Livy*, and (f) *Suetonius*, and (g) *Solinus*, and (h) *Plutarch*, and (i) *Pauſanias*, and (k) *Dion*, and (l) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Zoſimus*, and *Procopius*, and (if you will) (m) *Lucian*, and *Euſtathius* (upon the *Deſcription of the Univerſe*, written by *Dionyſius* the *African*,) cite for *Sibylline*? And Saint *Auguſtine*, who had obſerved in his Book *Of Grammar*, that there were Τρία κάκιστα πάντων, *Three miſchievous* K. deſigned in the *Sibylline* Books; where could he have found them in theſe? Nay, they ſhould have thought it a violent preſumption of their *Suppoſititiouſneſs*; that not one of the *Heathens* ever cited, I will not ſay, one *Verſe*, or one *Hemiſtick*, but the leaſt conceit, taken out of theſe Books. For if (as is preſuppoſed) the *Romanes* had had them in their Cuſtody with the reſt; could they have always forborn to make ſome Mention, or give ſome Account of them?

But, to make it appear, that the *Chriſtians* had not any knowledg of the Pieces, which were in the Cuſtody of the *Quindecem-viri*; and, that the *Heathens* had never admitted any thing, of what the *Chriſtians* oppoſed thereto, as taken out of their Boſoms: excepting onely thoſe three *Verſes*, which we juſt now Tranſcribed out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (*Strom.* 1.) the three enſuing, cited by (n) *Theophilus* Arch-Biſhop of *Antioch*, againſt the *Generation of the Gods according to the* Heathen; *If they ſhould engender, and continue immortal, there would be more Gods generated, then men, and there would be no place left for Mortals, where they might ſubſiſt:* theſe two others, of the ſame Vein, copied by *Lactantius*, (o) *There will be Fire, and Darkneſs; when he ſhall come in the midſt of the black Night:* and (p) *Hear me, ye Mortals, the eternal King reigns:* and this Exclamation, in Proſe, attributed to the *Erythræan Sibyl* by (q) *Conſtantine* the Great, *Why (Lord) doſt thou impoſe on me a neceſſity of Prophecying, and doſt not reſerve me rather, raiſed up on high from the Earth, till thy bleſſed coming?* I ſay, beſides theſe four *Shreds*, there is not a *Verſe* produced by the antient *Chriſtians*, ſince *Juſtine Martyr*'s Time; which may not be read, either word for word, or in Terms equivalent, in the body of thoſe Eight Books attributed to the *Daughter-in-law* of *Noah*: which being mangled, and imperfect, in many places, nothing hinders; but that the Allegations of *Theophilus*, and *Lactantius*, might be drawn out of them. Now, what the *Fathers* have not derived, but from this ſource, clearly proves they knew not any other, and that it was not opened to them by the *Heathen*; who not onely drew not any thing out of it; but cryed out againſt it (aſſoon as ever it appeared) by their Charges of *Forgery* put in againſt it: as is apparent by the Words of (r) *Celſus*, ſaying to the *Chriſtians*; *You have with good reaſon propoſed the Sibyl: but it is now in your own power to thruſt in at randome, among the Pieces which are hers, many things, that are reproachfull:* (for this Diſcourſe was an earneſt Charge againſt the *Chriſtians*, concerning the *Suppoſititiouſneſs* of the Eight Books;) as alſo by (s) *Conſtantine*'s own Obſervation, writing, upon occaſion of the pretended *Acroſtick* of the *Erythræan*

(c) *De Divinat.* lib. 1, & 2. *Epiſt.* 7. lib. 1. *Famil.*
(d) (e) In the places before-cited.
(f) In *Julio.*
(g) *Cap.* 8.
(h) In the places before-cited, and in *Theſeo, Demoſthene, Cicerone*; and the Book, *De Pythiæ Orac.*
(i) *Lib.* 2. p. 97. *Achaic.* lib. 7. pag. 412. *Phocaic.* lib. 10. pag. 626.
(k) In *Cæſare, Tiberio, & Nerone.*
(l) *Lib.* 13.
(m) In *Peregrino, & Pſeudomanti.*
(n) Lib. 2. *Ad Autolyc.*
(o) Lib. 7. *cap.* 19.
(p) Lib. 7. *cap.* 24.
(q) *Orat. ad ſanctorum cœtum.* cap. 20.
(r) Apud *Origenem*, lib. 7. *contra Celſum.*
(s) *Ad Sanctorum cœtum.*

Erythræan Sibyl; *There are many, who believe not, that the* Sibyl *foretold things of our* Saviour; *and acknowledging, that the* Erythræan Sibyl *was a Propheteſs, have a jealouſie, that ſome one of our* Religion, *not unfurniſhed with a Poetick Vein, is the* Authour *of thoſe* Poems: *that they are adulterate; but, nevertheleſs, called the* Oracles *of the* Sibyl. Whereto (t) *Origen*'s Anſwer gives no great ſatisfaction. *He affirms,* (ſays he of *Celſus*) *that we have thruſt in, among the Writings of the* Sibyl, *many things, and ſuch, as are reproachfull; and does ſhew, neither what we have thruſt in (which he might have done, if he could have ſhew'd Copies, more antient, and uncorrupt; and ſuch, as had not what he conceives to have been foiſted in) nor yet that thoſe things are injurious, and reproachfull.* For it was not *Celſus*'s intention, to acknowledg, that the eight Books, out of which the *Fathers* had made Extracts, were legitimate; and to quarrel onely at the inſertion of ſome things, that were falſe: but to reproach the *Chriſtians*, that they had ſhuffled together (as much as lay in their power) thoſe eight Books, *Pieces* notoriouſly *ſpurious*, among the Writings of the *Sibyl*, which were pretended to be *legitimate*.

(t) Lib. 7. contra *Celſum*.

Secondly, *Origen*'s Reply, that, to prove the *ſpuriouſneſs* of the things produced by the *Chriſtians*, it was neceſſary, *to ſhew Copies that were more antient, more correct, and ſuch, as wherein thoſe things were not*, was no way to the purpoſe. For, *firſt*, The complaint of *Celſus* no leſs concerned the *body* of the eight Books; then the *Sentences*, extracted out of them by the *Chriſtians*. *Secondly*, His Negative was not, *Theſe eight Books are not perfect*; but, *They are not Legitimate*: and, taking them for *Suppoſititious*, and ſhuffled in (among the Legitimate Works) not long before, he thought not himſelf obliged to ſeek out (what could never have been found) *antient Copies* of an *Impoſture* newly advanced.

Thirdly, To require a *Pagan* to produce *antient Copies* of the true *Sibylline* Writings, was to make a ridiculous, and uncivil requeſt to him: ſince, *firſt*, There could not have been, through the whole *Romane* Empire, beſides the *Original*, preſerved under the *Baſe* of *Apollo Palatinus*; but that onely Copy, which had been Tranſcribed bythe *High Prieſts*, in the Time of *Auguſtus*. *Secondly*, For that it was not in any caſe permitted, that any private Perſon ſhould read, or interpret it; and that the *Quindecem-viri* themſelves, whoſe particular Privilege it was, durſt not attempt any ſuch thing, without the expreſs Order of the *Senate*. Whence it follows; that the *Heathens* had good reaſon to Charge with *Impoſture* the *Pieces*, produced by the *Fathers*, upon this account particularly; That they ſaw them in their hands, and by them publiſhed: nor could the *Chriſtians* juſtly preſs them to produce what none of them could come at, and was to continue locked up under the Key of a perpetual ſecret.

But, all this notwithſtanding, *Origen*'s Anſwer was not neceſſary; Celſus *does not demonſtrate, that the things which he conceives ſhuffled into the Works of the* Sibyl *are reproachfull, or detractive; therefore they are not ſuch.* For, though the imputation of *Heatheniſh* Superſtitions be not properly detraction; but a moſt true, and moſt juſt, reproach of their Impiety: yet was it a Detraction, according to their Opinion, and to bring the Charge by a *Sibyl* (that is, the Perſon, the moſt unfit to act ſuch a part)

was to exercise a kind of Detraction, against her Memory, and to bear a false Testimony under her Name, very well deserving to be taken off by the general complaint of all the Unbelievers. Wherefore the Defence of *Origen*, against the Objection of *Celsus*, who (as Contemporary with *Justine Martyr*, and *Lucian*, who dedicated his *Pseudo-mantis* to him) had seen the breaking forth of the *Imposture*, being but an Elusion, and no more, Saint *Augustine* hath had a thousand times more reason, to leave it to the Adversaries of the Church, to acknowledg, or disclaim, at their own choice, the eight Books, pretended to be *Sibylline*; saying, (u) *Therefore, though they should not believe our Scriptures, their own (which they read with blindness) are fulfilled upon them; unless it happen, that some may say, The* Sibyl's *Prophecies are but the Fictions of the* Christians. And again; (x) *But what other Prophecies soever there pass concerning* Christ, *some may imagine forged by the* Christians, *and therefore there is no way so sure, to convince such, as are Strangers in this matter, and to confirm those of our own Profession; as by citing the Prophecies, contained in the* Jews *Books*.

(u) *De Civit. Dei*, lib. 18. cap. 46.

(x) *Augustin.* ibid. cap. 47.

I would to God the *Church*'s children had continued in these Terms, and so have cleared their hearts of the evil Ambition of having been the Authours of some *Pious Frauds*, and conceive an holy shame at their being employed in those, which *Imposture* had endeavoured to introduce into the House of God. For, though they had not thought it fit, to make any reflection on the Arguments I have brought against the spuriousness of the *Sibylline* Writings, they needed no more, then to have called to account those, that produced them, whence they had had them, taking them up sharply with the ensuing Demands, or the like; *How could these Sacred Privileges of the Empire, and Religion, come into your hands? By what Artifices could you (you, who call your selves* The Faithfull) *possess your selves of the Treasure, committed to the Custody of the* Quindecemviri, *the sworn Enemies of your Faith? How comes our Age to be so happy, as to have the advantage to discover, and make publike the Predictions, which had been concealed above six hundred and twelve years?* Especially, seeing the lateness of their Discovery, made after the Death of *Adrian*, the confident Publication of the highest secret of *Paganism*, and the contrariety of the Consequences, arising from its Publication, to all, that Antiquity had heard of it, for six Ages before, might have given them more, then a presumption of the *Imposture*, particularly to *Justine Martyr*, who writ his *Apologie* five years, or ten at most, after the Advancement of it.

And here I can do no less, by the way, then advertise the Reader; that he, who, after the year four hundred and six, took upon him, under the name of that Holy *Doctour*, to answer the *Questions* of the *Greeks*, seems to be mistaken, when, having writ, That (y) *the end of this World is the Judgment of the Wicked by Fire, according to what is said in the Writings of the Prophets, and Apostles*, he adds, *As also of those of the* Sibyl, *according to what is said by the blessed Saint* Clement, *in the first* Epistle *to the* Corinthians. For, *first*, The *Epistle* of Saint *Clement* (which hath in some manner received a second life, fifteen years since, when *England* restored it to the Church of God) says nothing of the *Sibyl*, and though

(y) *Resp. ad Quæst.* 74.

though there be a Leaf wanting at the end, yet is there not any likelyhood; that, in that later part, which contained the Concluſion of all the precedent Diſcourſe, woven up of *Scriptures*, the Holy *Martyr* ſhould have recourſe to the Authority of a ſtrange Teſtimony, and draw out of a prophane Source.

2. The Allegation of the *Sibyl*'s Words, concerning the *Judgment by Fire*, is in the Sixth Chapter of the fifth Book of the pretended *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions:* where the fourteen laſt *Verſes* of the fourth Book of the Counterfeit *Sibyl* have been inſerted, after the Texts of the *Prophets*, and *Apoſtles*; as of *Geneſis*, Chap. ii. 7. and Chap. iii. 14. *Iſaiah*, Chap. xxvi. 19. *Ezekiel*, Chap. xxxvii. 13. *Daniel*, Chap. xii. 2. St. *Matthew*, Chap. iv. 23. St. *Luke*, Chap. xxi. 18. and St. *John*, Chap. v. 28. and xi. 43. ſo, that it is evident, that the Authour of the *Anſwers* to the *Queſtions* of the *Greeks* was extremely miſtaken, negligently confounding the *Conſtitutions*, unjuſtly attributed to St. *Clement*, with his *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*.

3. If the recourſe to the Teſtimony of the *Sibyl* really be in the ſaid *Epiſtle*; it would be an Argument of the corruption of that precious Jewel of *Chriſtian* Antiquity, rather then a legitimate Confirmation of the Authority of the Books, pretended to be *Sibylline*, which we have demonſtrated to have been forged after the Death of *Adrian*; that is to ſay, thirty eight years after the Martyrdom of St. *Clement*, and ſixty after his Baniſhment to *Cherſoneſus*.

Chap. XXI.

That it cannot, with any likelihood of Truth, be maintained, That the Books, called the Sibylline, *were written by Divine Inſpiration.*

HAving (according as the neceſſity of Reaſon, and Truth, required) preſuppoſed, that the eight Books, pretended to be *Sibylline*, are the Fiction of ſome bold, and buſie *Chriſtian*, who would needs have his own fantaſtick Imaginations paſs for *Oracles:* This Queſtion, *Whether they were writ by Divine Inſpiration*, falls of it ſelf to the ground. For, it would argue a total Eclipſe of ſenſe, and underſtanding, to think, that God, who is the ſource of Truth, would be the adviſer of an *Impoſture*, and to ſay he were Authour of it, no leſs, then ſtark madneſs; ſince (a) *there is no communion between the light* of Wiſdom *and the darkneſs* of Lying. Whereof the Reſult is, That the *Sibyls* (from whoſe *Oracles* the Idolatrous *Romanes* always derived Encouragements of Impiety to heighten their Superſtition) neither were, nor could be, (in that regard) the communications of the Spirit of God; to whoſe Glory, and Worſhip, thoſe Divinations were directly oppoſite. So that I cannot conceive any thing, but an over-earneſtneſs of Diſpute, ſhould force St. *Hierome* to make ſuch oſtentation of the *Sibyls*, and maintain, againſt *Jovinian*, (b) That *They had, for their Livery, Virginity;*

(a) 2 Cor. 6. 16.

(b) *Lib.* 1. cap. 25.

ginity; and that *Divination had been the reward of their Virginity:* for it is an horrid *Reward*, to be made the Inſtrument of the Devil, to publiſh his Lies, and to contribute to his Deceits. Nor can I ſee, how the greateſt of Ills can be ranked among Goods, nor (at hazard, to ſay ſomething to the advantage of the *Sibyls*) that any Advantage can be made of this improbable ſhift; that they made any other Predictions, then theſe, which induced the *Pagans* into Errour; and that, upon the account of them, and their Virginity, they have been thought worthy recommendation. Not, that I would deny; but it had been as poſſible for God, to declare by thoſe women the Secrets to come, as to make *Balaam*'s Aſs to (c) ſpeak, or move *Balaam* himſelf to Prophecy the *coming of the Meſſias* one thouſand, four hundred, ninety, and two years before it happened: eſpecially, ſeeing St. (d) *Auguſtine*, expounding theſe words of Saint *Paul*, (e) *Whom he had before promiſed by his Prophets*, took, from the Prejudice he had conceived thereof, occaſion to write; That *there have been Prophets, who were not of him; in whom alſo we finde ſome things, which they have ſang, as having heard them of* Chriſt; *as it is ſaid of the* Sibyl. But I hope, he, and the other *Fathers*, will pardon me; if I preſume to anſwer: That they have grounded their Opinion on a broken Reed; to wit, the Authority of the eight Books of the pretended *Daughter-in-law* of *Noah*. For,

(c) Numb. 22. 28.

(d) *Oppoſit: in-choat. in* Ep. *ad* Rom.

(e) Rom. 1. 2.

Firſt, They have taken for very antient a *Piece*, that was very new, and adulterate.

Secondly, Though it were as antient, as they thought; yet could it not be *Divine*; for this very reaſon, that it contains (as hath been already obſerved) abundance of Errours: which no man, unleſs loſt to his Senſes, will ever impute to Celeſtial Revelation.

Thirdly, Though it were granted, that thoſe *Pieces* are as free from Errours, as they are full of them, and that their Original is to be taken much higher, then the Birth of our *Saviour*, yet would *Hilary*, the *Deacon*, deny, that it neceſſarily followed thence, that they came from God. (f) *The ſpirit of the world*, (ſaith he) *is that, which poſſeſſes perſons ſubject to Enthuſiaſms; who are without God: for it is the chiefeſt among the worldly Spirits. Whence it comes, that he is wont, by conjecture, to fore-tell the things which are of this World; and it is he, who is called* Python, *or* the Prophecying Spirit; *it is he, who is deceived, and deceives by things, that have a probability of Truth; it is he, who ſpoke by the* Sibyl, *imitating ours, and deſirous to be numbred among the Celeſtial.*

(f) 1 Cor. 2. 12. apud *Ambroſium.*

For my part, I freely confeſs, it were a very hard matter to maintain; that the eight Books of the *Sibyls*, which copy out the beſt part of the Hiſtory of the *Goſpel* had been written before our *Saviour*'s coming into the Fleſh, and that they were the Productions of ſome *Python*, or *Prophecying Spirit:* but it is evident, that *Hilary*, reflecting on the fond Imaginations, wherewith they are peſtered, choſe rather to think them the Work a *Fanatick*, then a *Divine Perſon*; and in that, (though contrary to the Opinion of many of the *Fathers*) he is much in the right. For, though we ſhould lay the Spunge on all the marks of their Suppoſititiouſneſs before alleged, yet could we not any way wipe out that Character, which the ſaid *Rhapſody* hath (with its own hands) imprinted ſo deep in its

its forehead, that it is remarkable in the chiefeſt of thoſe great men, who would acknowledg its authority, and oppoſe it to the *Heathens*.

Chap. XXII.

The Sentiment of Ariſtotle *concerning* Enthuſiaſts *taken into Conſideration.*

Ariſtotle (a) had been of Opinion, That, *the heat* of Melancholy *being near the place of Intelligence, many were taken with Frantick and Enthuſiaſtical Diſeaſes; That thence came all the* Sibyls, Bacchides, *and inſpired Perſons*, that is, *when they became ſuch, not through diſeaſe, but the temperament of nature;* and thereupon alleges, that, *Maracus of* Syracuſe *was a better Poet when he was beſides himſelf*; diſcovering thereby, That (according to his Sentiment) to ſay of a woman, that ſhe was a *Sibyl*, was to put her into the qualification of Hypochondriacks, and ſuch, as are ſubject to black Choler. (a) *Problem.* Sect. 30. q. 1.

But the common Opinion of the *Heathens* was, that the *Sibyls* were ſeized by a ſupernatural power, and not warmed by a ſimple Ebullition of black Choler; and that their being ſo ſeiſed made (while it laſted) ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon their minds, that it deprived them of all Intelligence and Memory. Thus *Heraclitus*, in (b) *Plutarch*, affirms, that *the* Sibyl *had with her frantick mouth ſaid things, which are neither ridiculous, nor gaudy, nor adulterate. Virgil* introduces *Helenus*, ſpeaking to *Æneas* of the *Cumæan Sibyl*; (b) *De Pyth. Orac.*

Thou the enraged Propheteſs ſhalt ſee;

And elſwhere, making a Deſcription of her Tranſports, he uſes theſe expreſs terms:

This ſaid, her colour ſtraight did change, her face
And flowing Treſſes loſt their former grace;
A growing paſſion ſwels her troubled breaſt,
And fury her diſtracted ſoul poſſeſt. 7. 0.

And a little after,

When ſhe, not able to endure the load
Of ſuch a pow'r, ſtrives to ſhake off the God,
The more ſhe chaf'd, the more he curbs her in;
Tames her wilde breaſt, and calms her ſwelling ſpleen.

And again,

——— *Then* Phœbus *ſlakes*
His curbing reins, and from her boſom takes
His cruel Spurs, granting a little reſt:
Soon as her Fit, and high Diſtraction ceas'd.

Lucan's Deſcription is much to the ſame purpoſe; and *Claudian*, in imitation of them, calls the Place of the *Cumæan Sibyl*

The Porch of the enraged Sibyl. ——

But this Deſcription, which naturally expreſſes the violent poſſeſſion of an evil Spirit, tormenting the perſon it ſeiſes, in ſtead of raiſing an horrour in the Writer of the eight Books attributed to the *Sibyls*, enflames

flames him with an emulation; insomuch, that that impertinent person hath not been ashamed to attribute to the God of glory extravagant sallies, like those of the Devils, and to say of himself what the prophane *Poets* had writ of their Propheteſſes:

(c) *Castal.* edit. pag. 193. (c) *Corpore tota stupens trahor huc, ignara quid ipsa*
Eloquar; ipse sed hæc mandat Deus omnia fari:

And elsewhere,

(d) Pag. 214. (d) *Sed quid cor iterùm quatitur mihi? ménsque, flagello*
Icta, foràs vocem prorumpere cogitur, omnes
Ut moneam. ——

And again,

(e) Pag. 238. (e) *Ut mihi divino requieta à carmine mens est,*
Orabam magnum genitorem, vis ut abesset;
Sed mihi suggessit vocem sub pectora rursum,
Pérque omnes terras præcepit vaticinari.

(f) Pag. 282. And that she *came from Babylon* (f) ὑπερμανὴς, *furious*, or *fanatick*.

All which affords us a manifest Argument, that the unhappy *Impostour*, who took upon him to play the *Sibyl*, was besotted with such an extravagant conceit, that he would, upon any terms, be taken for an *Enthusiast*, and make the world believe, that the presence of some Celestial virtue produced the same in his mind, as the invasion of *Satan* does in those of possessed persons, whom he deprives of their Senses, and Transports with fury.

Nor are we (to excuse so extravagant a passion) to make any account of those words of the eighth Book,

Novi ego arenarum numerum, mensúmque profundi,
Tellurísque sinus, tenebrosáque Tartara novi,
Quot fuerint homines, quot sint, quótque futuri,
Astrorum numeros, stirpes, frondésque quot usquam,
Quot sint quadrupedes, quot pisces, quótque volucres.

For, besides the impossibility there is to reconcile this insolent brag, *I know all things*, with the precedent confession, *I know not what I say*, any other way, then by attributing it to that alienation of spirit, which he would have described when he said, *I know not what I say*: it is ab-

(g) 2 Cor. 13. surdity enough, but to think, that the (g) *Father of mercies*, who disposes his gifts with infinite Wisdome, and an intention they should tend to the advantage, either of those which receive them, or others, would puff up the heart of any man with the windy knowledg of things absolutely unprofitable; such as are those, which the Counterfeit *Sibyl* much glories in. For what advantage will it be to mankind, or thy self, that thou know the *number of the Sands*, of the *Leaves*, of the *Fishes*, &c. Will this variety of knowledg make thee any way better, or further thee in the way to salvation, more then another, who shall

(h) Acts 9. 15. have learned, from the great (h) *vessel of Election*, who had been

(i) 2 Cor. 12. 4. (i) *caught into the third heaven, and there heard words not capable of being*

(k) 1 Cor. 2. 2. *uttered*, this admirably-modest protestation, (k) *I determined not to know any thing among you, save* Jesus Christ, *and him crucified?* If therefore there were nothing else to be quarrelled at in the eight Books of the Counterfeit *Sibyl*; but the insupportable vanity of the Authour, it should

ſhould be more then ſufficient to deprive him of his pretended Dignity of *Prophet*, and to condemn his Verſes to be *blown away* (as ſometimes thoſe of the *Cumæan Sibyl*) diſturbed in their order,

And to the wanton Winds a Sport be made.

Chap. XXIII.

That it was unadviſedly done by the Author of the Sibylline *Writings, to put himſelf into the number of the* Enthuſiaſts.

But it may be theſe inſolent Expreſſions, the affectation of *Enthuſiaſm*, and the other ſleights of *Impoſture*, are not in the *Original*, and that the *Fathers*, who have had the ſaid Writings in great eſteem, have not found them therein. On the contrary, *Juſtine Martyr* (to ſatisfie us, that he very well knew as much) takes particular notice of it, and obſerves them to the *Greeks*, adding to that Diſcourſe of *Menon* in *Plato*, concerning ſuch as foretell things to come, (a) *We ſhall ſay no leſs, then that thoſe are Prophets, and they have Extaſies, being inſpired of God, when they become famous for delivering many, and great things, and know not any thing of what they ſay,* the enſuing Application, *He clearly, and manifeſtly, ſaw into the Oracles of the* Sibyl. *For ſhe had not* (*as the* Poets *have*) *the power to correct her* Poems, *after ſhe had writ them, and to poliſh them, eſpecially, as to what concerns the exact obſervation of Meaſures; but ſhe accompliſhed what was of her Prophecy, during the time of the inſpiration, and, the inſpiration failing, ſhe no longer remembred the things ſhe had ſaid. Hence comes it, that all the Verſes of the* Sibylline *Poems were not preſerved. For we our ſelf being at the City* (of *Cumæ*) *underſtood ſo much from thoſe, who led us up and down, and ſhewed us the places, where ſhe ſpoke her Oracles, and a certain Urn made of Braſs, where they ſaid her Reliques were conſerved. They alſo gave us this account, as having it from their Predeceſſours, That thoſe, who received the Oracle, being people without inſtruction, many times failed in the exact obſervation of meaſures, and ſaid this was the reaſon, why ſome Verſes were without meaſure; viz. that the Propheteſs, after the Extaſie of inſpiration was over, remembred not the things ſhe had ſaid, and that thoſe, who writ them, by reaſon of their ignorance, had loſt the exact meaſure of the Verſes.* And a little lower; *Submit to the moſt antient of all the* Sibyls, *whoſe Books, it is ſo happened, are preſerved all the World over; and who, by Oracles, proceeding from a certain powerfull inſpiration, hath taught you concerning thoſe, who are called Gods, that they are not ſuch.*

(a) *Exhort. ad Græc.*

In like manner *Conſtantine* introduces the *Sibyl*, making her complaint to God, that *he impoſed upon her a neceſſity of Divining. Suidas*, for his part, makes this Obſervation of the *Chaldæan* Sibyl, *The Propheteſs is not her ſelf the cauſe, that her Verſes are imperfect, and without meaſure; but thoſe, who took Copies of them: as not keeping cloſe to the impetuoſity of her way of delivery, and being not well read in* Grammar. *Beſides that, with the inſpiration, the memory of the things ſhe had ſaid failed her, and, for that reaſon, her Verſes are imperfect, and the ſenſe halting. Whether it be that this*

is

is come so to pass, through the dispensation of God; to the end, that her Oracles *should not be known to many unworthy of them, or that length of time hath been the cause of that, as well as many other things. Besides that, it is not to be admired, if the obscurity of the things said by the Propheteſs, and the frequent Transcription of her Books, have occasioned the confusion of the sense, and measures of the Verses.* Whereto (b) *Marcus Antimachus* adds (as taking it from *Lactantius*, whom he ridiculously makes Priest of the *Capitol*, converted to the *Christian* Religion upon reading of the *Sibylline* Writings.) That, *what is to be had of the* Sibylline *Books, is not onely easily slighted by those, who are troubled with the disease of the* Greeks: *for that it is easie to recover it (for scarce things seem more precious) but also is thought not to deserve any credit; because there is not an exact measure observed in the Verses. Now this is the fault of the Transcribers* (c) (*who were not able to reach the impetuosity of her way of delivery, and were not well read in* Grammar) *and not of the Propheteſs; for when the inspiration was over, she no longer remembred the things she had spoken.*

(b) *Præf. in libros* Sibyllinos.

(c) Thesewords are transcribed out of *Suidas*, and unjustly attributed to *Lactantius*, who says no such thing.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Fathers, *who were surprised by the pretended* Sibylline *Writings, supposed the Authour to have been an* Enthusiast.

IT is manifest then, that both the Antient, and Modern *Christians* have been so far from being ignorant, or distrustfull of the *Enthusiasm* of the pretended *Sibyl*; that they have taken it for the fundamental Principle of the Opinion they had of her *Poem*, and been carried away with reports, without reserving to themselves (as reason would have required) the privilege to examine them. For,

First, *Justin Martyr*, giving credit to the Discourses of those among the *Cumæans*, who had shew'd him the *Antiquities* of their City, dissents from the common perswasion; *viz.* that the *Cumæan Sibyl* did not onely speak her Verses; but also writ them upon Leaves, which the Wind carried away: upon which occasion (a) *Virgil* brings in *Æneas*, making this Prayer,

(a) *Æneid. 6.*

Blest Virgin, not to Leaves thy Verse commit;

and (b) *Juvenal* says to his Readers, to excite their Attention,

(b) *Satyr. 8.*

Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllæ.

Secondly, He makes but an ill Parallel between the Stories, which the *Cumæans* had entertained him with, concerning their Propheteſs, and these spurious and upstart *Oracles*, which he said *were preserved all over the World*; never considering, that the *Cumæans* never knew any thing of them, and their very being so common, as he imagines, should as well have raised a distrust in him, as in the *Greeks*, who knew there was not any thing more carefully kept at *Rome*, then the *Sibylline* Oracles; which had been got together from all places, as far as the power of the *Empire* extended.

Suidas,

Suidas alſo, thinking to alledg ſufficient excuſes for the *Poems* attributed to the *Chaldæan Sibyl*, hath onely made a Diſcovery of his own Impertinence: For,

Firſt, Upon what ſcore would he have the Tranſcribers to be ſo *ignorant?* Is there any likelihood, that the *Heathens*, who thought them Divine Sentences, would employ the ſimpleſt among them, to put together things, which they accounted ſo precious, and Sacred?

Secondly, Is it not a great miſtake, to think, that God (whoſe Works are ever ſuitable to his own Majeſty, that is to ſay, Divine, and Perfect) could ever have pronounced *Verſes, that were imperfect, both as to their Sence, and Meaſure*, to thoſe, whom he inſpired?

Thirdly, Could the want of Meaſure, and Sence, which was obvious to all the world, hinder the *knowledg of the unworthy*, more then of the *worthy*? Or are the later in a greater capacity, to finde ſence, and order, where there is not any, then the former?

Fourthly, Can any one ſay, that this manifeſt, and by-all-acknowledged, imperfection proceeds from God; but he muſt withall ſacrilegiouſly accuſe him of having, *by his diſpenſation*, oppoſed his own intention, by making fruitleſs (at leaſt in part) what he had (as is ſuppoſed) vouchſafed to reveal for the advantage of men?

Fifthly, What diſorder could *length of time*, and *frequent Tranſcriptions*, have occaſioned in the pretended *Oracles* of the *Sibyls*; when they were in the time of *Juſtin Martyr*, (that is, at their very Hatching) imperfect? And, as for the Copies, which ſome *Chriſtians* (deceived by their own credulity) with abundance of Zeal diſperſed abroad, who ſees not, that, beſides their being abſolutely unknown to the *Heathens*, who received them onely from their hands, they were taken out of one another, with great care, and by perſons, who profeſſed Letters; as *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Lactantius*, &c. ſo, as that they they ſhould rather have diminiſhed, then multiplied the *Faults:* as indeed it is evident; that the *Different Lections*, which are found in the citations of theſe *Fathers*, are not *Corruptions*, that have disfigured, and defaced the Work, pretendedly *Sibylline*; but *Corrections*, which have bettered it, and made it leſs imperfect, then it was? And certainly, what hath really occaſioned the Blanks, and other Defaults, that are in it, hath been nothing elſe, but the affectation of that incomparable *Antiquity*; which the *Impoſtour*, who firſt advanced it, made ſo great oſtentation of, with an Impudence, and malicious vanity, as great, as what was, one hundred and ſixty years ſince, betrayed by *Johannes Annio*, a *Jacobine*, afterwards *Maſter of the Sacred Palace* at *Rome*; who would needs fill the Univerſe with Suppoſititious Books, under the Names of *Beroſus*, *Megaſthenes*, (whom he transforms into a Chimærical *Metaſthenes*) *Zenophon*, *Archilochus*, *Philo*, &c, and ſcatter up and down *Italy*, eſpecially in the Places about *Viterbo*) Pieces of *Marble*, made infamous by the *Inſcription* of his Invention, and Forgery (*c*). For the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, to bring her Name into greater Veneration, and (inſtead of abſolutely ſmothering the Diſcoveries of her Impoſture) to ſhift all the blame upon the Tranſcribers, Progreſs of time, and the irretrivable loſs it hath occaſioned in the moſt precious things of *Antiquity*, put out her ill-digeſted collecti-

(*c*) And, about the year 1520. one *John Wolf*, an Inhabitant of *Zuikaw*, in *Woitland*, with like ſincerity, produced the *Epitaph* of the *Sibyl Suanichilda*, Daughter of *Ulba* and *Cygneus*, deſcended from *Cygnus*, the Son of *Hercules*: wherein *Langius*, who made a great noiſe about it, was deceived.

on, maimed, and imperfect, imagining (what indeed the event hath confirmed) that the *Readers* would entertain it (as the wretched Ruins of a great Wrack) with more compassion, then rigour; and rather hug, and cherish the miserable remainders thereof, then censure it according to its deserts. Thus, having confuted all the Suppositions of *Suidas*, I have with the same labour destroyed those, which *Antimachus* borrowed out of his *Dictionary*, to make a present of them to *Lactantius*; so that all I have to do is, to advertise by the way; that, as this man had no reason to imagine *Lactantius* taken out of the College of the *Capitol-Priests*, and brought to the Profession of *Christianity* by the reading of the pretended *Oracles*; so was it most weakly done of him to look for them at the *Capitol* in the Time of *Constantine*: since that, three hundred years before, *Augustus* had transferred them thence, under the *Basis* of *Apollo Palatinus*, where they continued till twenty five years after the Death of *Constantine*, according to the Observation of *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

CHAP. XXV.

The common Sentiment of the Fathers *concerning* Enthusiasts.

COme we now to see, whether true *Theologie*, and the Sentiment of the *Fathers*, clear, and confirmed from Age to Age, may permit; that the pretended *Sibyl* (who said of her self what the Idolatrous *Heathens* writ of their *Propheteſſes*) should have been taken by some of the antient *Christians* for a *Prophetess*, and truly inspired of God. It was so certain among the *Heathens*, that their *Sibyls* had been possessed and (when they Prophecyed) cast into such an alienation of Spirit, that (according to the Testimony of *Diodorus*) σιβυλλάνειν, *to act the* Sibyl, signified among them, ἐνθεάζειν, *to act the part of a person inspired*, and *transported*. And *Suidas* himself acknowledges; that, to say of a man, σιβυλλιᾷ, *He Sibyllizes*, hath the same sence, as if it were said of him, ἀπάᾶται, μανικῶς ἔχει, *He is seduced, He behaves himself like one, that hath the Gift of Divination*. Now it might seem, that the *Prophets* felt some motion, like that of those, who foretold things to come; since that, as we read of *Saul*, (a) *when the evil Spirit from God was come upon him, he Prophecied*, whereas the *Scripture* gives us expresly to observe, (b) that the *Spirit of God was also upon him*, as upon *Samuel*, and *David*; adding, that *he went on, and Prophecyed, untill he came to* Naioth *in* Ramah; that (c) *he stripped off his cloaths also, and Prophecied before* Samuel *in like manner, and lay down naked all that day, and all that night*. Besides, the *LORD*, threatning the *Israelites* by *Hosea*, says; (d) *The Prophet is a fool; the Spiritual man is mad*. So the *Captains*, sitting with *Jehu* in *Ramoth-Gilead*, spoke no less disadvantageously of the *Prophet*, sent by *Elisha* to anoint *Jehu* King of *Israel*, asking; (e) *Why is this mad fellow come to thee?* And *Schemaiah* the *Nehelamite*, stirring up *Zephaniah*, and the other *Priests*, against *Jeremiah*, writ to them; (f) *The Lord hath made thee*, &c. *that ye should*

(a) 1 Sam. 18. 10.
(b) 1 Sam. 19. 23.
(c) Verse 24.
(d) Hos. 9. 7.
(e) 1 Kings 9. 11.
(f) Jer. 29. 26.

ſhould be Officers in the Houſe of the Lord for every man, that is mad, and maketh himſelf a Prophet. And Saint *Ambroſe* doth, in appearance, acknowledg it, by this Diſcourſe; (g) *There are certain* (h) Madneſſes, *and alienations of ſpirit, which are true, and* (*it may be*) *of the Prophets; who,* (i) *being tranſported, as to their underſtanding, Prophecied, being ſo filled with the Spirit of God, that to ſome they ſeemed mad: when, not minding their own ſafety, many times naked, and bare-foot, as* Eſay *the Prophet did, they ran among the People; crying, not what they would themſelves, but what the* Lord *commanded them.*

(g) *In* Pſal. 39. 5.
(h) *Inſaniæ.*
(i) *In exceſſu mentis poſiti.*

But (for the beter underſtanding of all theſe Paſſages) the *Chriſtian* Reader is onely to remember; that, as the *Prophets* (though they did not any action, that was irregular, or void of reaſon) paſſed for *Mad* men in the apprehenſion of the profane; ſuch, as might be the *Captains* at *Ramoth-Gilead*, and *Shemaiah*, the Perſecutour of *Jeremiah*: ſo the *Devils* egged on their Foretellers of things to come, to play the *Apes*, and imitate the *Prophets*, and to brag (even when they were at the height of their Extravagance) of Inſpirations, equal with theirs. So that, if the true *Prophets*, moved by Celeſtial Grace, diſcovered the operations of it, by ſome action ſuitable to their condition; upon which account *Saul* (being among them) *ſtripped himſelf* of his Royal Robe, and *lay upon the ground*, humbling himſelf before God, and celebrating the glory of his Infinite Power, *according as the Spirit gave him to ſpeak*: on the contrary, when he was overpreſſed with *Melancholy*, and tormented by the *evil Spirit*, which put him into Madneſs, and Ecſtaſie, he ſpoke alſo, in that condition, as if he had Prophecyed. And Saint *Ambroſe* minds us of the difference, there is between the ſervile tranſportation of Poſſeſſed Perſons, which darkens the light of their minds, binds up its Faculties, makes their Reaſon unprofitable, and forces them to violent motions, and that holy Raviſhment of the *Prophets*; which, filling them with admiration, and joy, refined their underſtanding, and left them the free uſe of their ratiocination, yet in ſuch manner, as to divert them from all humane Conſiderations, and bend their thoughts to an extraordinary ſubmiſsion to God. Upon which account he ſaid, *They cryed, not what they would themſelves; but what he commanded*: intending to expreſs thereby the violence they did themſelves, by renouncing their own will, that they might, the more freely, purſue the motions of his Grace: and obſerved further, that they *minded not their own ſafety*; repreſenting, that they regarded not the preſervation of their Lives, nor their own convenience; but were always ready to Sacrifice themſelves, and proteſt with St. *Paul*; (k) *None of theſe things move me, neither count I my life dear unto my ſelf.* Nor did he abſolutely pronounce; that the action of the *Prophetick Spirit* upon the Perſon, who was thereby inſpired, made him a Fool, or ſo drew him *out of himſelf*, as that he was without reaſon, and had no other motion, then what was forced: but that (inclining him to do, not what his own ratiocination ſuggeſted to him; but what it ſelf adviſed him to) it many times put him upon ſuch extraordinary actions; that thoſe, who vouchſafed not to conſider the ſignification thereof, were (by their own corrupt judgment) induced to attribute them to Madneſs, and Extravagant Tranſportation: which obliged

(k) Acts 20. 24.

him to say, not that *He was*, but that *To some he seemed Mad.*

Tertullian went yet much further; when, drunk with the cup of *Montanus*, he esteemed highly of those Ecstasies, and Transportations, which so ravish a man out of himself, that he looses (either wholly, or in part) the freedom of his Ratiocination. But in regard *Justin Martyr* (as well as he) was of opinion; That those Alienations, which he pretended to have been in the *Cumæan Sibyl*) might proceed from Divine Inspiration, it is of some consequence, as well to clear up his sentiment, as to consider what judgment Antiquity hath made thereof: and that the rather, for that we have now some (l) *Divines*, who imagine; That God does sometimes send such strong, and violent, *Irradiations of his Love*, as strike through the Hearts of men, like Thunder-bolts, force those, who receive them, to cry out, and do so cast them down, that they are as it were dead. Further, That the Persons, who are honoured with such an Illumination, have motions of Piety so impetuous, that they cannot pray unto God; and, when they attempt it, suffer incredible pains, their Bodies not being able to bear the vehement motions of so great a Devotion. In his Book *Of the Soul*, (m) he hath this Discourse; (which *Pamelius* unjustly applies to *Prisca*, or *Maximilla*, dead fifty years before) *There is at this day among us a* (n) *Sister*; *on whom are fallen the Gifts of Revelations, which she endures, in spirit, in the Church, during the Divine Solemnities, by Ecstasie.* And in another place (having supposed, that the *Ecstasis*, that is to say, *the deep sleep, that fell upon* Adam, *was* (o) *the force of the holy Spirit, working Prophecy*) he adds; (p) *God sent him an alienation of spirit, which is a spiritual force, wherein Prophecy consists:* and lower; (q) *We say, That Ecstasie is a sally out of sound sence, somewhat like Madness.* Item; (r) *This shall be the property of the said alienation of spirit; that it comes not through any injury done to health; but according to natural reason: for it does not exterminate the understanding; but force it out of the way. It is one thing to shake, another to move it; one thing to overturn it, another to exercise it. What therefore proceeds from the Memory argues the sound constitution of the Mind; if the soundness of the Soul be stupified (the Memory remaining entire) it is a kinde of Madness. Wherefore we are not said to be Mad, but to Dream: and so, it is then, if ever, that we are wise; for our knowledge, though in Umbrage, yet is not extinct, save that it may then seem to be wanting.* And (s) elsewhere, wresting to a wrong sence the words of the *Gospel*, (t) concerning Saint *Peter's not knowing what he said*, he puts this Question, *How not knowing? was it through simple errour, or* (u) *want of reason?* (w) Wresting also the sence of Saint *Paul's* Discourse, he hath these Expressions; *Let him take out some Psalm, some Vision, some Prayer, in a spiritual way onely, that is in Ecstasie, in alienation of spirit.* And against *Praxeas*; (x) *Neither* Peter, *nor* John, *nor* James, *were sensible of the Vision of God without a denial of Reason, and alienation of spirit; for which we maintain (in the cause of new Prophecy) that Ecstasie, that is, alienation of spirit, is consistent with Grace. For it is necessary, that the man ravished in spirit, (especially, when he sees the glory of God, or when God speaks by him) disclaim his own sentiment; being overshadowed by the power of God: concerning which there is a Dispute between us, and the* Psychici. And indeed Saint *Hierome* expresly numbers among

(l) *Andr. du Val*, a Doctour of *Sorbon*, in the *Life* of *Sister Mary of the Incarnation*, a *Carmelite Nun.*

(m) *Tertullian.* lib. *De Anima*, cap. 9.

(n) At *Carthage*; where *Prisca*, and *Maximilla* (who never were out of *Phrygia*) never were.

(o) Cap. 11.

(p) Cap. 45.

(q) Cap. 27.

(r) Cap. 45.

(s) *Advers. Marcion.*

(t) Luke 9. 33.

(u) *Irratione?*

(w) Lib. 5. *Advers. Marcion* cap. 8.

(x) *Advers. Prax.* cap. 15.

(y) *among the Books, written by* (z) *him againſt the Church, ſix Volumes,* Of Ecſtaſie, *and a ſeventh,* Againſt Apollonius; *wherein he endeavours to maintain whatever the other quarrels at:* his Deſign being, to vindicate *Montanus,* who had written thus; (a) *Behold, man is like a Viol, and I am the Bow: man lies him down to reſt, and I watch. Behold, the Lord, who takes mens Hearts out of them, and who alſo beſtows Hearts on them:* and *Maximilla,* who held this ſtrange Diſcourſe; (b) *The Lord hath ſent me,* (&c.) *forced me, I being both willing, and unwilling, to learn the knowledg of God.*

(y) *De Scriptoribus Eccleſ.* verbo *Apollonius.* (z) *Tertullian.* (a) *Epiphan.* Hæres. 48. cap. 4. (b) *Ibid.* c. 13.

The *Church* therefore, formally condemning the Opinion of thoſe, who believed, that God made *Ecſtatick,* and tranſported ſuch, as he inſpired, and that he exerciſed violence on their ſpirits, expreſſed her ſelf,

By *Claudius Apollinaris,* Biſhop of *Hierapolis,* to this effect: (c) Montanus, *through an inſatiable covetouſneſs of Primacy, giving acceſs in his Soul to the Adverſary, being of a ſudden tranſported in mind, and out of himſelf, was inſpired, and began to ſpeak, and to pronounce ſtrange words:* and his *Propheteſſes* were *filled with an adulterate ſpirit, ſo as that they ſpoke, with a tranſportation of their underſtanding, unſeaſonably, and after a ſtrange manner:* and *Theodotus,* his Complice, *was beſides himſelf, and delivered up to the ſpirit of Errour.*

(c) *Euſeb.* lib. 5. cap. 16.

By *Miltiades,* Diſputing againſt the ſame *Montanus.* (b) *That falſe Prophet; being in a Tranſport of ſpirit (which is attended by Confidence, and want of Fear) began by a voluntary Ignorance, which turned into an involuntary Madneſs of the Soul; in which manner they cannot ſhew that any Prophet (either of the Old, or New Teſtament) hath been tranſported.* (d) *Ibid.* c. 17.

By St. *Irenæus,* who ſet forth, in the ſame colours, one of the *Propheteſſes* of the *Marcoſians.* (e) *Being fooliſhly ſwollen, and puffed up by the ſaid words, and having her Soul warmed by the expectation of what ſhe ſhould Prophecy, and her Heart beating more, then it ſhould, ſhe preſumed to utter things Fantaſtick; and whatever occurred to her thoughts, vainly, and audaciouſly; in regard ſhe is ſet on by a vain ſpirit, according to what a better, then we, hath ſaid of ſuch People: to wit, that a Soul, enflamed by vain air, is a preſumptuous, and ſhameleſs thing.* (e) Lib. 1. c. 9.

By [f] *Clemens Alexandrinus,* giving the *Impoſtours* of his Time this Touch; *They Prophecied in Ecſtaſie, as the ſervants of an Apoſtate.* (f) *Strom.* 1.

By *Origen,* who eſteemed that kind of Emotion unworthy the Holy men of God. [g] *The Prophets were not (as ſome imagine) alienated in ſpirit, and ſpoke not through any violence of the ſpirit:* If any thing (*ſaith the* [h] *Apoſtle*) be revealed to another, thatſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: *Whence he ſhews; that he, who ſpeaks, is at liberty to ſpeak, when he will, and to hold his peace, when he will.* (g) In Ezek. Hom. 6. (h) 1 Cor. 14. 30.

By St. *Baſil,* who preſſes the ſame Doctrine in theſe Terms. [i] *There are ſome, who ſay, that the Saints Prophecied, being out of, or beſides, themſelves; the humane underſtanding being ſhadowed by the Spirit: but this is contrary to what the Divine preſence doth promiſe; that it ſhould alienate in ſpirit him, who is ſeiſed of God, and that, when he is full of Divine Inſtructions, he ſhould, himſelf, be deprived of Ratiocination, and, while he contributes to the advantage of others, ſhould reap no benefit from his own Diſcourſes. In a word, How does it ſtand with Reaſon; that, through the Wiſdom of the Spirit, a man ſhould become as one beſides himſelf? And, that the ſpirit of Know-* (i) In *Iſai.* Serm. 1. *Præf.*

Knowledg ſhould deliver what is incoherent? For neither is light the Authour of Blindneſs; but ſtirs up the Viſual Faculty implanted by Nature: nor does the ſpirit cauſe obſcurity in mens minds; but raiſes the Underſtanding to the contemplation of things intelligible, cleanſing it from the ſtains of ſin. Nor is it improbable, that, through the Deſign of the evil Spirit (who lays his Ambuſhes to enſnare humane Nature) the mind is confounded: but to ſay, that the ſame is effected by the preſence of the Holy Spirit, is impious.

(k) *Hæres.* 48. cap. 3. By St. *Epiphanius*, who, ſtrongly ſeconding him, ſays. [k] *When there hath been any neceſſity, the Holy men of God have foretold all things with the true ſpirit of the Prophets, and a ſtrong Ratiocination, and an underſtanding, reaching the ſence of what was ſaid.* Again: *The Prophet ſpoke with a clear ratiocination, and, conſequently, ſaying all things with a certain vigour, as* (l) Heb. 3. 2, 5. [l] *Moſes*, the ſervant of God, who was faithfull in all his Houſe. *The* (m) Iſa. 1. 1. Prophet *in the Old Teſtament is called the* Seer, [m] The Viſion of *Iſaiah*, (n) Chap. 6. verſe 1. the Son of *Amos*, which he *ſaw*, &c. [n] I *ſaw* the Lord, *&c. And, after he had heard what the Lord ſaid unto him, coming towards the people he ſaith*, The Lord ſaith theſe things. *Do you not ſee, that this is the Diſcourſe of one, who comprehends, and not of one, who is beſides himſelf, and that he expreſſed not himſelf, as one that was tranſported in his underſtanding? In like manner* Ezechiel, *the Prophet, hearing the Lord ſpeak thus to him;* (o) Ezek. 4. 9. [o] Take thou alſo unto thee Wheat, and Barley, and Beans, *&c.* (p) Verſe 12. [p] and bake it with dung, that cometh out of man, *anſwers*, [q] Ah! (q) Verſe 14. Lord God, behold, my Soul hath not been polluted: for, from my youth up, have I not eaten of that, which dieth of it ſelf, or is torn in pieces, neither came there abominable fleſh into my mouth. *For, knowing that the Oracle had come to him from the Lord, to ſerve for a Threat, he was ſo far from being diſtracted in his underſtanding; that he* (r) It is in the *Greek*, ἀπεϛαλλεν; but it is likely it ſhould be, ἀνέϛαλλεν. [r] *delayed to do it: but that he was of that Opinion, is to be attributed to the ſettledneſs of his thoughts, which may be argued from his expoſtulation*, Ah! Lord God, *&c. This indeed being proper to the true Prophets, to have their reaſon fortified by the Holy Spirit, by Inſtruction, and Diſcourſe.* Daniel *alſo, had not he* (ſ) knowledg, and skill, in all Learning, and Wiſdom, *and comprehended his own imaginations? He, who reſolved the Riddles of* Nebuchadnezzar, *and explicated, in ſuch manner, what the other had ſeen in his Dreams, that he preſently gave him the Interpretation thereof, with a ſettled ſpirit, and, out of a ſuperabundance of the gift of God; having an intelligence of things above all men, through the riches of the ſpirit truly inſtructing the Prophet, and thoſe, who (by the means of the Prophet) were honoured with the Precepts of Truth? But what* (t) *Montanus*, and his Followers. [t] *theſe promiſe to Prophecy, they declare; being not well in their wits, nor comprehending the meaning thereof: for their words are eluſive, ambiguous, and ſuch, as are uncapable of a right ſence.*

(ſ) Dan. 1. 4.

(u) *In* Pſal. 45. 1. By St. *Chryſoſtome*, who writes; [u] *Hence we learn alſo another thing; to wit, That the Prophets were not as thoſe, who foretell things to come: for there, when the Devil breaks in upon the Soul, he blinds the Underſtanding, and ſo darkens the reaſoning Faculty; that they utter what they have to ſay, their underſtanding not knowing any thing of what is ſaid; but affording a Sound, as an inanimate Pipe, &c. But the holy Spirit does not ſo; but ſuffers the heart to know what it ſays. For, if it knew it not, how ſhould it ſay, that the word is good? The Devil, as an enemy, and one, that profeſſes open Hoſtility, fights againſt*

againſt the humane ſoul; but the Holy Spirit, as taking care of it, and ready to do it good, communicates his counſel to thoſe who receive it, and reveals unto them things divine with underſtanding. And elſwhere; (x) *If any one hath been ſeiſed by the unclean ſpirit, and hath divined, as being beſides himſelf, he hath been reduced to that condition, bound by the ſpirit, not knowing what he ſaid. For it is proper to ſuch, as foretell things to come, to be out of themſelves, to ſuffer violence, to be drawn, puſhed forward, dragged, as one, that is mad. The* Prophet *is not ſo; but, with a watchfull underſtanding, and ſettled diſpoſition, and knowing what he uttereth, he ſaith all things,* &c. *After that by certain Ceremonies, and Obſervations, ſome one had bound the Devil in the man, the man foretold things to come, and was tormented in Divining, and torn to pieces, and was not able to bear the impetuoſity of the Devil,* &c. *Such is the violence, which they ſuffer, who are once delivered up to the Devils; that is, they are alienated from their natural underſtanding,* &c. *The evil ſpirit filling the* Propheteſs *with Fury, ſhe immediately unbound her hair; behaved her ſelf, as one diſtracted, and foamed at the mouth, and ſpoke extravagant things, as if ſhe had been drunk,* &c. *Our* Prophets *prophecied as became them, knowingly, and with abſolute liberty; and they were accordingly their own Maſters, to ſpeak, or ſpeak not, as they pleaſed: for they were not forced by neceſſity; but honoured with power. Upon which account it was; that* Jonas *fled, and* Ezekiel *deferred, and* Jeremiah *excuſed himſelf: God not preſſing them by neceſſity; but adviſing, admoniſhing, threatning them; not darkning the underſtanding. For it is the property of the Devil to make a tumult, to cauſe madneſs, and much obſcurity, and the property of God, to illuminate, and teach, with apprehenſion, the things, that are neceſſary.* Again; (y) *To the end a man ſhould not contend, nor move any ſedition; he ſhews that the gift is ſubject: for in that place he calls the efficaciouſneſs of it, the ſpirit; but if the ſpirit be be ſubject, how much more thou, who doſt poſſeſs it, ſhalt not thou be juſt in contending?*

(x) *In* 1 Cor. 12. *Homil.* 29.

(y) *Homil.* 36.

By (z) Saint *Hierome*, who, treating of the ſame matter, ſays. *We are alſo to obſerve, that this* aſſumption, *or* charge, *or* weight, *of the Prophet, is a Viſion; for he ſpeaks not in Ecſtaſie, (as* Montanus, *and* Priſca, *and* Maximilla *fondly imagine) but what he prophecies is the Book of the Viſion of one, who underſtands all he ſays, and makes it appear in the midſt of his People; that his Viſion is the weight of the Enemies.* Again; (a) *We are to obſerve, that the* aſſumption, *or* charge, *whereof we have already ſpoken, is the* Viſion of the Prophet, *and that (contrary to the perverſe Doctrine of* Montanus) *he underſtands what he ſees, and ſpeaks not as a fool, nor gives (as diſtracted Women do) a ſound, without any ſignification. Whence it comes, that the Apoſtle commands,* [b] *that,* if any thing be revealed to another, that ſitteth by, the firſt ſhould hold his peace. For, (*ſaith he preſently after*) [c] God is not the Authour of Confuſion, but of Peace. *Whence it is manifeſt; that, when any one holds his peace of himſelf, and gives way for another to ſpeak, he can either ſpeak, or hold his peace, at his pleaſure; but that he, who ſpeaks in Ecſtaſie, that is, againſt his will, is not at liberty to ſpeak, or be ſilent.* And again; [d] *The Prophets ſpake not in Ecſtaſie (as* Montanus, *with his fooliſh Women, dreams) ſo as they knew not what they uttered, and (when they inſtructed others) were themſelves ignorant of what they ſaid; of which (ſort of people the* Apoſtle *ſays,* [e] Underſtanding neither what they ſay, nor whereof they affirm: *but, according to* Solomon, *in his* Proverbs, [f] The Heart of

(z) *Præf. in* Nahum.

(a) *Præf. in* Habac.

(b) 1 Cor. 14. 30.

(c) Verſe 33.

(d) *Præf. in* Iſai. 33.

(e) 1 Tim. 1. 7.

(f) Prov. 16. 23.

of the Wise teacheth his Mouth, and addeth Learning to his Lips) *they also knew, themselves, what they said. For, if the* Prophets *were Wise men* (g) Acts 7.22. *(which we cannot deny) and* (g) Moses, learned in all Wisdom, *spoke to the Lord, and the Lord answered him; and it is said of* Daniel *to the Prince of* (h) Ezec.28.3. Tyrus, (h) Art thou wiser, then *Daniel? and* David *was wise, making his* (i) Psalm. *brag in the* Psalm, (i) Thou hast manifested unto me the unknown, and hidden things of thy Wisdom: *how could the wise* Prophets *(like irrational Creatures) be ignorant of what they said? We read in another place of the* (k) 1 Cor.14. 32. Apostle; (k) *That* The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets: *so as that it is in their power, when to be silent, and when to speak. But, if that seem weak to any one, let him consider this saying of the same* (l) *Ibid.*29,30. *Apostle*; (l) Let the Prophets speak, two, or three; and let the other judg: If any thing be revealed to another, that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. *How then can they hold their peace, since it is in the power of the Spirit, who speaks by the* Prophets, *to be silent, or to speak? If then they understood what they said, all was full of Wisdom, and Reason: and it was not an empty Sound, that came to their Ears; but God spoke in the spirit of the* (m) Zach.1.9. Prophets, *according to what another* Prophet *says*; (m) The Angel, that talked with me; *and,* (n) Crying in our Hearts *Abba,* Father; *and,* (n) Gal.4. 6. (o) Psalm. (o) I will hearken what the Lord shall say unto me, *&c.* (p) *If what* (p) *In* Isai. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *the* Prophet *said be called* Vision, *let us hear no more of the Extravagances of* Montanus; *who thinks, that the* Prophets *foretold things to come in Ecstasie, or Madness; for they could not see what they were ignorant of.*

(q) *Apud* Ambrosium. (r) 1 Cor. 12. 8. By (q) *Hilary* the *Deacon,* who interprets these words of St. *Paul*; (r) To one is given by the Spirit the word of Wisdom, after this manner; *That is, Prudence is given him, not through the assistance of Letters, but by the irradiation of the Holy Spirit; that his Heart might be illuminated, and Prudent; and that he might discern the things, which were to be avoided,* (f) 1 Cor. 14. 4. *and which were to be pursued.* Again, upon these words, (f) *He that speaketh in an unknown Tongue edifieth himself; but he, that Prophecieth, edifieth the Church,* he makes this Remark; *For it may be, in regard he alone knows what he says, he alone is edified: for he, who Prophecies, edifies all the people; when what he says is understood of all.*

By the *Author* of the *Commentary upon the Epistles,* attributed to Saint *Hicrome,* whereof I should make no account (since it is, if not the Work of *Pelagius,* as it seems to be, sufficiently pestered with *Pelagianisms*) if *Primasius,* Bishop of *Adrumetum,* had not almost wholly Copied it into his own; even that very Passage, where that man (whoever he were) *Contemporary* of St. *Augustine,* interpreting the words of St. *Paul,* ordering *him, that spoke in a strange Tongue, to be silent* in the Church, *and to speak to himself; and to God, when there is not any to interpret,* writes, *Let him prudently keep it to himself, and to God, that he hath that grace.* And upon these words; *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets,* he adds; *He, who hath the spirit of the Prophets, is subject to the other Prophets, by the society of Grace: whereby he is not jealous; that another should Prophecy, when it is revealed to him.*

(t) 1 Cor. 14. By *Theodoret,* Bishop of *Cyrus,* who upon these Words, [t] *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets,* declares; *That the* Gifts *are called* Spirits.

By

By *Primaſius*, Biſhop of *Adrumetum*, who concludes from the ſame place; (u) That *The Spirit of Humility, and Charity, ought to be in the Prophets; becauſe God is not the Authour of Pride, and Diſſenſion, who dwells not in them, but of Peace; becauſe the things they Prophecy are known to them.* And, from the laſt *Verſe* of the ſame Chapter; *He, who is a true Prophet, no doubt, knows, and ſtands not in need of admonition, or reproof; becauſe* (w) he judgeth all things: yet he himſelf is judged of no man.

(u) *In* 1 Cor. 14.

(w) 1 Cor. 2. 15.

By *Remy*, Arch-Biſhop of *Lyons*, confounded (by *Villalpandus*, and others) with St. *Remy* of *Rheims*, (x) when having read the Text of St. *Paul* in the Singular number; *The Spirit of the Prophets is ſubject to the Prophets*, he obſerves, That *The Holy Spirit is, after a certain manner, ſubject to all the Saints: for that it forces them, not of a ſudden to break forth into ſpeech, as the evil Spirit doth in Poſſeſſed Perſons, and Lunaticks; but leaves them at liberty to ſpeak, or be ſilent.* Then adds; *Otherwiſe, if we read in the Plural Number*, The Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets, *we muſt underſtand, by* Spirits, *the* Gifts *of the Holy Spirit; that is to ſay, the Tongues, the Virtues, the Caſting out of Devils, the advice of Wiſe men. Now theſe Gifts are in ſuch manner ſubject to the Elect; that, when they pleaſe, they exerciſe them, and, when they pleaſe, they keep them, as it were concealed. By theſe Words is given us to underſtand; that, although many* Doctours *were together, who knew by the Holy Spirit what they ought to ſay; yet are they not always ſo compelled by the Holy Spirit, but that, one being ſilent, the reſt may alſo be ſilent.*

(x) *In* 1 Cor. 14. 32.

By *Oecumenius* (y) who inſerts theſe Words in his *Chain* upon the ſame Paſſage; *He calls the* Spirits of the Prophets *the ſpiritual Gift it ſelf. Then to the end no man ſhould ſay*, And, how can I be ſilent; for the Holy Spirit inſpiring forces a man to ſpeak, whether he will, or no? *No* (ſaith he) *for the Gift* is ſubject to the Prophet; *that is to ſay, it is in his power to ſpeak, or be ſilent: contrary to what happens in Diviners; for thoſe, after their Enthuſiaſm (even againſt their wills, as Poſſeſſed Perſons) ſay what they would not. If then the Gift be ſubject to the Prophets; would it not be inconvenient, that you ſhould be ſubject to what profits in common; ſo as that, when it were requiſite to be ſilent, you ſhould be ſilent?*

(y) See him alſo upon the 2d *Epiſtle* of St. *Peter*, chap. 1. verſe 20, 21.

Conſonant thereto, is the common Sentiment of the Modern *Latine* Interpreters: as *Peter Lombard*, Biſhop of *Paris*; *Nicholas de Lyra*, a *Franciſcan*; *Thomas de Vio*; Cardinal *Cajetan*; *Ambroſe Catharin*, Arch-Biſhop of *Conza*; *James de Feure D'Eſtaples*; *John de Gagny*, and *Claudius Guillaud*, Doctours of *Sorbon*; *Francis Titelman*, of the *Order* of Saint *Francis*; *Arias Montanus*, of the *Order* of Saint *James*; *Emanuel Sà*, of the *Society* of *Jeſus*; and others, whom, for brevity ſake, I forbear to mention.

CHAP. XXVI.

Conſequences following upon the common Sentiment of the Fathers *concerning* Enthuſiaſm.

FRom all the precedent Teſtimonies it follows; Firſt, That there never was any Body *deprived of their Underſtanding*, by the efficaciouſneſs of any celeſtial Inſpiration.

Secondly, That whoever ſays, he is *compelled*, *tranſported*, and *alienated* in ſpirit, does, by that very allegation, diſcover, that he is not moved by the Holy Spirit.

Thirdly, That the *Sibyls*, who (by the Confeſſion of all Antiquity) were *Mad*, during the time of their *Enthuſiaſm*, were Women, not onely *Heathens*; but *poſſeſſed with Evil Spirits*.

Fourthly, That the name of *Sibyl* having never been uſed, but to denote Perſons of that condition, could never have been appropriated to any of the Holy women mentioned in *Scripture*. So that, as (a) *Glycas*, who beſtowed it on the *Queen* of *Sheba*, did, in ſo doing, treat her very unworthily: ſo (b) *Onuphrius*, writing, *That* Deborah, *the Wife of* Lapidoth, *an* Hebrew-*woman*, *mentioned in the fourth Chapter of* Judges, *might be the moſt antient of all the* Sibyls, *and that there might be added to her* Miriam, *the Siſter of* Moſes, *and* Aaron, *as may be read in* Exodus, *and*, *laſtly*, Huldah, *the Wife of* Shallum, *of whom are read many things in* 2 Chron. 34. *under* Joſias, *King of* Judah; not onely contradicts himſelf, in that, to the prejudice of his Suppoſition concerning *Moſes*'s Siſter; whom he places among the *Sibyls*, he conceives *Debora*, who was not born, till one hundred, fourſcore, and one years, after the Death of *Miriam*, was the *moſt antient of them all*: but hath alſo (for want of reflection) put a notorious Affront upon thoſe Devout and Religious *Ladies*, in comparing them to *Poſſeſſed Perſons*, and *Sorcereſſes*; ſuch as were all thoſe, whom the *Heathens* put into the qualification of *Sibyls*, becauſe of their Tranſportation, which they believed to have been *Divine*.

(a) *Annal.* part. 2.

(b) Lib. *De Sibyllis.*

Fifthly, That the *Authour* of the eight Books, entituled the *Sibylline* (upon this very account, that he brags of having pronounced his *Oracles* with *alienation* of ſpirit, by *violence*; and *not knowing what he ſaid*) hath diſclaimed the quality of *Prophet*; which he would have uſurped, and deſerved: we ſhould apply to his Fantaſtick Imaginations the Judgment, which St. *Epiphanius* made of thoſe of *Montanus*; (c) *Thoſe are the Diſcourſes of an Ecſtatick, and one, who comprehends not what he ſays; but ſhews another Character, then the Character of the Holy Spirit, who ſpoke by the* Prophets.

(c) *Hæres.* 48. cap. 4.

Sixthly, That, if the pretenſion of the foreſaid bold Forger argued him guilty of the greateſt Impudence imaginable, that of the *Authour* of the *Predication of* St. *Paul*, which refers the *Heathens*, to the *Sibyl*, and *Hyſtaſpes*, was yet more unworthy, and more ſacrilegious.

Seventhly, That St. *Juſtin*, who maintains the Tranſportation of the

Cumæan

Cumæan Sibyl, and attributes to her the *Verses* he had extracted out of the eight Suppositious *Books*, under the name of *Noah*'s Daughter-in-law, went upon a most false ground, and such, as was contrary to the perswasion of the whole *Church*, and to the form of Disputation between the *Orthodox*, and the *Montanists*, and such *Fanaticks*.

Eighthly, That the same St. *Justin*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* after his Example, having taken occasion to celebrate the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, as a *Propheteß*; and to recommend *Hystaspes*, as inspired of God, from their having found somewhat to their commendation in the pretended *Predication* of St. *Paul*, have injured their own Reputation, by contracting an over-confident familiarity with *Apocryphal* Writings. For, though their Learning, and the Rank they held in the *Church*, exempted them from the rigour of the Prohibition, made since by St. *Cyril* to his *Catechumen*, saying to her; (d) *Read not any thing of the* Apocryphal *Books*; yet had they as great reason, as St. *Hierome*, to cry out; (e) *Let us hear no more of the fond imaginations of* Apocryphal *Authours*; and to conceive the same Horrour thereof, as he would have raised in *Læta*, and his little Disciple, *Pacatula*; giving them this remarkable Advertisement; (f) *Let her beware of all the* Apocryphal *Books*; *and, if at any time she have an inclination to read them, not for the truth of the Tenets, but out of a reverence for the Signs* [which are observed therein] *let her know, that they are not of those, under whose Names they go, and that many evil things are crept into them, and that it is the Work of a great Prudence to seek* Gold *amongst* Dirt, *&c. Let her Delight be in the spirits of those, in whose Writings the purity of Faith is unquestionable; and let her read the others so, as to judg of them rather, then follow them.* If the examination of Books of doubtfull Authority was recommended to a *simple Maid*, how much more should it have been the care of those Great men; for whom *Christianity* hath a veneration, as its chiefest *Doctours*? And, if the most inconsiderable among the *Laity* should be armed with Precautions in reading, how much more requisite was it, that the *Guids* of the *Church* should read things with attention, and vigilance? But, the desire of profiting out of all things, of taking advantages every where, of forcing Truth even out of the mouth of Falshood, and to become like Torrents, whose violence carries away what ever they meet with, hath made many of the *Fathers*, that nothing might escape the greediness of their *Memory*, neglect the best occasions they could have had to make Discoveries of their *Judgment*; and not onely endeavour to draw to themselves all the apprehensions of the *Heathen*, as well solid, as ill-grounded (as those great *Rivers*, which contain in their *Chanels* Golden Sand, and Dirt, mixed together) but also triumph in that kind of employment, wherein there must sometimes be foul Play; as if it had been lawfull for them to say with *Æneas*, in *Virgil*,

(d) *Catech.* 5.
(e) *In* Isai. *lib.* 17. *cap.* 64.
(f) *Epist.* 7.

—— (g) *Dolus, an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*

(g) *Æneid.* lib. 2.

Thence came it to pass; that St. *Hierome*, carried away with the violent Stream of this strange Prejudice, made no difficulty to alledg for his Discharge, that the *Fathers* (h) *were forced to speak, not according to their own Opinion, but to say what was necessary against what the* Gentiles *maintained*; and that St. *Paul*, himself, *grasped at all he touched*; *that he turned his Back, to gain the better*; *that he pretended a Flight, that he might*

(h) *Apol. ad* Pammach. *pro libris* Adver. Jovin.

Kill; that the Teſtimonies, he made uſe of, ſpeak one thing in their proper Places, and another in his Epiſtles; *that there are ſome captive Examples, which fight not at all in the Books, whence they are taken, yet ſerve him to get the Victory:* as if ever the *Apoſtle* of God had, by his own Example, authoriſed the Licentiouſneſs either of wreſting the *Scripture;* or ſtealing, for Truth ſake, a ſhamefull, and baſely-obtained, Victory, by a diſſimulation of his own ſentiment; or of thinking all means indifferent, nay commendable, ſo it tended to the prejudice of Errour; or of *ſeeking* (according to the *Maxim* of *Anaxagoras*) *all things in all things*, and ſetting up (to play the expert *Merchant*, acording to what is recommended to *Chriſtians*, by the *Authour* of the *Conſtitutions*, (i) as from the *Apoſtles*) an open *Bank* in Religion. But it is not given to all to thrive in this Spiritual Truckage, and (with *Virgil*, who boaſted he gathered *Gold* out of *Ennius*'s *Dung*) to finde the *Gold* of *Chriſtianity* in the common-*Sewers* of *Apocryphal* Writings.

(i) *Lib.* 2. cap. 36.

CHAP. XXVII.

Certain Diſ-circumſpections of the Fathers, *concerning the Writing miſ-named the* Sibylline, *conſidered.*

TO give the laſt Touch to this Diſcourſe of the *Sibyls*, we have yet to obſerve ſome ſlight Forgetfulneſſes, as well of the Antient, as Modern. For Example, St. *Auguſtine* (a) ſays; that *Virgil confeſſes, he had transferred, out of the* Sibylline Poem, *theſe words, which may be applied to our* Saviour;

(a) *Epiſt.* 155.

If any Print of Antient Crimes remain,
Thou ſhalt efface them in thy happy Reign;
And from perpetual fear all Nations free.

and, *That* (*it may be*) *the* Poet *meant thereby ſomething of the onely* Saviour *of the World; which he thought it neceſſary to confeſs.* Again, (b) That *He ſhould ſhould not eaſily have believed of the* Sibyl, *that ſhe had ſpoken of* Chriſt, *were it not, that one among the* Poets, *the moſt eminent of the* Romane *Language, before he ſpoke of the Reſtauration of the* World *things, which ſeemed to be ſufficiently conſonant to the Reign of our* Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *begins it with this* Verſe, *ſaying,*

(b) *Expoſit. in-choat.* Epiſt. *ad* Roman.

The laſt Time comes, which *Sibyl*'s Verſe declare:

and that *no body queſtions, but that the* Cumæan *Poem is the* Sibylline. And (c) elſwhere, *that* Virgil *ſhews, that he ſaid not theſe words of himſelf,* In thy happy Reign, *when he ſays,* The laſt Time comes. Whence it is apparent, without any contradiction, that that was ſaid by the *Cumæan Sibyl.*

(c) *De Civitat. Dei*, lib. 10. cap. 27.

To which I anſwer, Firſt, That *Virgil* does not ſay, he either had, or could have, taken any thing out of the *Cumæan Poem*; which could not be come at by a Perſon of his Quality; but that *the laſt Time*, which was to accompliſh the *Deſtinies*, foretold by the *Cumæan Poem*, was then coming in.

Secondly, That from this Diſcourſe it does not any way follow, that the

the *Cumæan Sibyl* had *uttered* what the *Poet* writ; but that she foretold the Fate of the *Empire* to its last Time: whereof (according to his manner) he makes a *Description*.

Thirdly, That if there be any Piety in the Application of his words to our *Saviour*, it is wholly groundless: the meaning of the *Authour* having been absolutely different, as hath been shewed already, and not any way discovering he had any knowledg, or indeed Suspicion, of the Salvation of the *Elect* by *Jesus Christ*.

(d) *Isidore* of *Sevil*, having presuppos'd, that the *Gauls* were so called, *because of their Whiteness*; since Γάλα, in *Greek*, signifies *Milk*, adds, *Whence it comes, that the* Sibyl *calls them so; when she says of them,* (d) *Orig.* lib. 9. cap. 11.

——— *With* Gold *their White Necks are adorn'd:*

And yet it is not certain;

First, That these Words are not the *Sibyl*'s, but (e) *Virgil*'s, representing, in magnificent Terms, the Sculpture of the *Buckler*, bestowed by *Vulcan* on *Æneas*. (e) *Æneid.* lib. 8.

Secondly, That *Isidore* mistook the words of *Lactantius*, who had (according to the Observation of St. (f) *Hierome*) *in this third Volume to Probus*, held this Discourse; *The* Gauls *were antiently, by reason of the Whiteness of their Bodies, called* Galatæ; *and the* Sibyl *calls them so.* Which the *Poet* would express, when he said; (f) *Præf. in lib.* 2. Comment. *in Epist. ad* Galat.

——— *Their Milkie Necks enchac'd in Gold;*

when he might as well have said, *White*. For it is evident;

First, That he attributes not to the *Sibyl* the Words, which *Virgil* made use of; but onely the Use of the word *Galatæ*, derived (according to the common Opinion) from Γάλα, which signifies *Milk*.

Secondly, That he would not say, that *Virgil* took his Conception from the *Sibyl*; but that he (as well, as the other) reflected on the *Etymologie* of *Galatæ*, derived fron Γάλα; and applied to the *Gauls*, by reason of the *Whiteness of their Bodies*. Besides, in the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, upon which *Lactantius* onely cast his eye, the word *Galatæ* is not used to signifie our *Western Gauls*; who are therein called (g) Γάλλοι, & Γαλλικανοὶ, and their Land (h) Κελτιγυή· but to design the numerous Colony they had sent into the *East* of *Gallo-Grecians*, or *Asiatick Gauls*: and the Counterfeit *Sibyl* hath not any where insinuated, that these *Gauls* derived their Name from Γάλα; but *Lactantius* presuppos'd it as likely, though without any necessity. (g) *Lib.* 5. (h) *Lib.* 7.

Chap. XXVIII.

That the Conjecture of Cardinal Baronius, *concerning the Correspondence between* Virgil, *and* Herod, *is not maintainable.*

CArdinal (a) *Baronius*, fixed in the Imagination; that *Virgil* had *learned from the* Sibylline *Verses*, the approaching Advent of the *great King*; and that he had *out of flattery* wrested the Sence, and applied it to *Pollio*'s Son, alledges the Authority of the *Emperour Constantine*; whereto we have answered already: then makes this Observation; (a) *Appar.* Sect. 23.

on; *The ſaid* Maro *might alſo have underſtood ſomething from the* Hebrews *concerning this Buſineſs; for* Herod, *King of the* Jews (*when he came to* Rome) *had often* (*as* (b) Joſephus *writes*) *been entertained at the Houſe of* Pollio, Virgil's *great Friend.* Now, I intreat the *Reader* to conſider, that all this is nothing, but Wind. For

(b) *Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 15.

Firſt, *Joſephus*, who acknowledges, that *Pollio* was τῶν μάλιστα σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν, *of the number of thoſe, who made greateſt account of* Herod's *Friendſhip*, does not particularly denote of which *Pollio* he ſpeaks, and it is generally known; that, beſides *C. Aſinius Pollio*, *Virgil*'s great Friend, mentioned by *Pliny*, (c) there was at the ſame time, in *Rome*, *Vedius Pollio*, a man no leſs familiar with *Auguſtus*, then *Aſinius*; as is obſerved by the ſame (d) *Pliny*.

(c) *Lib.* 36. *cap.* 5.

(d) *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 23, 53.

Secondly, Though *Herod* came four ſeveral times to *Rome*; yet is it impoſſible, to make the conceit of *Baronius* to ſuit with any one of them. For the firſt Journey he made thither was in the year of *Rome* 714. during the *Conſulſhip* of *Pollio*, to implore the aſſiſtances of the *Senate* againſt the *Parthians*; and then he was in a private Condition, made little ſtay, had other Things in his thoughts, then Diſcourſing with *Virgil* (who was then onely beginning to come into Repute, without minding ought of Religion) and, having his Imagination employed how to get (as he afterwards did) the Crown of *Judæa*, he would have been more likely to entertain *Virgil*, and *Pollio*, with the Riſing of his own Glory, then of that of our *Saviour*; whom the *Scripture* calls the (e) *King of the Nations*, and (f) the *Day-ſpring from on high*. As for the other three, they were all of them ſome years after the Death of *Virgil*; which happened on the two and twentieth of *September*, in the year of *Rome*, 735. For the firſt was in the year of *Rome*, 738. to carry away the children of *Mariamne* into *Judæa*; the ſecond, in the year 744. to accuſe them before *Auguſtus*; and the laſt, in the year 746. to reſtore into favour *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, his Ally. So that *Virgil* was not then in a Condition to learn any thing, either of him, or of any of his Retinue; or, yet, of his Friend *Pollio*.

(e) Jer. 10, 7.
(f) Luke 1. 78.

Thirdly, *Joſephus* does not ſay; that *Pollio* was ever *Hoſt* unto, or *entertained*, *Herod* at his Houſe: but that he *lodged his Children*, from the year of *Rome*, 733. at which time *Virgil* was in *Greece*, to the year 738. which was the third after his Death. And it is ſo far from being a good Conſequence, *Pollio entertained in his Houſe the Children of Herod*; therefore, *He received* Herod *himſelf into his Houſe*: that the contrary ſeems rather to be inferred, *He lodged the Children of* Herod; therefore, *He could not, at the ſame time, lodg* Herod *himſelf, their Father*; *who had a Royal Retinue about him, and was more vain-glorious, then any* Prince *of his Time*. I preſs not, that *Cardinal Baronius* (directly contrary to the *Emperour Conſtantine*, who commends the Piety of *Virgil*) cenſuring his prophane Flattery, renders him ſo much the more criminal, for that, having learned of the *Jews* the Myſterie of the *Meſſias*, he, out of a voluntary Malice, applied the *Prophecy* to *Pollio*, and his Son. All which conſidered, gives me the Confidence to affirm; that the preſumed communication of *Virgil* with the *Jews* is a groundleſs Imagination, and no more.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIX.

That the Opinion of Anthonius Possevinus *concerning the* Sibyls, *and their pretended Writings, is not more rational, then that of* Cardinal Baronius.

Anthony Possevin, carried away with the Torrent of the common Opinion, makes (as the rest) no small Stir with the *Sibyls*; saying; *That* (a) Plato, Iamblichus, Porphyrius, *and the other* Academicks, *of whose Doctrine* (b) Petrus Crinitus *hath written, have treated of the* Sibyls. (c) Cicero *hath treated of them, and* Pliny; *and, before them,* Varro *in his Books* Of Divine things, *To* Cæsar; *As also afterwards,* Cornelius Tacitus, Solinus, Feneſtella, Marcianus Capella, Virgil, Servius, *and others*; *and of the* Greeks, *beſides the* Platoniſts, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Suidas, Ælian *in his Books* De varia Hiſtoria; *nay, among the* Chriſtians, *and antient* Greek *Fathers,* Euſebius, Juſtin, Clemens Alexandrinus, Stratonicus Cumanus, Theophilus *in his Books to* Autolycus; *and, among the* Latines, Lactantius, Hierome, Auguſtine, *&c. Now, many of the* Fathers (d) *have affirmed*; *that theſe* Sibyls *had foretold things through the inſpiration of God*; *and the Apoſtle* St. Paul *exhorted the* Gentiles *to read their* Oracles, *as* Clemens Alexandrinus *hath left in writing,* &c. Peter Garcias Galarza *hath ſo Treated of all this whole matter*; *that, comparing the Verſes of the ten* Sibyls *with the Prophecies of the Holy* Scripture, *he hath ſhewed the admirable Harmony between them.*

(a) *Biblioth.* lib. 2. cap. 71.
(b) *De Honeſta Diſciplina,* lib. 7. cap. 1.
(c) *De Divin.* lib. 1, & 2.
(d) Hierom. *lib.* 1. *contra* Jovin. Euſeb. *lib.* 5. Hiſt Eccles. Lactant. *lib.* 1. Divin. Inſtit. Auguſt. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 23. De Civ. Dei. Juſt. Martyr, *lib.* 4. Advers. Gentes.

But the *Reader* will be pleaſed once more to conſider the inconſiderateneſs of this, otherwiſe learned, man; who cites, among the *Authours,* that have ſpoken of the *Sibyls,* Theophilus of *Antioch,* and, in his *Apparatus,* queſtions, whether he ſhould be admitted into that number; ſaying, *Theophilus of* Antioch, *in Caſe that* Theophilus *ever writ of the* Sibyls. For

Firſt, The *Heathens* knew not of any *Sibyl,* but the *Idolatrous*; as hath been already proved, and cite not any thing of what the *Chriſtians* thought *Sibylline:* the *Chriſtians,* on the contrary, made no account of what the *Heathen* eſteemed, and confining themſelves to the *Rhapſody* of the eight Books, which go under the Title of the *Sibylline Oracles,* were deceived, thinking them to be the antient *Sibyls*; and conſequently the Teſtimony of neither *Heathens,* nor *Chriſtians,* is not ſtrong enough to *authenticate* them; in as much, as the former have charged them with Forgery; and the later, who made account of them, were circumvented; and their Deſign to bring them into credit proves ineffectual upon this account, that (according to the Civil (e) *Maxim*) *The conſent of him, who is miſtaken, is null.*

(e) Cod. *lib.* 1. *Tit.* 18. *cap.* 9. A. D. 305. *Decemb.* 8.

Secondly, St. *Paul* neither was, nor could be, the *Authour* of the *Recommendation* attributed to him; but ſome *Apocryphal* Writer, who (impiouſly-bold) took his Name upon him, to deceive the World with more eaſe.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Euſebius* does not ſo much, as name the *Sibyls* in the fifth Book of his *Hiſtory*.

Fourthly, The Name of *Stratonicus* was never heard of, among the *Fathers* of the *Church*. *Cumæ* is not found to have produced any *Eccleſiaſtical* Writers: and *Poſſevin*, himſelf, grants as much; for that he does not allow his *Stratonicus* any place in his *Apparatus Sacer*.

Fifthly, It was no hard matter for *Galarza* to finde a *Conformity* between the *Prophets* and the Writings of the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, ſince ſhe was (whatever ſhe may ſeem to the contrary) a *Chriſtian* by *Profeſſion*; and that ſhe writ them one hundred, thirty, and eight years after the Birth of our *Saviour*: onely it is to be remembred; that this Conformity is not ſuch, as is imagined; and that the pretended *Propheteſs*, to whom it is attributed, was full of Errours, and a corrupt *Divine*. If therefore we muſt (with *Poſſevin*) blame *Opſopoëus* the *Printer* of *Baſil*; it ſhould be, for having inſerted this confuſed Medley into the Body of *Orthodox Writers*, and added thereto the *Oracles* of the falſe *Gods*; when nothing of it is *Orthodox*, or ought to finde place in the *Chriſtian* Library. And, as to what is added by *Poſſevin*; That *It had been more expedient to ſet apart ſome few things of many, and particularly what might be taken, as moſt certain, out of the Writings of the* Fathers, *with* Notes, *or a* Paraphraſe *thereupon*; *ſuch as* Conſtantine the Great *hath put before the* Cumæan Sibyl *cited by* Virgil; *or* Lactantius *before* Firmianus; *or* Auguſtine *before the* Acroſtick *produced by* Cicero: it is an Errour infinitely beyond what he was guilty of before. For it will never be expedient to propoſe to *Chriſtians*, as a Direction, *the Stumbling-Blocks*, againſt which the *Fathers* fell, much leſs to raiſe them into an admiration of *Suppoſititious* Pieces. Beſides, it is inconſiderately done by ſome, to alledg either the *Paraphraſe* of *Conſtantine*; who hath put *Virgil*, and his *Poem* ſo unmercifully to the Rack: or the *Acroſtick* of the eighth Book of the *Sibylline Oracles*; which *Cicero* no more thought on, then he did on the *Story* of *Apuleius*'s *Aſs*.

The End of the Firſt Book.

OF THE SIBYLS.

The Second Book.

Of the Consequences *arising upon the Suppositi-ousness of the Writing pretended to be* Sibylline.

ADVERTISEMENT.

TO revenge the antient Injury done to the *Church* (in whose Bosom it is now above fifteen hundred years, that some have been willing to fasten the *Suppositious* Work of the *Sibylline* Writing) and to *Truth*, which hath been miserably disguised thereby; and lastly to the *Fathers*, who have been surprised by the unheard-of Impudence of the *Impostour*; who, presenting them with a counterfeit Jewel, instead of a right Diamond, made them take *Coals* out of Hell-fire for a Divine *Treasure*: I have been forced to search into the very Roots of so deep an *Imposture*, as such, as whereto many of our Time (even among the *Protestants*) are still inclined to give Credit. And in what I have done out of this Design, I have cherished a certain Hope; that those, who shall be any way offended at the seeming Novelty of my Sentiment, will vouch-

ſafe to conſider it without Prejudice: that, upon their acknowledgment of the ſolidity of its Grounds, they may acquieſce therein; or, if they think otherwiſe of it, with Reaſon correct it. In the *Interim* (preſuppoſing it as well, and ſufficiently, proved) I ſhall intreat the *Reader's* Attention, to conſider the *Conſequences* of the *Doctrine* unjuſtly attributed to the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, and, to proceed therein with ſome Order, Obſerve,

Firſt, In what *Year* preciſely the *Apocalyps* (whereof the falſe *Prophetess* attempts to wreſt the true Sence) was written by the *Apoſtle* Saint *John*.

Secondly, About what time the extravagant Imaginations of the pretended *Sibylline* Writings came firſt abroad.

Thirdly, By how ſtrong a Prejudice they were poſſeſſed, who were (out of an exceſſive Eaſineſs of Belief) induced to admit them.

A TREA-

A TREATISE OF THE SIBYLS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

An Enquiry about the Time, wherein Saint John *wrote his* REVELATION.

AS we have, on the one side, the Consent of *Antiquity*, assigning the *Life* of Saint *John* to have ended on *Sunday*, the 27th of *December*, in the third year of *Trajan*; coincident with the hundredth year after the Birth of our *Saviour*, according to the *Computation* now used: so have we, on the other, Saint *Irenæus*, who suffered *Martyrdom* in the one hundred, ninety, and eighth year of *Christ*, affirming in the thirtieth *Chapter* of his fifth *Book*, cited by *Eusebius* (both in the eighth *Chapter* of the third *Book*, and the eighth *Chapter* of the fifth *Book* of his *History*) that the *Apocalyps* was written (a) *about the end of* Domitian's *Reign:* which is confirmed by *Clemens Alexandrinus* about the year 200. writing at the place, Copied out by *Eusebius*, that St. *John* (b) *returned from* Patmos, *after* the Tyrant's *Death*; that is to say, after the eighteenth of *September*, in the year ninety six, on which *Domitian* was Assassinated. *Eusebius* seems the more absolutely to acquiess in their Sentiment, in that, having

(a) Πρὸς τῷ τελευτῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.

(b) *Euseb.* ex *Clemente*, lib. 3. cap. 23. Τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου μεληλθεν.

having further publiſhed, and obſerved, in the ſeventeenth *Chapter* of his third *Book*, that *Domitian*, (c) *towards the end of his Reign, became the Succeſſour of* Nero *in his enmity, and War, againſt God*, he certifies in the nineteenth *Chapter*, that *Domitilla* was Baniſhed for the Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* in the fifteenth, and laſt, year of that *Prince*'s Reign, which falls in with the ninety ſixth of our *Saviour*. Further, that the (d) *Tradition of the Antients* affirmed; that St. *John* was *called back from* Patmos *by* Nerva; and in his *Chronicle* (upon the fourteenth year of *Domitian*, which he makes coincident with the ſecond of the two hundred and eighteenth *Olympiad*) that (e) *Domitian* was *the ſecond after* Nero, *who perſecuted the* Chriſtians; and that, *in his Reign, the Apoſtle* St. John, *then baniſhed to* Patmos, *had ſeen the* Apocalyps, *as* Irenæus *declares*. Which words manifeſtly relate to the place of that holy *Prelate*, which he had Tranſcribed twice in his *Hiſtory*, and which yet St. *Hierome*, as well in his *Verſion* of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicle*, as in his *Catalogue*, wreſts to another ſence, turning it, (f) *Which* Irenæus *interprets*; as if *Euſebius* had written, not ὡς ἑωλοῖ but ἣν ἑωλοῖ. and his intention had been to tell us; that *Saint* Irenæus *declared the* Apocalyps; rather then to give us to underſtand, that (according to the Declaration of that great *Martyr*) St. *John ſaw his* Apocalyps, *not onely under* Domitian, *but the fourteenth year of that* Prince, or (to expreſs it in his own Terms) *towards the end of his Reign*. But with this little diſtortion of the words of *Euſebius*, St. *Hierome*, in his *Catalogue*, expreſſes their true ſence, ſaying, (g) Domitian *in his fourteenth year, raiſing, after* Nero, *the ſecond Perſecution*, John (*baniſhed to the Iſle of* Patmos) *writ the* Apocalyps; *which* Juſtin Martyr *interprets, and* Irenæus. So that we muſt not, with (h) *Cardinal Baronius*, give that Interpretation to his Diſcourſe; as if *Domitian had began his Reign fourteen years after* Nero. For, though it be indeed true; ſince *Nero* died the tenth of *June*, 68. and *Domitian* came into his Brother's place on the eighteenth of *September*, 81. thirteen years, three moneths, and eight days after the unfortunate End of *Nero*; and conſequently about the beginning of the fourteenth year: yet was it not the intention of St. *Hierome* to acquaint us, what number of years had paſſed between the Reign of *Domitian* and that of *Nero*; but that *Domitian*, in *the fourteenth year of his Reign*, (which was the twenty ſeventh after *Nero*'s Death) raiſed the *ſecond Perſecution* againſt the *Church*. So that it was inconſiderately done of him, who Tranſlated the *Greek Verſion* of *Sophronius*, the antient *Interpreter* of St. *Hierome*'s *Catalogue*, into *Latine*, to make him ſay, as he fancied, (i) *The fourteenth year after the Death of* Nero, inſtead of turning it (according to the proper expreſſions as well of St. *Hierome*, as (k) *Sophronius*) (l) *The fourteenth year*, Domitian *raiſing, after* Nero, *the ſecond Perſecution:* nor indeed could it have been without contradiction to St. *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, nay, to himſelf; and that ſo much the more notorious, by how much the more he pretended to follow the laſt; whoſe Diſcourſe he hath Tranſlated, in a manner, word for word. The *Arabian Prolegomena* upon the *Goſpels*, publiſhed by *Peter de Kirſtein*, have theſe words in them; John *made his aboad at* Epheſus *ſeven and twenty years*; *that is to ſay, ſix under* Nero, *ten under* Veſpaſian, *two under* Titus, *and nine under* Domitian: *then*

(c) Τελευτῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοχθρίας τε, καὶ θεομαχίας, διάδοχον ἑαυτὸν κατεστήσατο.

(d) Ἀρχαίων παράδοσις.

(e) Δομετιανὸς, κατὰ Νέρωνα δεύτερος, Χριστιανὺς ἐδίωξεν. ἐπ' ἀυτῷ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος Ἰωάννης εἰς Πάτμον ἐξορίζεται. ἔνθα τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑώρακεν, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἰρεναῖος.

(f) *Quam* Irenæus *interpretatur.*

(g) *Quarto decimo igitur anno ſecundam poſt* Neronem *Perſecutionem movente* Domitiano, *&c.*

(h) *A. D.* 92. Sect. 3.

(i) *Decimo quarto poſt obitum* Neronis *anno.*

(k) Τέσσαρες καὶ δεκάτῳ δεύτερον μετὰ Νέρωνα διωγμὸν κινοῦντος Δομετιανοῦ.

(l) *Decimo quarto anno, ſecundam Perſecutionem movente, poſt* Neronem, Domitiano.

was

was he Baniſhed by Domitian *into the Iſle of* Patmos, *where he ſtayed ſeven years, till ſuch time, as he was called back by* Nero *the younger*; that is to ſay, *Nerva*.

By this account, the *Apoſtle* of God ſhould have retired out of *Palæſtine* into the *Proconſulary Aſia*; not (as the *Greek Faſti* very probably ſuppoſe) in the 68. of our *Saviour*, becauſe of the *Revolt* of the *Jews* from the *Empire*, and the *Eruption* of the War brought into the Heart of their Country by *Veſpaſian*; immediately upon the retreat of the *Church* of *Jeruſalem* to *Pella*: but in the year ſixty three, concurrent with the ninth of *Nero*, and the time of St. *John*'s Abode, both at *Epheſus*, and *Patmos*, ſhould have been thirty four years, comprehending ſix years of *Nero*, and the whole Reigns of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and *Domitian*. For *Nero* killed himſelf (as hath been already obſerved) the tenth of *June*, 68. *Veſpaſian* (having news brought him in *Palæſtina* of the Murthering of *Galba*; which happened on the ſixteenth of *January*, 69. as alſo of the *Tragical* End of *Otho* on the twentieth of *April* following, and of the Riſing of his Friends in *Rome*) aſſumed the *Empire*, and kept it till the twenty fourth of *June*, 79. and *Domitian*, who had ſucceeded his Brother *Titus*, dying the 13th of *September*, in the year 81. was violently forced out of the world on the 18th of *September*, in the year 96. leaving the *Empire* vacant to *Nerva*; who nulled all his *Acts*, and by that means, gave St. *John* the Liberty to return to *Epheſus*. But if this Calculation be receivable, in as much as it maintains the common Sentiment of the *Fathers*, concerning the time of St. *John's* return, yet can it not agree with the Relation of St. *Irenæus*, affirming; that, (m) *almoſt in his time, Domitian* began the *Perſecution, towards the end of his Reign*, and leaving it to be inferred, that the *Perſecution* was of no long continuance: which could not be ſaid, if (according to the account of the *Arabians*) we muſt aſſign it ſeven years; that is to ſay, *a full half* of *Domitian*'s Reign, and not onely *the End*: whereto St. *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, and all the *Fathers*, ſtrictly limit themſelves; among whom (n) *Tertullian*, Contemporary with St. *Irenæus*, expreſly obſerving the Violence of that *Perſecution* to have made no great Havock, ſays; Domitian, *an Imp of* Nero, *as to cruelty, had deſigned a Perſecution; but, being alſo himſelf a man, he eaſily ſmothered what he had begun, having re-eſtabliſhed thoſe, whom he had Baniſhed.* So that, according to his Opinion, the miſchief was ſtayed by his very Order, who had occaſioned it. But, whereas by attributing to him the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Baniſhed, he derogates from the Authority of the *Tradition of the Antients*, which (according to *Euſebius*) delayed it till the Reign of *Nerva*, whom the *Prolegomena* (I know not why) call Nero *the younger*, I ſhall, by no means, preſume ſo much upon his particular Opinion, as to oppoſe it to the common belief of all the *Fathers*. Which having forced us to reduce onely to *one* the *ſeven years* aſſigned by the *Prolegomena*, for the Baniſhment of St. *John*, impoſes upon us yet a greater neceſſity to quit the Opinion of the *Greek Faſti*; which place the return of St. *John* under the twelfth year of *Domitian*, coincident with the ninety third of our *Saviour*, and commit therein an Errour ſo much the more unmaintainable; in that they make the *Perſecution* ceaſe, as alſo the effect it had (by the confeſſion of all) cauſed two years before

(m) Σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς.

(n) Apolog. cap. 5. Oroſius alſo, lib. 7. cap. 10 *ſays, that as ſoon as* Domitian *began the* Perſecution, *he was* (continuò) *ſoon after killed.*

fore it began, and ridiculouſly preſuppoſe, that St. *John* was (by the *Decree* for his Releaſe.) reſtored to his former Liberty, before he had been in a capacity to loſe it, by the unjuſt *Decree* for his Baniſhment.

He, who hath buſied himſelf in writing a *Synopſis of the Lives of the* Prophets *and* Apoſtles, under the Name of (o) *Dorotheus*, having, by mixture of his own Conceptions, corrupted the words of the *Synopſis* of St. *Athanaſius*, imagines; that St. *John* was Baniſhed by *Trajan*; that he lived one hundred, and twenty years, and returned from *Patmos* to *Epheſus* after *Trajan*'s Death. But all (yet followed, as it ſhould ſeem, by *Suidas*) is contrary both to *Tradition*, and the *Truth*; ſince

Firſt, *Trajan* came not to the *Empire*, till the twenty eighth of *July*, in the year 98. the very next to that, wherein St. *John* was reſtored by *Nerva*.

(o) *This man was* Abbot *of* Rome, *as is acknowledged by the* Greek Menologie; *ſo that many, without any ground, not onely confound him with that* Prieſt *of* Tyrus, *who ſuffered* Martyrdom *under* Julian *the* Apoſtate, *on the fifth of* June, 362. *but alſo give him the Title of* Arch-Biſhop; *not conſidering, that no* Prelate *of that Name took the Government of the* Church *of* Tyrus, *before that* Dorotheus *ſubſtituted about the year* 457. *in the place of* Photius, *who had been preſent at the* Councel *of* Chalcedon, *in the year* 451.

Secondly, St. *John* was (according to the Opinion of St. *Hierome*) honoured with the *Apoſtleſhip* (p) in his Youth, and while he was yet a Boy; ſo that the hundredth year of our *Saviour*, wherein he was Tranſlated to Celeſtial glory, could not have been much beyond the ninetieth of his Age, (to which St. *Epiphanius* confines himſelf) nor coincident with the ninety eighth, choſen by *Beda*; nor with the ninety ninth, which *Uſuard* hath taken; nor yet with the hundredth, which *Cedrenus* (for ſome reaſon unknown to us) thought moſt worthy his Choice; And

(p) *Advers. Jovin. lib. 1. cap. 14. Adhuc Adoleſcens, ac penè Puer, &c. ut ſciamus Joannem tunc fuiſſe Puerum.*

Thirdly, the Death of St. *John* was ſeventeen years before that of *Trajan*; who dyed of a *Flux* at *Selinuntium* in *Cilicia*, on the tenth of *Auguſt*, in the year 117.

CHAP. II.

The Sentiment of St. Epiphanius, *concerning the Time of the* Apocalyps, *refuted.*

I Have hitherto given an account of their *Opinions*, who (diſſenting from the common *Tradition*) thought, that St. *John* had writ his *Apocalyps*, either before the twelfth year of *Domitian*; about four years ſooner, then he did: or under the Reign of *Trajan*; much later, then is conſiſtent with the Truth. I now come to prove the miſtake of Saint *Epiphanius*, who (contrary to the Opinion of all precedent *Antiquity*) going back to the Reign of *Claudius*, would needs make that *Prince* Authour of St. *John*'s Baniſhment to *Patmos*. (a) *The Holy Spirit* (ſaith he) *neceſſitates* John; *who, out of a Religious, and humble reſpect, refuſed to* Evangelize *in his old Age, after the ninetieth year of his Life*; (b) *after his return from* Patmos, *happening under* Claudius Cæſar, *and after an abode of many years in* Aſia. And towards the End of the ſame *Treatiſe*; (c) *The Holy Spirit Prophetically foretells, by the mouth of* St. John, *what happened after his deceaſe*; (d) *he himſelf having in the Time of* Claudius Cæſar *long before, when he was in the Iſle* Patmos (*for they themſelves* [that

(a) *Hæreſ. 51. cap. 12.*
(b) Μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Πατμου ἐπάνοδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος.
(c) *Cap. 33.*
(d) Αὐτὸς δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος.

is

is to say, the *Alogians*] *acknowledg, that these things have been accomplished in* Thyatira) *written, through the Spirit of Prophecy, to those, who professed* Christianity *there at that time; that a Woman should call her self a* Propheteſs.

This Venerable man, preſſed to Ward off the Objections of the *Hereticks* alledging the Suppoſititiouſneſs of the *Apocalyps*, in that it preſuppoſed, as extant, *Churches*, that were not in the Time of St. *John* (as, for inſtance, that of *Thyatira*) admits, without any neceſſity, the Objection of thoſe troubleſom Spirits, as if it had been out of all Queſtion: then Anſwers; That *John* ſpoke by Prophecy, not of the *Church*, which was then; but of that, which ſhould be planted ſome time after at *Thyatira*: where the People, ſeduced by the *Alogians*, and *Montaniſts*, ſhould, after the ninety third year from our *Saviour*'s *Aſcenſion*, or the one hundred twenty ſixth from his *Birth*, according to the account of St. *Epiphanius*, corrupt that wretched City with their Errour; and, having cited the Text of the *Apoſtle*, makes Application of it in theſe Terms; *Do you not ſee, that he ſpeaks of Women, who, having been ſeduced with an Imagination, that they had the Gift of Prophecy, have ſeduced many others? Now I ſpeak of* Priſcilla, *and* Maximilla, *and* Quintilla; *whoſe Seduction hath not been hidden from the Holy Spirit.* In fine, after he had ſearched into the time, when he thought *John* Baniſhed to *Patmos*, he ſhuts up his Diſcourſe with this Concluſion; that is to ſay, *That in* Thyatira *a Woman ſhould call her ſelf a* Propheteſs.

But, the more I conſider this Anſwer, the leſs I finde it (without prejudice to the reſpect due to its Authour) capable of giving ſatisfaction to judicious Perſons. For,

Firſt, Is there any likelyhood, that the Holy Spirit ſhould direct *Letters* from the Son of God to *Churches*, which had no being, when it dictated them, and that we muſt underſtand theſe words, *Unto the Angel of the Church, which is in* Thyatira, *write theſe things, I know thy works*, &c. *The laſt are more then the firſt*, &c. *I have a few things againſt thee; becauſe thou ſuffereſt the woman* Jezabel, *who calleth her ſelf a* Propheteſs, *to teach, and ſeduce*, &c. in this ſence, *Write to the Angel of the Church, which* ſhall be *in* Thyatira, *I know the works thou* ſhalt do; *the laſt* ſhall be *more then the firſt; I* ſhall *have ſome few things againſt thee; thou* ſhalt *ſuffer the woman* Jezabel, *who* ſhall *call her ſelf a* Propheteſs, *to teach*, &c? It was no hard matter for St. *Epiphanius* to write it; but whom hath he hitherto convinced of it, beſides himſelf? This manner of Interpretation being ſuch, as that not any one of either the *Antients*, or *Modern*, hath followed it, the very Singularity thereof ſhould be ſufficient, not onely to bring it into ſuſpicion; but alſo to repreſent it as ſo much the more unmaintainable, in as much as all, that profeſſed *Chriſtianity* from St. *John* to St. *Epiphanius*, (that is, from the year 100. to the year 375. wherein the later wrote againſt the *Alogians*, had held the contrary to what it ſuppoſes, and took it for a thing indiſputable, that the *ſeven Churches*, to whom our *Saviour* directed his *Epiſtles*, had been planted by the Miniſtery of Saint *John* before his Baniſhment to *Patmos*.

Secondly, Contradicting his own *Hypotheſis*, to wit, that *Thyatira* had

had not had any *Church* in the Time of St. *John*, he comes, for want of reflection, to maintain the oppoſite *Affirmative*, ſaying, *Then the whole Church* (of *Thyatira*) was *wholly degenerated into the Sect of the* Cataphrygians [or *Montaniſts*] *accordingly the Holy Spirit would needs reveal unto you how it ſhould come to paſs, that the Church ſhould be ſeduced after the time of the* Apoſtles, *and* St. John, *and thoſe who came after; it was about ninety three years after the Aſſumption of our* Saviour, *that the Church of that place*, (to wit, *Thyatira*) *ſhould be ſeduced, and fall into the Hereſie of the* Cataphrygians. For, if the *Church were planted at* Thyatira, it neceſſarily follows, it *was there:* the Allegation of the *deſtruction* of a thing containing the formal preſuppoſition of its precedent *exiſtence*.

Thirdly, But, not to meddle any further with that contradiction of St. *Epiphanius*, nor the ſuppoſition, which he granted the *Hereticks*, as acknowledged by all, he advances a new one againſt the expreſs Text of St. *John*; for he writes expreſly, that *the whole Church of* Thyatira *was degenerated into the Sect of the* Cataphrygians: whereas the Holy Spirit, on the contrary, ſays it was not the *whole Church* of *Thyatira*, that had committed Adultery with *Jezabel*, and received her *Doctrine*; but that, in *Thyatira*, there were ſome *Members* of that *Church*, which were not fallen into thoſe Errours; as it expreſly declares, ſpeaking *To the reſt in Thyatira, who had not received that Doctrine, nor known the depth of Satan, I ſay*, &c.

Fourthly, Saint *Epiphanius*, himſelf, does further deſtroy the Computation he had taken to denote the falling-away of the *Church* of *Thyatira*. For whereas, in his *Diſpute* againſt the *Alogians*, he affirms, that, in the ninety third year after the *Aſcenſion* (and conſequently the one hundred, twenty ſixth after the *Birth* of our *Saviour*) this Revolt happened; in the fourty eighth *Hereſie*, where he particularly refutes the *Montaniſts*, he comes thirty years later, then that Date, ſaying; *Theſe*, (to wit, the *Montaniſts*) *were about the twenty fifth year of* Antoninus Pius, *after* Adrian: which (according to our Computation) cannot concur, but with the year 156. and is neceſſarily falſe, as to their Judgment, who preceded in Time. For *Claudius Apollinaris*, Biſhop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, limits the firſt eruption of the *Montaniſts* to the *Proconſulſhip* of *Gratus*, which is conſonant to the year 142. or thereabouts: and *Apolonius*, the *Romane* Senatour, who ſuffered Martyrdom under *Perennius*, on the eighteenth of *April*, 181. obſerves, that, fourty years before, that *Sect* pretended to a Prophetick Spirit; thereby inſinuating, that it had broke forth about the year 139, or 140. not much differing from the time aſsigned by *Apollinaris*, but three years later, then St *Epiphanius* would have it, in his *Diſpute* againſt the *Alogians*, and thirty ſix years ſooner, then he ſaid in his *Treatiſe* againſt the *Montaniſts*.

Fifthly, This *Sect* roſe up particularly in *Phrygia* at a little *Village*, called *Pepuzium*, which the Inhabitants (upon occaſion of their pretended *Prophets*, who were *Natives* thereof) named *Jeruſalem*, and not (as *Epiphanius* imagined) in *Thyatira* in *Lydia*; which, though adjacent indeed, and lying upon the *Frontiers* of *Phrygia*, yet made a *Province* of it ſelf, as appears by the Teſtimony of *Strabo* (in his thirteenth *Book*) by *Ptolomy* (in the ſecond *Chapter* of his firſt *Book*) by the *Council of Nice*, Aſſembled

Assembled by the Emperour *Constantine the Great*, in the year 325. and by that of *Lydia*, convened by Order of the Emperour *Leo the First*, in the year 458. where the *Bishops* of *Thyatira* subscribed with the *Lydians*, as being of the same Division. Nay, though there were onely to satisfie us, but the very Denominations of *Cataphrygians*, *Phrygastæ*, and *Pepuziani*, given by the *Catholicks* to the *Montanists*, they might suffice to make us apprehend, that we are not to look for their extraction in *Thyatira*, out of *Phrygia*, from which they are *specifically* denominated.

Sixthly, From the application of the Name *Jezabel* arises a new Difficulty against the Sentiment of St. *Epiphanius*. For whether we read with St. *Cyprian*, in his fifty second *Epistle*, and with *Primasius*, *Andrew* of *Cæsarea*, and *Aretas*, (e) *Thy Wife Jezabel*, which is consonant to the Reading as well of the antient *Copy* of *Alexandria*, wrote above thirteen hundred years since by *Thecla*, and given to King *James* of *Great Britain* by the *Patriarch Cyril*; as of that of the *French* King's *Library*, followed by *Robert Stephen*, in the *Edition* of the *New Testament* in *folio*; that of *Alcala de Henares*; and that, which was followed in the *Edition* of the great *Bible* of *Andwerp*; and other *Impressions* of *Plantine*: Or simply (f) *The Woman* Jezabel; as is done by *Hilary* the *Deacon*, upon the eleventh *Chapter* of the second *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*; *Tychonius*, (in the *Homilies* unjustly attributed to St. *Augustine*) *Beda*, *Ansbert* (who joyns the two *different Lections*) and *Berengandus*, whose *Commentary* was published by *Cuthbert Tonstal*, Bishop of *Durham*, under the Name of St. *Ambrose*: Or, lastly, take the Names of *Woman*, and *Jezabel* properly, to attribute either to the Wife of the *Pastour* of *Thyatira*, or of some other particular Person subject to his Government: Or whether, lastly, they be understood *Figuratively* of the *Heresie*; as most of the antient *Interpeters* do: we shall not finde any reason to apply them (as St. *Epiphanius* does) to the three *Propheteses* of the *Montanists*, *Prisca*, or *Priscilla*, *Maximilla*, and *Quintilla* put together, nor to any one of them in particular: not onely because they were neither born at, nor Inhabitants of *Thyatira*, but *Phrygians*, Natives of *Pepuzium*; but also because the reprehension of the *Son of God*, charging the *Jezabel* of the *Thyatirians with Adultery, and the use of things sacrificed to Idols*, can no way be said either of those Women, whom Saint *Epiphanius* would have designed by the Name of *Jezabel*, or to any of the *Montanists*, persisting in the strict observation of the corrupt *Maxims*, which made them to err. For those People were so far from introducing Licentiousness, and Dissolution, into life, and (as (g) *Tertullian* speaks) *unbuckling the Thong of* Christian *Discipline, to give way to crimes*; that they passed to the other extreme of the most scrupulous, and superstitious Austerity, condemning (h) *Second marriages*, the *Use of things sacrificed to Idols*, (i) the *Eating of juycie flesh, and meats, during the time of Fasting*, (k) *Flight in time of Persecution*, and much more the denial of *Christianity*, Adultery, and Idolatry, from which (as indeed from all impurity of life, which they reproached the *Catholicks* with, attributing to them a (l) *Beastial faith*, and upon that acount, crying out against them by the Name of *Psychici*) they thought themselves so free, that they called themselves (m) the *Spiritualized*, (n) followers of the *Discipline of the Spirit*, which endea-

(e) *Uxorem tuam* Jezabel: γυναῖκά σε Ἰεζαβέλ.

(f) *Mulierem* Jezabel: γυναῖκα Ἰεζαβέλ.

(g) *De Corona.* cap. 11.

(h) *De Monogamia.*
(i) *De Ieiun.*
(k) *De fuga in persecutione.*
(l) *De Ieiun.* cap. 1.
(m) *De Monog.* cap. 1.
(n) *De Ieiun.* cap. 1.

voured (after the Example of St. *Paul*) to (o) *ſmother all the luſts of the Fleſh*, and which, to ſubdue it, propoſed thoſe (p) *burthenſom* things, which the *Son of God* meant, when he ſaid to his Diſciples, (q) *I have yet many things to tell you; but you cannot now bear them.* But the crimes of the *Jezabel* of the *Thyatirians* were remarkable in the *Sects* of the *Gnoſticks*, *Nicolaitans*, and others, whom St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, Saint *Epiphanius* himſelf, St. *Auguſtine*, and all the *Hereſiologiſts* that came after, charge with the commiſſion of them, ſo far, that *Tertullian* (a *Montaniſt*, and admirer of thoſe Women, whom St. *Epiphanius* pretends to have been deſigned by *Jezabel*) engages againſt the *Gnoſticks*, becauſe they were guilty of the crimes mentioned by Saint *John*; as his *Scorpiacum*, and his other Writings juſtify. This, I ſay, demonſtratively proves againſt St. *Epiphanius*; that we muſt ſeek out the *Jezabel of the Thyatirians* elſewhere, then among the *Montaniſts*, and mildly interpret what ſeems harſh in the Diſcourſe of that good man, wherein, after he had ſaid, that the Apoſtle *ſpeaks* (under the Name of *Jezabel*) *of the ſeduced, and ſeducing Women of the* Montaniſts, he adds, that, *in that place*, St. John *wrote, that a Woman ſhould call her ſelf a* Propheteſs. For *one Woman*, (to take the word ſtrictly) is not *Women*; but I am rather apt to ſuppoſe, he took the word *Woman* collectively; and in that comply with his meaning.

(o) *De Pudic.* cap. 16.
(p) *De Monog.* cap. 2.
(q) Jo. 16. 12.

As to his maintaining, that the Holy *Apoſtle* was Baniſhed to *Patmos*, and there writ his *Apocalyps* under the Reign of *Claudius*, at leaſt fourty two years ſooner, then is held by the common Tradition of the Truth; I deſire the *Reader* to ſee him refuted by the very *Acts of the Apoſtles*, where he may finde in the eighteenth and nineteenth *Chapters*, that Saint *Paul*, having (in the year of our *Lord* 51. coincident with the eleventh of *Claudius*) ſowed the firſt Seeds of *Chriſtianity* at *Epheſus*, departed thence, to go and keep *Eaſter* at *Hieruſalem*, and that, after his Return, he continued conſtantly at *Epheſus* two years; that is to ſay, the fifty ſecond, and fifty third of our *Saviour*, concurrent with the twelfth and thirteenth of *Claudius*, who died on the thirteenth of *October*, 54. on the twentieth day of the ninth Moneth of his fourteenth year. For, ſince Saint *Paul* was the Founder of that famous *Church*, which hath been, as it were, the *Mother* of all her Neighbours; that it is not likely, St. *John*, who ſeems to have been then teaching the *Parthians*, to whom his firſt *Epiſtle* was (according to the Opinion of ſome *Antients*) directed, ſhould come thither, during the aboad of Saint *Paul*; and that, after the Departure of Saint *Paul*, haſtened by the Inſurrection of *Demetrius*, *Claudius* Reigned but nine Moneths; there is no likelyhood to preſume, that, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, there ſhould come to paſs all thoſe things, which *Antiquity* aſſures us happened to Saint *John*; that is to ſay, that he Confirmed the *Church* of *Epheſus*, and Planted the *Neighbour-Churches*, and Confeſſed the Name of *Chriſt* at *Rome*; where, (r) *having been caſt into a Veſſel of ſeething Oil, he came forth more fair, and more vigorous then he was, when he went into it*, anointed indeed, and no way burnt; That (ſ) *afterwards, preſſing forward, as a Champion of* Chriſt, *to receive the Crown, he was immediately Baniſhed to the Iſle of* Patmos; and that, *during the Time of his Baniſhment, he was honoured with Viſions from God.*

(r) *Hieron. advers. Jovin.* cap. 14.
(ſ) *In* Mat. 20.

Secondly,

Secondly, Though a man ſhould run the hazard of imagining, that all theſe *Accidents*, which require much longer time, happened in the turning of his hand, yet could he not thereby ſhift off the difficulty; in aſmuch as all *Antiquity*, attributing the Baniſhment of St. *John* to *Domitian*, who aſſumed the *Empire* twenty ſix years, and eleven Moneths preciſely, after the Death of *Claudius*, does, as it were, by an unanimous conſent, contradict the particular Sentiment of *Epiphanius*, which ought not (what eſteem ſoever we may have for him) to be oppoſed either to *Probability*, univerſal *Tradition*, or the *Authority* of ſuch, as are more antient, and more creditable, then he, upon this account, that they lived nearer the Age of Saint *John*, and might be more eaſily informed of the Truth.

Thirdly, For that the *Church* hath always held it for certain;

Firſt, That, full eleven years after the Death of *Claudius*, the *firſt Perſecution* was raiſed by *Nero*, to derive upon the innocent *Chriſtians* the Indignation of the *Romanes*, exaſperated by the reſentment of their own Loſſes, in the firing of the City, which that *Monſter*, himſelf, commanded to be done.

Secondly, That the Baniſhment of St. *John* was conſequent to ſome *Perſecution*: St. *Hierome*, Contemporary with St. *Epiphanius*, and his familiar Friend, aſſuring us, that, *becauſe of the Martyrdom*, St. *John*, immediately before his Tranſportation to *Patmos*, *was at* Rome, *caſt into the veſſel of ſeething Oyl*.

Thirdly, That all (*Epiphanius* onely excepted) reduce the Baniſhment of St. *John* to the *ſecond Perſecution*; which they would have break forth towards the end of *Domitian*'s Reign.

Fourthly, That, with the ſame unanimity of Sentiments, they attribute to *Nerva*, who nulled the *Acts* of his Predeceſſour, the calling back of St. *John*, and that not any one (no, not St. *Epiphanius* himſelf) ever charged *Claudius* (whoſe *Acts* were confirmed by his *Apotheoſis*) with having ill-entreated the *Chriſtians*. Whence it muſt of neceſſity follow, that the Baniſhment of St. *John*, could not have been under his Reign, and conſequently, that the Opinion of St. *Epiphanius*, which we have demonſtrated not to be maintainable in any of its parts, neither can, nor ought, in this, to be followed by any one.

Chap. III.

The Sentiment of the late Grotius, *concerning the time of the* Apocalyps, *refuted.*

From the year, 375. wherein St. *Epiphanius* writ againſt the *Alogians*, to the year 1640. the Opinion of that *Father* was not embraced, but onely by one Perſon, that made Profeſſion of *Letters*; a man indeed of extraordinary Endowments, whether we conſider the tranſcendency of his Wit, the Univerſality of his Knowledg, which cannot be too highly eſteemed, and the diverſity of his Writings, or reflect on the

greatneſs of his Employments; but ſtill a *Man*, and, upon that account, not free from the hazard of misapprehenſion, and ſometimes making the worſt choice. This man, having publiſhed a little *Treatiſe* in *Latine*, entituled, *Commentatio ad loca quædam Novi Teſtamenti, quæ de Antichriſto agunt, aut agere putantur, expendenda eruditis*, makes this Remark, well worth our Notice, on the ninth *Verſe* of the ſeventeenth *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*; John *went firſt to* Patmos, *and began to be illuminated by Viſions from God, in the Time of* Claudius, *which is the Sentiment of the more Antient* Chriſtians; *and not in the Time of* Domitian, *as others would have it. See* Epiphanius *in the* Hereſie *of the* Alogians. Claudius *had* (*as appears by* Acts xviii. 2.) *forced out of* Rome *the* Jews, *among whom, at that time, the* Chriſtians *were alſo numbered, as hath been obſerved by many learned men. Which example, there is no doubt, but divers Governours of the* Romane *Provinces imitated; by which means* John *was forced to leave* Epheſus.

But I maintain, in oppoſition to the Prejudice of this Great man,

Firſt, That not any one of the Antient *Chriſtians*, nor yet of the Modern, either were of the Opinion of St. *Epiphanius*, or favoured it.

Secondly, That St. *Epiphanius* (who was neither preceded, nor followed by any one in his Sentiment) ſays not any thing, that is maintainable, and is not peremptorily refuted, as well by the Tradition univerſally received in the *Church*, as by Reaſon it ſelf.

Thirdly, That the Singularity, and Novelty, of that *Father*'s Sentiment, being contrary to thoſe of all the reſt, and in ſome manner to himſelf, ſhould rather have raiſed his Diſtruſt, then prepoſſeſſed him.

Fourthly, That it cannot, by any Monument of *Antiquity*, be made good, that the miſtake of the *Heathen*, taking the *Chriſtians* for *Jews*, had reduced (in the Time of the *Emperour Claudius*, under whom the *Jews* were the onely Perſecutours of the *Church*) any one of the *Faithfull* to ſuffer Baniſhment, upon the account of his being of the *Faithfull*, or a *Chriſtian*; and that to preſuppoſe it onely by way of ſimple Conjecture, without any Proof, is no other, then openly to prejudice one's credit, and to abuſe their plain dealing, and eaſineſs of perſwaſion, who might comply therewith.

Fifthly, That it is impoſſible to make it good, that the *Edict* of *Claudius*, which Baniſhed the *Jews* onely out of *Rome*, had been, or could have been, imitated by any of the *Governours* of the *Romane Provinces*, who knew there was but one *Rome* in the World, and that it was not within any of their Jurisdictions.

Sixthly, That, by the *Hiſtory* of the *Acts*, it is evident, that, after the *Edict* of *Claudius*, the *Jews* enjoyed, in all other places of the *Empire*, as abſolute Freedom, and Toleration, as they could have done before; ſince St. *Paul*, and *Silas*, and *Aquila*, and *Priſcilla*, his Wife, lived without any trouble at *Corinth*, where thoſe of their Nation had their *Synagogue*, and aſſembled, as they were wont, without any Diſturbance.

Seventhly, That though the *Governours* of the *Romane Provinces* ſhould have been enclined (in imitation of their *Emperour*) to pack the *Jews* out of their *Jurisdictions*, yet would it not be juſt to imagine any ſuch thing of the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*; nor to preſuppoſe, that, to comply with that Extravagance, he had driven St. *John* (who was not within

in his *Jurisdiction*) from any place; when at the same time, that the *Jews* were forced to depart *Rome*, St. *Paul*, *Priscilla*, *Aquila*, and *Apollos* (who were no less of *Jewish* Extraction, then *John*) sojourned at *Ephesus* without disturbance, their *Brethren according to the Flesh* enjoyed there as much liberty as ever: nay, even when *Demetrius* had (with those of his *Profession*) made an Insurrection in the City against Saint *Paul*, they thought themselves sufficiently Authorised to pacifie the Tumult, *thrusting out* Alexander *their Brother out of the Multitude*, and charging him to speak to the enraged People; for, if it were to no purpose, that they attempted it, it was at least without apprehension of any danger, either to themselves, or him.

Whence it follows, that, not onely without any necessity, but also without any ground, it is imagined, that St. *John* (who was not yet come to *Ephesus*, when the *Edict* of *Claudius* came forth against the *Jews*) was driven thence by Virtue of that *Edict*, which no way concerned him; and that, if there never could be any excuse to introduce Novelties into the Business of *Religion*, we should be much further from advancing ruinous *Hypotheses*, to maintain the more ruinous Design of opposing common Sentiments. So that no man should think it strange, if (through the just Judgment of God) those, who take a pleasure in contradicting things, that are most evident, unadvisedly engage themselves in inconsistent Opinions, to the prejudice of their Reputation, and such, as are more apt to raise Compassion for their Weakness, then Jealousie upon account of the great Esteem due to them.

Chap. IV.

A Refutation of the Sentiment of Johannes Hentenius *of* Maechlin, *concerning the Time of the* Apocalyps.

HAving demonstrated the Improbability of the Sentiment, as well of St. *Epiphanius*, as of him, who would needs make it his ground to build upon, not considering he should do himself a thousand times more injury by following it, contrary to the Truth, then he could have done, by contradicting it, to promote the Truth he made it his Design to establish, I conceive it lies upon me, to discover the absurdity of another fond Conceit, which (to bring, with less inconvenience, the Tradition of the *Church* into Dispute) about the year 1545. hath referred the writing of the *Apocalyps* to the Time of *Nero*, ten years, and more, later, then according to the Computation of Saint *Epiphanius*. *Johannes Hentenius*, an *Hieronymite*, born at *Maechlin*, who is the Authour of it, would needs, in his *Preface* upon the *Commentary* of *Arethas*, entertain us with the following Discourse. *It seems to me, that* John *the* Apostle, *and* Evangelist, *who is also called the* Divine, *was Banished to* Patmos *by* Nero, *at the very same time, that he put to death at* Rome *the blessed* Apostles *of* Christ, Peter, *and* Paul. Tertullian, *who lived near the Times of the* Apostles, *affirms as much in two several places.* Eusebius *also treats*

treats of the same thing, in his Book of Evangelical Preparation, *though in his* Chronicle, *and* Ecclesiastical History, *he saith it happened under* Domitian, *which* St. Hierome, *and divers others follow. But to these last mentioned Books, as such as were written some years before, there is not so much Authority attributed, as to that of* Evangelical Preparation; *which was an after Work, on which more care, and exactness was bestowed.*

Thus are we furnished by this man with a third Opinion, inconsistent as well with the two precedent, as the Truth it self, which declares onely for the first, confirmed by St. *Irenæus*, and others of the *Antients*; and what should make this new Production the more contemptible, is, that it will be found grounded onely upon *Chimærical Suppositions*, and, taking it at the best advantage, speaks nothing positively Affirmative. For, whereas it is confidently affirmed, that *Tertullian* assures us in two several places, that Saint *John* was Banished at the time of the Martyrdom of the Holy Apostles, *Peter*, and *Paul*, it is absolutely false; that *Father*, who makes mention of the Sufferings of the Saints, *Peter*, *Paul*, and *John*, jointly all together in one onely place, to wit, in the thirty sixth of his *Præscriptions*, expressing it onely in these Terms: (a) *That Church* (to wit, that of *Rome*) *is very happy, for which the* Apostles *spent their Doctrine, and spilled their Blood; where* Peter *was equalled to the* Passion *of his* Lord (that is to say, *Crucified*) *where* Paul *was crowned with the same way of Departure, as* John (that is to say, *Beheaded*, as St. *John Baptist* was) where the *Apostle* John, *after he had been cast into the seething Oil, yet suffered nothing, was Banished into the Isle.* Whence it is evident, that his Design was, to shew, that St. *John* was persecuted not at the same *Time*, but at the same *Place*, where St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* were: so that his Discourse (which proves nothing of what is in Question) abates nought of its Truth, though it be believed, that Saint *John*'s Banishment happened under *Domitian*, and that, eight and twenty years after the Martyrdom of the Holy Apostles, *Peter*, and *Paul*, under *Nero*. Besides the place before cited, there is, in all the *Works* of *Tertullian*, no more mention of the Writing of St. *John*, then there is of the Discovery of the *West-Indies*; so that *Hentenius*, who brags, that he had read, what he says, in them, must needs read it in his Sleep.

(a) Statu felix Ecclesia, cui totam Doctrinam *Apostoli* cum sanguine suo profuderunt; ubi *Petrus* Passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi *Paulus Johannis* exitu coronatur; ubi Apostolus *Johannes*, postea quam in Oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in Insulam relegatur.

Nor is there less Imposture in what he attributes to *Eusebius*, who in his third *Book* of *Evangelical Preparation*, and the seventh *Chapter*, having spoken of the Imprisonment of all the *Apostles* by the *High-Priests* of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards of their *Scourging*, of the *Stoning* of St. *Stephen*, of the *Decollation* of St. *James* the Son of *Zebedæus*, of the *Restraint* of St. *Peter*, and the *Stoning* of St. *James* the Brother of our *Lord*, adds, Peter *was crucified at* Rome, *with his Head downwards*; Paul *had his Head cut off, and* John *was Banished into an Isle*. For it is manifest, that this Discourse, designing neither the *Place*, nor the *Time* of the Sufferings of these Holy men, cannot oblige any Body to believe, that they were persecuted by the same *Tyrant*, and at the same Time; and that nothing hinders, but that (according to *Eusebius* himself, as well in his *Chronicle*, as *History*) the two former were put to Death by the command of *Nero*, and the last Banished, eight and twenty years after, by Virtue of a *De-*

cree

cree of *Domitian*'s. So that for a man to imagine the contrary from *Euſebius*, cannot be without wreſting his Words, and to think to deduce it from the ſame words, by the force of Ratiocination, will amount to as much, as a diſcovery of want of Reaſon, and argue, that the Perſon, who attempts it, dreams waking.

The ſaid Authour thinks to give us a third Proof for confirmation of his Opinion, when (relying on a wrong Interpretation of the word ἱστορία, which is equivocal) he ſuppoſes the *Chronicle* of *Euſebius*, and his *Hiſtory*, were written before his *Work* of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, and, as leſs elaborate, were of leſs Authority. For whence does he inferr it? *Euſebius* in the thirteenth *Chapter* of his ſixth *Book* of his *Evangelical Demonſtration* had uſed theſe worrds; (b) *And, if our own enquiry into things, that concern our ſelves, is of any account, we have ſeen with our own eyes* Sion, *which was of old ſo celebrious, plowed up with Oxen, and ſubjected to the* Romanes. And every one knows, that *Euſebius*, who lived not far from *Sion*, and was a *Native* of the Countrey, might diſcourſe to that effect with the more certainty, by reaſon of his having had the opportunity to go thouſands of times to the Place; nay, what is more, that at this day (as in the Time of *Adrian*, who re-edified *Jeruſalem*, under the Name of *Ælia*) *Sion*, which in our *Saviour*'s Time was within its Walls, and the Forteſs thereof, is wholly out of the Compaſs of it, and in a manner uninhabited, ſo that the ground thereof is, and may be, cultivated by the labour of Oxen. But *Hentenius*, imagining that the word ἱστορία could not ſignifie any thing, but his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, ſuffered to ſlip out of his Memory what the Place of the Authour he had in hand ſhould have ſuggeſted to him, to wit, that that very word is there (as frequently in other good *Writers*) uſed to denote an *enquiry*, a *ſurvey*, a *viſit*; as when (c) *Plutarch* in his Book *Of the Ceſſation of Oracles*, and (d) *Theodoret* in the ſecond *Chapter* of the firſt *Book* of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, make uſe of it; and when *Suidas* explicates the word ἱστορία by θέα. Nay further, though we were apt to underſtand it otherwiſe, *Euſebius*, himſelf, would not permit it, nor yet, that we ſhould ſuppoſe, his *Evangelical Demonſtration* was, or was *written after*, or of *greater account*, or *more elaborate and correct*, then his *Hiſtory*; ſince that, in the third *Chapter* of the firſt *Book* of his *Hiſtory*, he cites the *Demonſtration*, ſaying, *Having diſpoſed into Commentaries, purpoſely deſigned for that end, the Extracts of the Prophets concerning our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *and in others demonſtratively confirmed the things, which have been declared of him*, and clearly proves, that he had written it before; and it follows not, that, if he had *writ it afterwards*, it ſhould be ever the *more elaborate*, for as much as *The Life of Conſtantine*, whereof (contrary to what many at this day think) he declares himſelf the Authour, (e) was written after the year 337. long after his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, yet was never the more elaborate; ſince that, what it hath common with the *Hiſtory*, is alleged in expreſs Terms in ſeveral places: which ſhews, that *Euſebius* had not any thing better to entertain us with, nor could have expreſſed himſelf in better Terms, then he had done in his *Hiſtory*, which he carried on but to the the year 325.

The ſame may be ſaid of his *Chronicle*, which being cited as well in the

(b) Εἰ γοῦν τι δύναται καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία, καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς τὰ πάλαι βουμὸν Σιὼν ζευγόμενον βοῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀρμένων ὀφθαλμοῖς περιλήφαμεν.

(c) Πλεῖσται αὐτὸς ἱστορίας καὶ θέας ἕνεκα.

(d) Πολλοὶ μὲν ἱστορίας χάριν ἐστέλλοντο.

(e) Lib. 2. *De Vita Conſtan in.* cap. 24, 44, 45. lib. 4. cap. 34, 35, 36.

the *Evangelical Præparation*, as in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, muſt of neceſſity have been written firſt. For it is ſo far upon that account from being leſs correct, and elaborate; that, on the contrary, we muſt neceſſarily by it correct ſeveral Paſſages, which he hath, without ſufficient recollection, thruſt into his *Hiſtory*; which in that regard is the leſs elaborate. Add to this the likelyhood there is, that the *Chronicle* (which at preſent makes mention, not onely of the Death of *Licinius*, of the *Councel of Nice*, and the wretched end of *Criſpus*, killed in the year 326.) was reviewed by him, after the ſetting forth of his *Hiſtory*, and conſequently more elaborate, then any other of his Works: which Conſideration contributes as much, or more, then any thing hath been ſaid, to the conviction of *Henteníus* of miſtake, and to the making of his imagination of no account.

It is therefore manifeſt, by the Teſtimonies of St. *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Hierome*, in the places alleged, as alſo by *Severus Sulpitius*, in the ſecond *Book* of his *Sacred Hiſtory*, by *Paulus Oroſius*, in the tenth *Chapter* of the ſeventh *Book* of his *Hiſtory*, by *Primaſius*, Biſhop of *Adrumetum*, in his *Commentary* upon the *Apocalyps*, by *Jornandes* in his Book *De Regn. ſucceſs.* by *Iſidore* of *Sevil* in his *Chronicle*, and his *Book* of the *Death of the Saints*, by the Authour of the *Preface* put before the *Treatiſes* of St. *Auguſtine* upon St. *John*, by *Maximus* on *Dionyſius* his tenth *Epiſtle*, by the Counterfeit *Abdias*, and *Prochorus* in the *Life* of St. *John*, by *Bede* on the *Apocalyps*; and *Of the ſix Ages*, by Him who wrote *Of the Martyrdom of St. Timothy*, by *Ambroſe Ansbert* upon the *Apocalyps*, by *Paul* the Deacon in *Miſcella*, by *Freculfius* of *Lizieux*, Tom. 2. *Book* 2. *Chap.* 7, and 8. by the *Romane Martyrologies* of *Bede*, *Uſuard*, *Ado*, *Notker*, &c. by *Michael Syncellus* in *Encomio Dionyſii*, by *Regino*, by *Arethas* Arch-Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, by *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, by the *Greek Faſti*, by the *Arabian Prolegomena*, by *Hermannus*, ſirnamed *Contractus*, by *Lambert* of *Schaffnabourg*, by *Marianus Scotus*, by *Zonaras*, by *Cedrenus*, by *Nicephorus Calliſtus* (in the eleventh *Chapter* of his firſt *Book*, and the fourty ſecond *Chapter* of his ſecond *Book*) by *Georgius Pachymerius* on *Dionyſius* his *Epiſtles*, and by almoſt all thoſe, that have written ſince the Time of St. *John*, that that great *Apoſtle* received the *Revelations* from God under *Domitian*, near the end of his Reign; that he was recalled from *Patmos* by *Nerva*, and writ his *Goſpel* after his return to *Epheſus*, and ended this *Life* in the third year of *Trajan*: ſo that whoſoever will have the Obſtinacy to maintain the contrary, muſt needs, before he pretend to have any credit given himſelf, wholly take away that of all *Antiquity*.

Fourty two years after the re-eſtabliſhment of Saint *John* at *Epheſus*, and thirty eight years after his Death, the *Emperour Adrian*, troubled with a mortal Diſeaſe, and without Iſſue, did upon the five and twentieth of *February* in the year 138. adopt *Antoninus*, ſirnamed *The Debonnaire*, conditionally, that the Adoption ſhould be extended to *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, the Sons of his former adopted Son, who died on the firſt of *January*, in the year 137. and he, himſelf, coming to die the 12th of *July* following, immediately thereupon came abroad the *Poem* attributed to the *Sibyls*; wherein the Authour, who, towards

the

the end of the 8th *Book*, assigned the utter *destruction* of *Rome* to happen in the four hundred, ninety eighth year after its *Foundation*, coincident with the year 195. of our *Saviour*, upon this very account, that, giving two several times a List of the *Emperours*, he reckons, after *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, and his two adopted Sons, evidently shews, that he lived, and writ after their Adoption. His own words make it manifest.

(f) *After him* (that is to say, *Trajan*) *another, one with a Silver Head,* (that is to say, *Grey-haired*) *shall reign, who shall derive his Name* (Adrian) *from the* (Adriatick) *Sea. There shall be another Person absolutely good, who shall know all things* (that is to say, *Antoninus the Affable:*) *and under thee, O most Excellent, and best of men, who art Brown-haired, and under thy Branches,* (to wit, *Marcus Aurelius,* and *Lucius Verus*) *will come the time of the accomplishment of all things. Three shall reign; and the third shall have the government after all the rest.* And elsewhere, speaking to *Rome*, he says, (g) *After that three times five Kings* (that is to say, *Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Piso, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva,* and *Trajan*) *shall have reigned in Thee, and subdued the World from* East *to* West, *there shall be a King with an Hoary head, taking his Name* (to wit, *Adrian*) *from the Sea* (Adriatick) *&c. Besides him, there shall reign* (to wit, *Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius,* and *Verus*) *under whom shall be the last of Times, and by the Name they all shall have* (of *Antoninus*) *fill the Name of the celestial God,* (to wit, *Adonai*) *whose Power is now, and will be for ever.*

(f) Lib. 5.

(g) Lib. 8.

Chap. V.

A *Refutation of* Possevinus *concerning the Time, when the* Sibylline *Writing came first abroad.*

IT must therefore of necessity follow, that the *Impostour*, who, to draw up *Catalogues* of the *Emperours*, had borrowed the Name of the *Sibyl*, put that Cheat upon the World, since the year 138. let us now see how long after. *Possevin*, in his *Apparatus Sacer*, upon an imagination, that he speaks of the second Conflagration of the *Temple* of *Vesta*, makes him live after that Accident, and thereupon is mistaken in four several respects. For

First, he makes an ill concurrence between the year, 199. with the *Empire* of *Commodus*, Assassinated the 31th of *December*, 192.

Secondly, he, no less unjustly, assigns the Conflagration of *Vesta*'s *Temple* in the year 199. since that (according to *Dion*, in his seventy second Book, *Herodian*, in his first Book, and *Orosius*, in the sixteenth *Chapter* of his seventh Book) it happened toward the end of *Commodus*'s Reign; who left this world seven years before. To which may be added, that *Eusebius*, whose Authority he notoriously abuses, determines the time of that ruinous Accident; affirming it to have happened in the third year of the 242. *Olympiad*, and the twelfth of *Commodus*: which concurr onely with the 191. year of our *Saviour*.

Thirdly, When he designs the three Successours of *Adrian*, omitting *Verus* taken into Partnership of the *Empire* by *Marcus Aurelius*, he reckons in his stead *Commodus*, on whom the pretended *Sibyl* neither thought, nor could have thought, since she writ her *Poem* above fifteen years before the Birth of that *Prince*, which was on the thirty first of *August*, 161. and above thirty years before his association in the *Empire*, happening on the twenty seventh of *November*, 176.

Fourthly, Though the Authour of that *Romance* might have spoken somewhat of the Conflagration of *Vesta*'s *Temple*; since that upon the very account of his having supposed, that *Rome* should be burned in the year after its *Foundation*, 948. concurrent with the year 195. of *Christ*, and the third of *Severus*, he would insinuate, that all the *Temples* of that City (that of *Vesta* among the rest) should be consumed by Fire, and could not (as being dead before) either see the Conflagration of it, or (according to his own *Hypotheses*) say, that he had seen it; yet how, after he had measured the duration of *Rome* by the Lives of *Antoninus*, and his two Adopted Sons, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Verus* (shewing thereby he writ in their Times, and consequently, before the year of *Christ* 160.) could he have been in a capacity to speak of *Commodus*, who was born the last of *August*, 161. five Moneths, and twenty four days after the Death of *Antoninus*, and affirm he had seen the second Conflagration of *Vesta*'s *Temple*; which came not to pass till the year, 191. and the twelfth year after the Death of *Marcus*, with whom he seemed to imagine that *Rome*, and the whole *World*, should perish?

For instance, in the third *Book* (*page* 27.) he had written, that *Rome* should become φύμη, that is to say, a *Village*; which he had done in imitation of the *Apocalyps*, *Chap.* xvii. *Verse* 16. and *Chap.* xviii. *Verse* 8. and *Chap.* xix. *Verse* 3. openly threatening it with a final destruction by Fire, saying in the second *Book*, (*page* 14.)

Rome's *seven-hill'd People* God *shall shake*;
And Fire of much Wealth shall destruction make,
Snatch'd up by Vulcan's *ravenous Flames* ——

And *page* 20.

—— *By a sad Fate,*
There shall be three will lay Rome *desolate:*
All men shall in their Houses be destroy'd,
By Cataracts of Fire from Heav'n ——

And in the fifth *Book*, (*page* 40.)

Surrounded with a burning Fire, go dwell
In the dreadfull abode of lowest Hell.

And in the eighth *Book*, (*page* 58.)

—— *To Naphta thou,*
Bitumen, Sulphur, Fire reduc'd shalt be:
But Ashes to be burnt t' eternity.

Nay, that there should not be the least difficulty, as to what concerns the Time of that *Catastrophe*, he had declared himself in these Terms, *page* 59.

—— *Thou shalt compleat*
Three times three hundred years, and fourty eight:

Of

Of thy Name then the Number being paſt,
Thy wretched Fate ſhall Thee ſurprize in haſte.

That is to ſay, the word Ῥώμη, whereof the *Letters* produce the Number 948. thus; ϱ' 100. ω 800. μ' 40. η 8.

But could he, without being ridiculous, and paſſing for a Fool, brag, that he had ſurvived thoſe, under whom *Rome*, and the World, ſhould come to its Period; but alſo, that he had been Spectatour of an Accident, which but four years preceeded the day, he had aſſigned for that utter deſolation? Or could he, with any countenance, have acknowledged, that he had out-lived the Time, which he had aſſigned for the determination of the *Empire*, and the *Univerſe*? But he hath not ſhewed himſelf ſo much a *Fool*, as a confident *Impoſtour*, and his words, which *Poſſevin* thought might be applied to the ſecond Conflagration of *Veſta*'s *Temple*, relate onely to the final Deſtruction of that of *Jeruſalem*; which he calls the *Amiable Houſe*, the *Guardian-Temple of the Divinity*: an *Elogie*, which could not be given the *Temple* of *Veſta* by him, who undertook to diſpute againſt the Idolatry of the *Heathen*, for the worſhip of *one* God. Beſides the Remark, which *Poſſevin* makes of the Authour of the ſecond Conflagration of that *Temple*, which the Counterfeit *Sibyl* meant, ſaying; That he had, *with an impious hand, attempted*, clearly diſcovers, that he reflected on the *Hand* of that *Infidel Souldier*, who had fired the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem*, and was declared *impious* by the Judgment of *Titus*, *General* of the *Romane* Army. For the Counterfeit *Propheteſs* might well brag of the ſight of that horrid Accident; ſince it had happened in the year of our *Lord* 76. ſixty eight years full before the reign of the *Antonini*; under whom ſhe writs; though it was no leſs, then the height of impertinence in her, to call her ſelf (as ſhe did) *Noah*'s Daughter-in-law, and to boaſt, that ſhe had ſeen a ruin 2068. later then the death of *Noah*, and 2427. years after the *Deluge*; as if (according to the *Fable* advanced by *Ovid*, in the thirteenth *Book* of his *Metamorphoſes*) that pretended *Propheteſs*, having obtained the Privilege of living as many years, as there were *Grains* in the heap of *Sand* ſhewed by the *Cumæan Sibyl* to *Apollo*, ſhe had (at the time of her Writing) already paſſed not 700. years, as that *Propheteſs* of *Ovid*, but above 2400. and expected to continue till the end of the World; whereas the *Cumæan Sibyl* (as is reported of her) thought ſhe was to become, at the end of a thouſand, ſo waſted, as not to have any Body at all; having after the diſſolution of her precedent Form, onely her voice left her to foretell what was to come. Her words, taken out of the fifth *Book* (page 49.) are theſe:

Οὐκέτι γὰρ παρά, &c.

Nor longer ſhall in Thee the Virgin quire
The Fuel finde of their perpetual Fire.
The Amiable Houſe long ſince by thee
Hath been deſtroy'd. The ſecond I did ſee,
The guardian-Temple o'th' Divinity,
That ever flouriſhing houſe, in 'ts Aſhes lie
Fir'd by an impious hand, &c.

Which Diſcourſe cannot clearly relate to any thing, but the Conflagration

gration of the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romane Army*; as a Puniſhment for which act, the *Authour* of the *Sibylline Oracles* pretends, that *Rome* ſhould be lai'd deſolate, in ſuch manner, as that the *Veſtals* ſhould not any longer keep in the *Fire*, which they called *Sacred*, and *Divine*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Time, when the Sibylline *Books were written.*

FRom what hath been ſaid, is manifeſt, that the *Opinion* of *Poſſevin*, concerning the Time, wherein the Perſon, who counterfeited the *Sibyl*, lived, is ill grounded; and our Method now calls upon us to make enquiry, how many years we muſt aſcend, aſſuredly to finde it out. That he Writ under *Antoninus*, his own words were ſufficient to convince any man, that ſhould well conſider them; but his credit, ſequeſtered from the things, which may otherwiſe keep it up, being with good reaſon, of no account, his ſincerity is greatly to be ſuſpected, and his diſcourſe requiring much caution, it is neceſſary we finde other helps to confirm what is advanced, and preferr the Teſtimonies of thoſe, whom his Impoſture hath circumvented, before any thing he could have repreſented of himſelf.

Theophilus of *Antioch*, who died on the thirteenth of *October*, in the year 180. in regard he hath inſerted into his Books *To Autolycus* divers things taken out of the *Sibylline* Writings, does irrefragably prove; that they were before him in Time; and that (contrary to the conjecture of *Poſſevin*) the *Authour*, who firſt writ them, reached not the Reign of *Commodus*; who, when *Theophilus* died, onely began the eighth Moneth of his Reign: *Athenagoras*, who (in his *Embaſſy* to the *Emperours*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Verus*, on the behalf of the *Chriſtians*) copied ſix *Verſes* out of the ſecond *Book*, ſhews, that this counterfeit *Prophecy* was in *Vogue* ſome time before the year 170. in which *Verus* died. *Hermas*, (whom (a) *Tertullian* affirms to have been Brother to Pope *Pius the Firſt*, who took the *Chair* on *Sunday*, the ſeventh of *March*, 146. under the *Conſulſhip* of *Clarus*, and *Severus*, and died on the eleventh of *July*, 150. under the *Conſulſhip* of *Gallicanus*, and *Vetus*) diſcovers, that he had a particular knowledg of the ſaid Writings; ſince that, in his *Work*, entituled, *The Paſtour*, he hath not onely ſhuffled many fantaſtick Imaginations, ſuitable to thoſe of the pretended *Sibyl*; but deſigned the *Authour* by the very Name he would go under: For as much as in the ſecond *Viſion* of the firſt *Book*, having imagined that an Aged Woman had, while he was in Ecſtaſie, given him a little Book to tranſcribe, containing Exhortations to *Penance*, he expreſſed what he ſeemed to believe of it in theſe Terms; *Brethren, it hath been revealed to me in my Sleep, by a Young man of a goodly appearance, and ſaying to me, Who do you think this Aged Woman is, of whom you received the Book? and I ſaid,* The *Sibyl*.

(a)---*Cui germine Frater Angelicus Paſtor*----.

Whence it follows; That, before the year, 150. this *Opinion* had gained Footing at *Rome*, among the *Chriſtians*; That a *Sibyl*, much unlike

like that of the *Heathens*, gave Sinners wholesom *Instructions* in order to the Exercises of *Penance*, and true *Piety*. And whereas *Pope Pius*, in his second *Epistle* to *Justus* of *Vienna*, makes mention of the Death of his Brother; saying, *The Priest, called* The Pastour, *hath founded a* Title, *and is worthily departed in the Lord*, it justifies, that between the year 146. and 150. *Hermas* had maintained the Supposition of the *Sibyl*, and that the *Authour* of the *Books* attributed to her must be yet more antient. St. *Justin*, a *Christian Philosopher*, a Native of *Neapolis* in *Palæstina*, sometime called *Sichem*, and who afterwards suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, on the first of *June*, 163. does in his *First Apologie*, presented to the *Emperour Antoninus* his *Adopted* Sons, and the *People* (before *Marcus Aurelius* had been received into Partnership of the *Empire*, and consequently, about the year 141, or 142.) complain of the Prohibition had been made, that none upon pain of Death should read the *Books* of *Hystaspes*, and the *Sibyl*, which he presented to the *Princes*, and *Senate*, as things deserving to be highly esteemed: and it is not to be doubted, but that Holy Person spoke of those, which are come to our hands; since that in his *Exhortation to the Greeks* he copied three *Verses* out of his *Preface*, three out of the *third Book*, and *Seaven* out of the *Fourth*; a manifest *Argument*, that they were already published; since they had passed through his Hands, and that he objected them (as *Pieces* generally known) to the *Heathen* themselves; whose Errours he opposed.

Chap. VII.

A Conjecture concerning the Authour of the Sibylline *Writings.*

IT were at this Day impossible for any man to be so happy in the discovery of the *Authour* of that *Imposture*, as that he might, without any fear of Mistake, make his Name publike, to be covered with the shame, and enormity of his sacrilegious attempt, against the sincerity of the *Church*. But methinks there is some ground to charge, if not as the principal advancer of the Cheat, at least as a *complice* of his crime, *Hermas*, who (as hath been observed) spoke of the *Sibyl* in the year 148, or 149. and who was grown infamous for another kind of *Suppositious* dealing, whereby he presumed to feign *Apparitions* of *Women*, and *Angels*, disguised like *Shepherds*; who furnished him with *Instructions* of *Penance*, pestered with fantastick Imaginations, which he hath expressed in as wretched *Greek*, as that of the *Sibylline* Writings, and such as (equally with the other) deserves perpetual dishonour. Though he were a Native of *Aquileia*, yet was his residence, with his Brother *Pope Pius*, at *Rome*, that is, in the Heart of that place, which (for the space of seven hundred and tweny years) had pretended to the custody of the *Sibylline*, and *Prophetical Books*, dictated by the Spirit of Impiety, and Lying, to the *Heathens*; in the same City, and at the same time, that *Justin Martyr* (as (a) *Eusebius* hath observed) *made his Exercises*;

(a) Lib. 4. cap. 11. Ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιήτο.

ercises; so that he was present at the first production of the abortive Issue of the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, and had been one of the most ready to take care of it. But when I consider, on the one side, that the Adulterous Father of the *Poem* pretendedly *Sibylline*, insinuating that he was a *Phrygian* by extraction, represents *Phrygia*, as the first of the *habitable* parts of the Earth after the *Deluge*, calls it, upon that occasion, (b) *Life-bringing, and Antient*, introduces, in the *first Book* of his pretended *Oracles*, (page 9.) *Noah*, making this Discourse,

(b) Lib 3. pag. 27. Φερέσβιον, καὶ ἀρχαῖαν.

——— *Above the Floods*
T'appear, thou Phrygia *first shalt strive;*
That so a second Race thou mayst derive
Of men, and be the common Nurse of all.

and adds presently after;

In Phrygia's *Confines a black Mountain is,*
Call'd Ararat, *high, reaching to the Skies:*

Translating *Ararat* out of *Armenia* into *Phrygia*: it may be, because he found there, between the Mountain *Taurus*, and the *Mæander*, the City of *Apamæa*, sirnamed Κιβωτὸς, *Cibotos*, scituated at the foot of the Mountain *Signias* in the midst of the *Rivers* of *Marsyas*, *Obrima*, and *Orga*, all falling into the neighbouring *Mæander*, and imagined, that it was called Κιβωτὸς, which signifies an *Ark*, in memory of *Noah's Ark*, which he supposed to have rested on the Mountain *Signias*; never considering, that that Mountain is not of such height, and extent, as to bear the *Epithets* he gives it, nor that (c) *Josephus*, whose *Writings* he might have read, and whose person he might have seen, affirms from *Berosus*, *Hierome* of *Egypt*, *Mnaseas*, and *Nicholas* of *Damascus*) that *Noah's Ark rested in* Armenia *upon the Mountain* Baris, *in the Countrey of the* Cordueni, *above* Minyas; that *the Ruins of it were there preserved*, and that *the Inhabitants were wont to scrape off* bitumen, *to use as a Preservative*; which is also confirmed by (d) *Eusebius*, from *Abydenus*: and on the other, that, just at the time that the Counterfeit *Sibyl* came first abroad, *Claudius Apollinaris*, Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, and *Apollonius*, the *Romane Senatour*, and *Martyr*, affirmed (as hath been already observed) that *Montanus*, a *Phrygian*, and their *Contemporary*, took upon him to act the *Prophet*; I finde so much the more likelyhood to lay this *Bastard* to him, the more free I find it (as the *Pastour* of *Hermas*) from containing any Passage, that might displease the *Montanists*; but I determine nothing, and am very willing to resign to any one, that shall take the trouble upon him, the task of teaching us better things.

(c) *Antiq.* lib. 4. cap. 4.

(d) *De præpar.* lib. 9. *In the third Book of* Theophilus *to* Autolycus, *it is said; That the Reliques of the Ark were to be seen in the Mountains of* Arabia.

CHAP. VIII.

Divers Extravagances remarkable in the Sibylline *Writing.*

IN the beginning of this *Treatise*, I gave several Instances of the fond Imaginations observable in that *Work*, most part whereof are either without order, and coherence, or no way prejudiced the Truth. I might further

further reduce to this Head an affectation of the *Authour* sufficiently importunate, and no way suitable to the end, he seemed to propose to himself, namely, that of shuffling into his *Discourse* most of those terms, which the *Heathens* in their *Mythologie* had used for the *Description* of *Hell*, and *Infernal places*, as if he had made it his Business to bring it into reputation. Such are, for instance, that of *Trinnys*, used by him, *lib* 3. *page* 38. *Styx*, lib. 3. *pag.* 22. that of *Tartarus*, lib. 1. *pag.* 7, 8. lib. 2. *pag.* 18. lib. 5. *pag.* 44. lib. 8. *pag.* 61. that of *Erebus*, lib. 1. *pag.* 7. lib. 3. *pag.* 33. that of *Acheron*, lib. 1. *page* 11. lib. 2. *page* 18. lib. 5. *page* 51. that of *Elysium*, lib. 2. *page* 18. lib. 3. *page* 32, 34. his licentiousness of expression, not well suiting with *Christianity*, taken in good part by the *Fathers*, hath been constantly dissembled by them, in like manner as were the *Fables* of the *Titans*, *Saturn*, and others; which were of no small account in the pretended *Sibylline Poem*: but there are some other Passages scattered up and down in it of a much greater concern, and such as have occasioned Consequences of far greater importance. I shall not insist on the *Authour*'s having thrust into his eighth *Book* an *Acrostick* made up of these five words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ· whereof the *initial Letters*, put together, made up the word Ἰχθύς, which signifies a *Fish*; from which supposition *Tertullian*, (in his Book *De Baptismo*) *Zeno de Verone*, (Serm. 5. *ad Neophytos*) *Optatus Milevitanus*, (*lib.* 3.) St. *Augustine* (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. 18. *cap.* 23) and others, have derived so great prejudice; that they have, with a certain emulation, made a noise about it; calling the *Lord* Jesus, *Piscem nostrum*, that is to say, *our Fish*; the *Christians*, regenerated by *Holy Baptism*, pisciculos, *little fishes*; the *Baptismal Font*, piscinam, *the fish-pond*, or *place where the Fishes are kept*: in consequence whereof a pleasant Humour took them of Allegorizing upon the *Piscina*, or *Pool*, mentioned in the *Latine Version* of the fifth *Chapter* of Saint *John*'s Gospel.

Chap. IX.

The first Principal Tenet *of the* Sibylline *Writing.*

THe same *Authour*, having fondly derived from (a) *Adam*, which is originally *Hebrew*, that of ᾅδης, *Hades*, which is purely *Greek* (and signifies in the *New Testament*, either *Hell*, as in *Matth.* xvi. 18. *Luke* x. 15. and xvi. 23. or the *Sepulchre*, and *State of the departed* in respect of their *Bodies*, as *Acts* ii. 27, 31. 1 *Cor.* xv. 55. *Apocal.* i. 18. and vi. 8. and xx. 13, 14.) lays it down, as a thing manifest; that all men from *Adam* are (after their death) confined in *Hell*, till the time of their *resurrection*; saying in the first *Book* (*pag.* 7.) *All men, who have been Inhabitants of the earth, are commanded* (or *said*) *to go to the habitations of* Hell: and *page* 11. where he speaks of the three Sons of *Noah*, whom he feigns never to have been sick, or troubled with the inconveniences of *Old-age*;

(a) Lib. 1. p. 7. Ἄδην δ' αὖτ' ἐκάλησαν, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος μέλεν Ἀδάμ.

They by a certain sleep o'recome shall die;
And gone to Ach'ron *there in honour be:*

For,

For, happy, they were of the bleſſed Race,
In whom (God) Sabaoth *did his Wiſdom place.*
His will to theſe he ever did declare;
To theſe, who, though in Hell, *yet happy are.*

He lays it down, I ſay, as a thing manifeſt; That *all men,* from *Adam, deſcend into hell,* and there expect their *Reſurrection:* a *Suppoſition* refuted by the *Hiſtory* of *Eliah,* (b) whom *Elizeus ſaw aſcending into Heaven in a Whirl-winde*; and by the *Goſpel,* which aſſures us, that the *Thief,* converted upon the *Croſs,* was the *ſame day,* that he died, (c) with the LORD *in Paradiſe*; and by St. *Paul,* who teaches; that, *as being in the body, we are abſent from the* Lord, *ſo* (d) *being abſent from the body, we are preſent with the* Lord; and proteſts that (e) *his deſire is to depart, and to be with* Chriſt; ſhewing, that, on the one ſide, theſe things, *to be abſent from the body,* or *from the Lord,* and being *in the body,* or *with the Lord,* are irreconcileably oppoſite; on the other ſide theſe, *to be abſent from the body,* and *to be with the Lord,* and on the contrary, *to be preſent in the body,* and *to be abſent from the Lord,* are inſeparably conjoined; ſo that the very (f) act of the ſeparation of the body neceſſarily tranſlates the *Faithfull* into the *preſence of the Lord,* of which their *preſence in the body* deprives them. Yet this *Suppoſition,* though refuted, as aforeſaid, had ſuch a ſtrange influence upon the ſpirits of many great *Church-men* in the *Second,* and *Third Age*; that they outvied one another, in the maintaining of it.

(b) 2 Kings 2. 11.

(c) Luke 23. 43.

(d) 2 Cor. 5. 7, 8.

(e) Phil. i. 23.

(f) Thus St. *Gregory Nazianzene* interprets St. *Paul*; affirming of him, that he ſays, Ἐνδημίας πρὸς τὸν Κύριον εἶναι, that *Our departure ought to be with the* Lord. *Orat.* 10.

Thus *Hermas* (at the ſame time, that the Counterfeit *Sibyl* made her firſt attempt upon the ſincerity of the *Chriſtians*) became the *Patron,* and *Propagatour* of it, writing of the *Apoſtles,* and *Faithfull* departed before; *The Apoſtles, and Doctours, who have preached the Name of the Son of God, and are dead, by the power* (of God) *and by Faith, preached to thoſe, who were dead before, and gave them the Seal of preaching. They are deſcended with them into the water, and they aſcended again out of it; but thoſe, who were dead before, deſcended dead, and aſcended living.* Which words are ſo much the more obſervable, in that they have been ſubſcribed by *Clemens Alexandrinus,* (*Strom.* 2, and 6.) inferring from them, that the *Apoſtles* (*conformably to what had been done by our* Saviour) *preached the Goſpel to thoſe, who were in* Hell, *and that it was neceſſary, that the beſt of the Diſciples ſhould be imitatours of their Maſter there, as they had been here*; ſuppoſing, after *Juſtin Martyr,* and St. *Irenæus,* that our *Saviour* being deſcended into *hell,* after his *Paſſion,* had preached the *Goſpel* to thoſe, who were detained there, in which *Opinion* he hath been followed by St. *Athanaſius,* St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers, Hilary, Deacon* of the *Romane* Church, St. *Epiphanius,* St. *Hierome,* St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria, Oecumenius,* &c. And ſecondly, for that they inſinuate not onely, that the *Apoſtles deſcended into hell* after their death, for to *preach* there, but that the *Faithfull,* departed after the *Paſſion* of our *Saviour,* had been there, *taught, and converted*; and conſequently, that all, without any exception, were there detained.

Preſently after the publication of *Hermas*'s Writings, Pope *Pius the Firſt,* Brother to that pretended *Prophet,* complies with him, in his firſt *Epiſtle* to *Juſtus* of *Vienna*; ſaying, *The* Prieſts, *who* (*having been nouriſhed by*

ed by the Apoſtles) *have lived to our days, with whom we have divided together the word of Faith, being called hence by the* Lord, *are detained, ſhut up in eternal Repoſitories*; ſufficiently diſcovering (by theſe words, which denote a perpetual detention, if not abſolutely, at leaſt in ſome reſpect) that he had embraced the ſame Opinion. *Juſtin Martyr*, in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho* the *Jew* (writ ſome years after the preſentation of his *Apologie*, where he makes mention of the *Sibyl*) endeavours, all he can, to maintain it, as well by his *Hypotheſis* of the *Souls of the Juſt being expoſed to the rage of evil Spirits*, as by an *Apocryphal Paſſage* he attributes to *Jeremy* (and which *Irenæus*, ſometime after, cites, (h) one while under the name of *Eſay*, (i) another, under that of *Jeremy*, and certainly with as little reaſon one, as the other) in theſe Terms, *The God of* Iſrael *hath remembred his dead, lying in the ſlimy earth; and deſcended to them to preach his ſalvation among them.* Which St. *Irenæus* does five ſeveral times apply (k) to the *deſcent* of our *Saviour* into *hell* after his *Paſſion*; ſaying, *If the* Lord, *that he might become the firſt-fruits from the dead* (Col. i. 18.) *obſerved the Law of the dead, and continued to the third day in the lower parts of the Earth* (Epheſ. iv. 9.) &c. *ſince he went to the valley of the ſhadow of death* (Pſal. xxiii. 4) *where the ſouls of the dead were*, &c. *it is manifeſt, that the ſouls of his Diſciples (for whoſe ſake the* Lord *did thoſe things) ſhall alſo go to the inviſible place deſigned them by God, and remain there (expecting the Reſurrection) till the Reſurrection.* Whence it muſt needs be, that the *Latine Interpreter*, having found in the *Original Text* the word Ἅιδης, (which properly ſignifies *Inviſible*, and hath been taken by all the *Heathens* either for *Hell*, or the *God*, which they imagined preſided there) Literally tranſlated Εἰς Ἅιδη, *Into an inviſible place.* By which place, the lovers of Truth are not (as many at this day, who, to free St. *Irenæus* form the Errour firſt propoſed in the *Sibylline* Writing, attribute to him Conceptions he neither ever had, nor could have had) to underſtand the *State* of the *ſouls of the Saints departed*, which thoſe *Gentlemen* conceive might be expreſſed by the Term of *inviſible place*, becauſe (l) *Eye hath not ſeen the things, which God hath prepared for thoſe, that love him*, wherever they may be laid up for them, rather then the place, properly ſo called, where they effectually enjoy them. For St. *Irenæus* his manner of reaſoning, and the contexture of his *Diſcourſe* expreſly refutes their *Gloſſes*, in as much, as if the *Diſciples* (whom the *Goſpel* aſſures us (m) *not to have been above their Maſter*) ought both in *life*, and *death*, to imitate him; and if the *Maſter* (according to the ſentiment of St. *Irenæus*, and the *Church* of *Rome* at this day) paſſed from the *Croſs* (n) *to the lower parts of the earth*, and (o) *to the valley of the ſhadow of death*; that is to ſay, to *hell*, properly ſo called, and remained there all the time, from his *Paſſion*, to his *Reſurrection*: it muſt of neceſſity follow; that by the *inviſible place*, whither the *Diſciples* go after their Death, ſhould (according to the ſaid *Father*) be underſtood *hell*, ſcituated in *the lower parts of the earth*, and in the *Valley of the ſhadow of Death*, and that *they remain there, till the time of their Reſurrection.*

(h) Lib. 3. cap. 24.
(i) Lib. 4. cap 39.
(k) In the *places* before-cited and *lib* 4 *cap.* 56, 66. and *lib.* 5. *cap.* 31.
(l) 1 Cor. 2. 9.
(m) Matth. 10. 24.
(n) Epheſ. 4. 9.
(o) Pſal. 23, 4. 44, 19. 88, 7.

It is apparent from the words before tranſcribed, that *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Contemporary with St. *Irenæus*, was of the ſame Opinion. And *Tertullian* (whom St. *Cyprian* acknowledges for his *Maſter*, and whom

Saint *Hierome* affirms to have died about the year 217. being arrived to a very great Age) diſcovers in many places, that all the *Montaniſt* Party had embraced it. For inſtance, in the ſeventh *Chapter* of his Book *Of the Soul; After the divorce*, ſaith he, (or *ſeparation*) *of the body, the ſoul is transferred to hell, ſhe is there detained, ſhe is there reſerved, till the day of Judgment*, &c. *Chriſt, at his Death, deſcended to the ſouls of the Patriarchs.* And in the ninth Chapter; *The ſouls of Martyrs are underſtood to be under the Altar.* And in fifty fifth Chapter; *Hell is in an hollowneſs of the earth, a vaſt ſpace, as to its depth, and there is an undiſcovered profundity in its entrails*, &c. *Chriſt deſcended into the loweſt parts of the earth, to the end, that he might there communicate his preſence to the Patriarchs, and Prophets*, &c. *You have enough to put by thoſe, who, inſolently enough, think not, that the ſouls of the Faithfull juſtly go to hell, by telling them they are Servants above their Maſter; conceiving it not much, it may be, in the boſom of* Abraham, *to reap the comfort of the reſurrection, which is to be expected*, &c. *Heaven is not opened to any one, while the Earth is entire*, &c. *We have* (*in our Book* Of Paradiſe) *made it good, that every ſoul is ſequeſtred in hell, till the day of the Lord.* And in the fifty ſixth Chapter; *Why do you not judge worthy hell thoſe ſouls; which are pure, and innocent?* And in the fifty eighth Chapter; *All ſouls, ſay you, are (whether you will, or no) in hell: there you have already both the Puniſhments, and the Refreſhments; there you have the poor man, and the rich*, &c. *By that* priſon, *we mean* hell, *which alſo the Goſpel ſhews: and the* utmoſt farthing, *we interpret to be any* light offence, *which is to be puniſhed there, by the delay of the reſurrection.* And in his third Book *Againſt Marcion*, and the twenty fourth *Chapter*; Marcion having ſaid, *that he expected* (*after this life ended*) *Refreſhment in hell, in the boſom of* Abraham, *Tertullian* inferrs thence againſt him, that *God is mercifull*, and makes this Exclamation, *Oh God! mercifull even in hell!* And in the thirty fourth *Chapter* of the fourth Book; *I ſay, that* Abraham's *Boſom is a Region, though not celeſtial, yet higher then hell; which in the interim ſhall afford refreſhment to the ſouls of the Juſt, till ſuch time, as, all things being accompliſhed, all receive the fulneſs of their reward at the general reſurrection*, &c. And in his *Scorpiacum*, in the twelfth Chapter; *In the mean time, the ſouls of the Martyrs reſt quietly under the Altar*, &c.

Novatian, that famous *Prieſt* of the *Romane* Church, who, in the year 250. was oppoſed to *Pope Cornelius*, doth in the firſt *Chapter* of his Book *Of the Trinity*, follow the Track of *Tertullian*; ſaying, *That even thoſe very things, which lie under the earth, are not void of certain powers; being placed, every one according to its rank, and order: for there is one place, into which are brought the ſouls, as well of the godly, as the wicked, feeling beforehand the ſentence of the future Judgment.*

Laſtly, *Origen*, that famous *Prieſt* of *Cæſarea*, whom St. *Hierome*, in his *Preface* before his *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, ſometime acknowledged *Maſter of the Churches after the Apoſtles*, and whom he obſerves to have departed this life in the year 254. or thereabouts, expreſſes himſelf to the ſame effect; ſaying in his fourth Book *Of Principles*: *Thoſe, who withdraw out of this world, according to the death common to all, are diſpoſed of, according to their acts, and merits, as they ſhall be judged worthy; ſome to the place which is called* Hell; *others into* Abraham's Boſom,

ſom, *into ſeveral Manſions.* Where it is to be noted, that by *Hell* he means the lower parts of *Hell*, and by *Abraham's Boſom* the place of ſequeſtration, where the dead (in his judgment) are detained before the final Judgment, and not celeſtial glory; which, in his ſeventh *Homily* upon *Leviticus*, he pretends, that none of the *Saints* are admitted to: ſince he formally excludes from the enjoyment thereof the *Patriarchs*, *Prophets*, and *Apoſtles*; ſaying, that they have not yet received their joy; that they expect ours, and that they mourn for our ſins.

It is therefore manifeſt, from the unanimous conſent of the precedent *Teſtimonies*; that all the Authours we have left us of the *ſecond*, and, as far as the middle, of the *third Age*, were all of the ſame Opinion, as being imbued with the *Doctrine* contained in the *Sibylline* Books, and propoſed by each of them, as the common ſentiment of the whole *Church*. Somewhat to the ſame purpoſe may *analogically* be ſaid of thoſe, who followed them in the *after-ages*; as, for inſtance, of the *Authour* of the *Conſtitutions* attributed to St. *Clement*, in the fourty ſecond *Chapter* of his eighth *Book*; of the *Authour* of the *Recognitions*, in his firſt *Book*; of the *Authour* of the *Liturgie*, which goes under the Name of St. *James*; of *Victorinus*, Biſhop of *Poictiers*, and Martyr, upon the ſixth *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*; of *Lactantius*, in the twenty firſt *Chapter* of his ſeventh *Book*; of St. *Ambroſe*, in the ſecond *Chapter* of his ſecond *Book* of *Cain*, and *Abel*, and the tenth *Chapter* of his Book *De bono Mortis*; of Saint *Chryſoſtome*, in his fourth *Homily* upon *Geneſis*, and the thirty ninth *Homily* upon the *firſt Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, and the ſeventh, and twenty eighth *Homilies* upon the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*; of *Prudentius* in his *Hymn upon the Obſequies of the dead, and of the eighteen Martyrs of Saragoſſa*; of St. *Auguſtine*, upon the thirty ſixth *Pſalm*, and the ſeventh *Chapter* of the eleventh Book *De Geneſi ad Literam*, and the thirty fifth *Chapter* of the twelfth *Book*, and in the hundred and eighth *Chapter* of his *Enchiridion*, and in the ninth *Chapter* of his twelfth Book *Of the City of God*, and the fourteenth *Chapter* of the firſt *Book* of his *Retractations*; of the *Authour* of the *Queſtions* attributed to *Juſtin Martyr*, in the ſixtieth, and ſeventy ſixth *Queſtion*; of *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, in his tenth *Oration*; of *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* upon the eleventh *Chapter* to the *Hebrews*; of *Andrew*, and *Aretas* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, upon the ſixth *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*; of *Euthymius* upon the twenty third *Chapter* of Saint *Luke*; of the *Authour* of the *Imperfect Work* upon Saint *Matthew*, in the thirty fourth *Homily*; of St. *Bernard*, in his third, and fourth *Sermon upon the Feaſt of All-Saints*, and of Pope *John* the two and twentieth. For though many of theſe later, moderating (after their manner) the Opinion of thoſe, who preceeded the year 300. do either forbear making any ſpecifical deſignation of the place, where the *Saints* are entertained after their death, contenting themſelves to call it indefinitely, with St. *Auguſtine*, (p) *ſecret and, hidden receptacles*, or, with *Primaſius*, the *ſecret of God*, as it were to inſinuate, that it is known to God only; or are ſo confident, as to affirm it to be *out of Hell*, not preciſely determining, what other habitation it pleaſed God to aſſign them: yet all agree in this; that they often make uſe of thoſe Expreſſions, which ſeem to defer the *Glory*, and *Beatitude* of their ſouls till the Day of the general Reſurrection.

(p) *Receptaculis abditis, ſecretis.*

CHAP. X.

The second capital Tenet *of the* Sibylline *Writings.*

THE second Point of *Doctrine* advanced by the Author of the *Sibylline* Writings, concerning the *State* of the *dead*, is, *that all*, without any exception, *shall pass through the last Conflagration of the Universe, which shall purge the just, and shall refine them, in such, as we say, that Gold is melted, or refined in the Crucible.* To this effect is what we read in the second *Book* (page 17.) *And then shall all pass through the burning River, and the unextinguishable Flame: all the just shall be saved; but the wicked shall perish to all ages*, &c. *The Angels carrying them through the burning River, shall bring them into Light*, &c. *He will give men the power to save themselves from the burning fire, and eternal gnashings of Teeth*, &c. *And then shall God send from heaven the King, and shall judge every man by blood, and the splendour of Fire.*

This Imagination, considered by the most antient of the *Fathers*, as taken out of a *Book* of divine Authority, made so strong an Impression upon them; that they took it for an infallible Lesson. Hence Saint *Irenæus*, in the ninth *Chapter* of his *Book*, having applied to the end of the world those words of *Malachy*, (a) *The day of the Lord shall burn as an Oven*, adds, John *the* Baptist *tells us who that* Lord *is, at whose coming there shall be such a day, saying of* Christ, He shall baptise you with the holy Ghost, and with Fire, having his Fan in his hand to cleanse his Floor; and he will put up the Corn into his Garner; but shall burn the Chaff in unquenchable Fire. *He therefore, who made the corn, is no other, then he, who made the chaff; but one, and the same, judging those things, and separating them.*

(a) Mal. iv. 1.

Origen, in his third *Homily* upon the thirty sixth *Psalm*. *If in this life we slight the words of the* Scripture, *admonishing us, and will not be either healed, or amended by the reprehensions thereof, it is certain, we must come to the Fire, which is prepared for sinners, even to that Fire,* [1 *Cor.* iii. 13.] which shall try every mans work of what sort it is. *And (as I conceive) it is necessary, that we all come to that fire, though one be a* Paul, *or a* Peter, *he will nevertheless come to that fire. But those, who are such, shall hear,* Though thou walkest through the Fire, the Flame shall not kindle upon thee. [*Isa.* xliii. 2.] *But if any one be a sinner, as my self, he shall indeed come to that Fire, as well as* Peter, *and* Paul. *And as the* Hebrews *came to the* Red Sea, *so did also the* Egyptians; *but the* Israelites *passed through the* Red Sea, *and the* Egyptians *were overwhelmed therein. In like manner we, if we are* Egyptians, *and follow* Pharao, *who is the* Devil, *obeying his commandments, shall be overwhelmed in that fiery Lake, or River, when we shall be guilty of the sins, which we are addicted to, no doubt, through the commandment of* Pharao. *But if we are* Israelites, *and redeemed by the blood of the* (b) Lamb without spot; *if we carry not about us the* (c) leaven of malice, and wickedness, *we also must enter into the fiery River: but as the Waters were, to the* Israelites, (d) a wall on the right hand, and on the left, *so shall the Fire*

(b) 1 Pet. i. 19.
(c) 1 Cor. v. 8.
(d) Exod. xiv. 22.

Fire be as a Wall, if we do, as it is reported of them, that is to say, that they (e) believed the Lord, and his servant *Moses, that is to say, his Law, and Commandments, and by that means follow* (f) *the Pillar of Fire, and the Pillar of the Cloud.* And in his fourteenth *Homily* upon Saint *Luke*; *I think, that even after the Resurrection of the dead, we shall stand in need of the Sacrament to cleanse, and purge us; for none will be able to rise again without Filth.*

(e) *Ibid.* 31. (f) Exod. xiii. 21.

Lactantius, in the twenty first *Chapter* of his seventh *Book*. *When he shall judge the just, he shall also try them by Fire; then shall those, whose sins have prevailed, either as to their weight, or number, be smitten by the Fire, and burnt; but those, whom a fulness of Justice, and maturity of Virtue shall have hardned, shall not be sensible of that Fire.*

Saint *Hilary*, who, in the second of his *Canons* upon Saint *Matthew*, had observed in general, that *it lies even upon those, who are baptised with the Holy Spirit to be consummated* [or *accomplished*] *by the Fire of the* (last) *Judgment*, in his third *Sermon*, upon the one hundred and eighteenth *Psalm*, according to the *Greeks*, applies it particularly to the *blessed Virgin*; to shew, that, in his judgment, it cannot admit any exception, saying; *Since we are to give an account* [Matthew xii. 36.] *for every idle word, do we desire to come to the day of Judgment, wherein we are to pass through that indefatigable Fire, wherein we are to suffer those grievous Torments, which tend to the expiation of the soul from its sins?* (g) *If a sword did pierce through the soul of the Blessed* Mary, *that the thoughts of many hearts might be revealed; if that Virgin, who was capable of receiving God, was to come to the severity of Judgment, who will presume to desire to be judged of God?*

(g) Luke ii. 35.

Saint *Gregory Nazianzene*, Orat. 26. *The day of the revelation will declare manifestly, whether it be through a sound Ratiocination, that I please not: as also the last Fire, by which all our works shall be judged, and purged.* And in the thirty ninth, speaking of those, who think themselves so pure; that they think they have reason to bid their Brethren, *Stand at a distance* from them; *It may be that there* [to wit, at the end of the world] *they shall be baptized by Fire with the final Baptism, which is the most grievous, and most long, which feeds on the matter, as on grass, and consumes the vanity of all wickedness.* And in the fourtieth, where he bewails his own imperfection; *Who will secure me, that I shall be saved at the end, and that the judicial seat will not look upon me still, as a debtour, and one that stands in need of the Conflagration, which shall be then?*

Saint *Basil*, upon the 4th of *Esay*, *Verse* 4th, where the *Prophet* treats of the cleansing of *Jerusalem*, hath this consideration; *Are there not three Notions of Baptism? The Purgation of the Filth, the Regeneration by the Spirit, and the Examination by the fire of Judgment?* And upon these words of the Tenth, *Howl, for the day of the Lord is at hand:* by the day of the Lord *he means that of the last Judgment.* Then adds, *If none be pure, in respect of the works, that are forbidden; let every one fear that day: for saith he* [to wit Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* iii. 15.] *If any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss; but he, himself, shall be saved; yet so, as by Fire.* And in the fifteenth *Chapter* of his Book *Of the holy Ghost*; Saint John *calleth Baptism of Fire the Trial, which shall be made at the day of Judgment, according to what the*

Apostle

Apoſtle *ſaith*, The Fire ſhall try every man's work, of what ſort it is. *And* in the nine and twentieth, ſpeaking of *Athenogenes*, a Man famous among the Antient *Chriſtians*, he ſays: That he *ſtrove to arrive at the conſummation*, or *accompliſhment*, *which ſhall be made by Fire.*

Saint *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, Brother to St. *Baſil*, in his *Oration* upon the eight and twentieth *Verſe* of the fifteenth *Chapter* of the *firſt Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*. *All the wickedneſs, which, as ſo much falſe Alloy, is mixed among the things that are, being taken away by the melting of the Purgative Fire, whatſoever drew its Original from God, ſhall become ſuch, as it was at the beginning, before it had received the tincture of that wickedneſs.*

Saint *Ambroſe*, in his *Sermon* upon the thirty ſixth *Pſalm* according to the *Greeks*. *By Fire therefore ſhall the Sons of* Levi *be purged, by Fire* Ezechiel, *by Fire* Daniel: *but though they are tried by Fire, yet ſhall they ſay*, We have paſſed through the Fire, and through the Water; *others ſhall remain in the Fire, upon theſe the Fire ſhall fall down like dew, as upon the* Hebrew *children*, &c. *We ſhall be ſaved by Faith, yet ſhall we be ſaved ſo as by Fire: though we ſhall not be abſolutely burnt up, yet ſhall we burn; and the Holy Scripture teacheth us, how ſome continue in the Fire, others paſs through it, to wit, as the* Egyptians *were overwhelmed in the* Red Sea; *through which the children of* Iſrael *had paſſed before them*, &c. And on the twentieth *Section* of the hundred and eighteenth *Pſalm* according to the *Greeks*. *It is neceſſary, that all thoſe, who deſire to return to Paradiſe, be tried by Fire: for it is not without reaſon written, that* Adam, *and* Eve, *being thruſt out of the ſeat of* Paradiſe, *God placed at the entrance of* Paradiſe *a* flaming Sword, *which turned every way. All therefore muſt paſs through the Flames, whether it be* Saint John *the* Evangeliſt (*whom the Lord loved ſo dearly, that he ſaid of him to* Peter; If I would have him to ſtay, what is that to thee? Follow thou me: *ſome have doubted of his death; of his paſſage through the Fire we cannot doubt*) *or whether he be* Peter, *who was entruſted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he muſt ſay*, We have paſſed through the Fire, &c. *One onely, who is the Juſtice of God, was not ſubject to the ſenſe of that Fire; to wit,* Chriſt, *who hath committed no ſin; for the Fire found not in him, what it might have burned.* And in his Book *Of Widows*. *God requires not of thee the price of a glittering Metal; but the Gold, which the Fire cannot burn at the day of Judgment.*

Saint *Hierome*, towards the end of the ſixty ſixth *Chapter* of *Eſay*, diſputing againſt thoſe, who denied the *perpetuity of Torments ſuffered by the Damned*, propoſes his ſentiment in theſe Terms; which ſuppoſe a general examination by Fire at the laſt day. *As we believe the Torments of the Devil, and of all ſuch, as deny God, and of wicked men, who have ſaid in their heart* There is no God, *to be eternal; ſo do we believe moderated, and capable of compaſſion, the Sentence of the Judg concerning thoſe, who, though ſinners, and wicked, are yet* Chriſtians; *whoſe Works are to be tried, and purged by Fire.*

Saint *Auguſtine*, in the four and twentieth *Chapter* of his ſixteenth Book *Of the City of God*; where he ſpeaks of the *Viſion* of *Abraham*, mentioned in the fifteenth *Chapter* of *Geneſis*; *By that Fire* (which *Abraham ſaw*) *is ſignified* The Day of Judgment, *diſtinguiſhing between thoſe, who are to be ſaved by the Fire, and thoſe, who are to be condemned to the Fire.*

And

And in the five and twentieth *Chapter* of the twentieth *Book*, where he explicates the second and third *Verses* of the third *Chapter* of *Malachy*. *By the things, which have been said, it seems to be very manifest; that in that Judgment* (that is, *the Last*) *some are to undergo Purgatory pains*, &c. *We are to take the Sons of* Levi, Juda, *and* Jerusalem, *for the* Church of God, *assembled, not onely among the* Hebrews, *but also among other* Nations; *not such, as it is at the present, where, if we say,* (h) We have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us: *but such, as it it shall be then, cleansed by the last Judgment, as a floor, that is swept: those, to whom such a cleansing is necessary, having been also cleansed by the fire.* (h) 1 John i. 8.

The *Authour* of the third *Homily* upon the *Epiphany*, unjustly attributed to *Eusebius Emissenus*; since it seems to have been written either by *Eucherius* of *Lyons*, or by *Faustus* of *Rhegium*. *There* (that is, *at the last Day*) *Conflagrations changing their nature, the Just shall pass through horrid Gulfs. Their Bodies, which are to derive Glory from their pains, because they are not burthened by sins, shall not be touched by the Fires; for the cruel Burnings shall prevail nothing on those, whom the Flames of sinfull lusts had not overcome before: and the rational heat shall not be able to injure those, on whom Purity hath conferred reverence. Otherwise, avoiding wrath, it shall make way for the vapours; and will of its own accord obey: because it shall not finde any thing, on which, it may be necessary, it should exercise Judgment.*

Diadochus, Bishop of *Photica* in the Antient *Epirus*, in the last *Chapter* of his Book *Of Spiritual perfection. Those, who at their death shall expresse ever so little fear, shall be left in the multitude of all other men; as undergoing the Judgment, to the end, that, being examined by the Fire of Judgment, they may receive from the All-good God, and the King* Jesus Christ, *the reward due unto them, according to their Works.*

From the joynt *Testimony* of these *twelve Witnesses* now produced, it is apparent; that the second head of the *Opinions* proposed by the *Sibylline* Writing, was (equally with the former) constantly maintained by the most eminent *Prelates* of both the *Greek*, and *Latine Churches* still after the year 459. wherein *Diadochus* subscribed (with the *Councel* of the Antient *Epirus*) the *Letter* written to the *Emperour Leo the First*, concerning the proceeding of *Timothy*, surnamed *Ælurus*, Usurper of the *Chair* of *Alexandria* against *Proterius*, whom he had Assassinated. Nay, it further appears from the *Epitaph* of *Vilithuta*, a *Parisian Lady*, writ in the year 560. by *Venantius Fortunatus*, afterwards *Bishop* of *Poictiers*, that the *Church* of that Time was not free from that *Opinion*: which he expresses in these Terms:

Digni lumen habent, damnati incendia deflent:
Illos splendor alit; hos vapor igne coquit.
Res est una quidem; duplici sed finditur actu:
Nam cremat indignos, quo probat igne pios.

"The Blest have Light, the Damn'd their Fires bewail:
"Those are in Bliss; o're these the Flames prevail.
"The same thing doth t' a double Act divide:
"The Bad i'th Fire are Burn'd, the Just are Try'd.

CHAP. XI.

The Third main Tenet *proposed by the* Sibylline *Writing.*

THe third *Head* of *Doctrine* proposed by the *Sibylline* Writing concerning the *State of the Dead*, is; that *The Saints, after their Resurrection, are to be reconducted to live in that* Paradise, *of the possession whereof* Adam, *and* Eve, *were, for their disobedience, deprived.* For the *Authour* of that *Romance*, having taken *literally*, and understood carnally, what he had read, *Luke* xxiii. 43. 2 *Cor.* xii. 4. *Apoc.* ii. 7. concerning *Paradise*; and *John* vi. 31. concerning the *Bread of heaven*, and *Apocal.* ii. 17. concerning the *Hidden Manna*, tells us in his *Preface*, copied out by *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, and *Lactantius*, that, *Those, who honour God, inherit the true, and eternal Life; that is to say, the time of* Eternity, *having their abode in* Paradise, *the flourishing* Garden, *and eating the delicious Bread of heaven*; which, at the end of the seventh *Book*, (*page* 56.) he means of *Manna*; saying, *All together eat of the bedewing* Manna *with their white Teeth.*

This *Doctrine* was so much the more acceptable to the *Fathers*, the more they thought themselves obliged to conceive an aversion for the extravagant Imagination of the *Gnosticks*; who transformed *Paradise* into an *Archangel*, and assigned for its station the *fourth Heaven.* Thus *Theophilus* (who gave *Paradise* the qualification of *perpetual*, and *hanging in the midst, between heaven and the world*) [a] grounded the perswasion, he would give of it to *Autolycus*, on the Authority of the pretended *Sibyl*; and, after his Example, *Lactantius*, in the twelfth *Chapter* of his second *Book*. St. *Irenæus*, having (in the thirty sixth *Chapter* of his fifth *Book*) alledged these words of *Esay*, (out of the two and twentieth *Verse* of the sixty sixth *Chapter*) *As the new heavens, and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me*, assigns to each of them its Inhabitants; saying, *Then shall those, who are worthy the conversation of heaven, pass thither; others shall enjoy the pleasures of* Paradise; *and others shall possess the Holy earth, and the splendour of the City*, that is to say, *Jerusalem.*

(a) Lib. 2.

Tertullian, in the fourty seventh *Chapter* of his *Apologetick*: *We know* Paradise *to be a place of Divine pleasure, destined for the reception of the spirits of the Saints, and separated from the knowledg of the common world by a certain inclosure of that fiery Zone.* And, in the eighth *Chapter* of his *Poem* of the *Last Judgment*: *There is a place in the* Eastern *Parts, wherein the* Lord *takes great delight; where there is a clear Light*, &c. *it is a Region most rich in Fields*, &c. *thither comes every godly man.* But, in the fifty fifth *Chapter* of his Book *Of the Soul*, this Great man, dazled by the delusions of the *Montanists*, moderates the Opinion he had taken out of the *Books* of the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, and reserving *Paradise* for the entertainment of the *Martyrs* onely, excludes out of it all the rest of the *Faithfull*; saying, *You say, that our Sleep* (that is to say, *the place of our Repose*) *is in* Paradise, *whither the* Patriarchs, *and* Prophets, *upon the Resurrection of our* Lord, *being Appendages thereof, passed from* Hell; *but how comes it, that that Region*

Region of Paradiſe, *which is under the Altar, revealed to* St. John, *diſcovered no Souls, but thoſe of the* Martyrs ?] *How came* Perpetua, *that moſt couragious* Martyr, *in the Revelation, which was made to her of* Paradiſe, *not long before her Suffering, to ſee there onely her companions in Martyrdom; but that the Sword, which keeps the Entrance of* Paradiſe, *ſuffers none to get in, but thoſe, who are departed in* Chriſt, *not in* Adam ?

Saint *Cyprian*, after the Example of his Maſter *Tertullian*, ſpeaking of our *Lord* to *Demetrian*, *Proconſul* of *Africk*, a paſſionate Enemy of *Chriſtianity*, hath this expreſſion; *He opens to us the way of Life; he is the Authour of our return into* Paradiſe. And in his Book *Of Mortality*, towards the end; *We account Paradiſe* (ſaith he) *to be our Country, we have already begun to have for our Fathers the Patriarchs*. And, in the *Chapter* of *Exhortation to Martyrdom*. *If it be glorious for the Souldiers, engaged in common Wars, after the Conqueſt of their Enemies, to return Triumphant into their Country; how much a nobler, and greater Glory is it to return Triumphant to* Paradiſe, *after we have overcome the* Devil, *and to carry away victorious Trophies, after we have ſubdued him, who had foiled us before, to the place, whence the Sinner* Adam *had been thruſt out.*

Lactantius, in the place above cited. *God, having pronounced his Sentence againſt Sinners, that every one ſhould work out his own livelihood, caſt man out of* Paradiſe, *and encompaſſed* Paradiſe *round about with Fire; that man might not approach it, till he had exerciſed ſovereign Judgment upon Earth, and recalled to the ſame place thoſe Juſt men, that worſhipped him; Death being taken away.*

Saint *Athanaſius*, in his *Treatiſe* upon theſe Words, (*Matth.* xii. 27.) *All things are given to me*, &c. *Death prevailed from* Adam *to* Chriſt, *the* Earth *was curſed, and* Hell *opened, and* Paradiſe *ſhut*, &c. *But aſſoon as all things were given to him, and that he was made man, all was amended, and accompliſhed. The* Earth, *inſtead of the Curſe it lay under before, was bleſſed; and* Paradiſe *opened; and* Hell *daunted.* And in his *Expoſition of Faith:* Chriſt *ſhewed the entrance into* Paradiſe, *whence* Adam *had been thruſt out; and into which he is again entred by the* Thief, *according to what our* Saviour *ſaid,* This day ſhalt thou be with me in *Paradiſe: whither* Paul *alſo is entred.*

Saint *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, in his *Myſtagogical Inſtruction*. *The* Paradiſe *of God, which he had planted towards the* Eaſt, *is open to thee: whence our firſt Parent was baniſhed, becauſe of his Transgreſſion. And this is ſignified by thy turning from the* Weſt *to the* Eaſt, *the place of Light.*

Saint *Baſil*, in his Treatiſe *Of Paradiſe*. *How ſhall I be able to bring thee into ſight of thy Country, to the end thou mayſt recall thy ſelf from baniſhment?* &c. *If thou art carnal, thou haſt the deſcription of him, that is corporal.* And in the ſeven and twentieth *Chapter* of his Book *Of the Holy Ghoſt*. *We all, in our Prayers, look towards the* Eaſt: *but there are few of us, that know, we thereby ſeek our antient Country, that is to ſay, the* Paradiſe, *which God planted in* Eden.

Saint *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, in his *Oration of the fourty* Martyrs. *That then, which is demanded, is; Whether* Paradiſe, *becauſe of the Turning Sword, is alſo inacceſſible to the* Saints: *and, If the Champions* (of *Chriſt*) *are excluded* Paradiſe, *what Promiſe there remains, upon which they ſhould undertake Combats for Piety: and whether they ſhould obtain leſs, then the* Thief, *to whom*

the Lord *ſaid,* This day ſhalt thou be with me in *Paradiſe*; *though the* Thief *came not voluntarily to the Croſs; but, when he was come near Salvation, that Eagle-ſighted, and generous* Thief *ſaw the Treaſure, and, finding an opportunity, ſtole Life, honourably, and happily abuſing the nature of Theft, and ſaying,* Lord, have me in remembrance, when thou comeſt into thy Kingdom. *He was honoured with* Paradiſe, *and does the Flaming Sword keep the entrance of* Paradiſe *againſt the* Saints? *But the Queſtion reſolves it ſelf. For thence it is, that the Word hath not repreſented the Sword always placed againſt thoſe, that enter; but* Turning, *that it might be oppoſite to the unworthy, and be behinde the worthy, opening unto them the not-forbidden entrance of Life, into which thoſe* (that is to ſay, *the fourty Martyrs*) *are entred, in the aſſurance of their Combats; having, without ſuffering, paſſed through the Flame: which we alſo having, undaunted, paſſed through, may be received into* Paradiſe. And thence it comes, that in his *Funeral Orations* upon *Pulcheria,* and *Flacilla,* her Mother, he ſays of the former, *The Plant hath been removed hence; but it hath been replanted in* Paradiſe: and of the later, *By that* (that is, *by Faith*) *was ſhe carried hence into the Boſom of the Father of Faith,* Abraham, *near the Fountain of* Paradiſe.

Saint *Ambroſe,* upon the twentieth *Section* of the hundred and eighteenth *Pſalm* according to the *Greeks,* lays it down (as hath been already ſhewed) for certain, that it is neceſſary thoſe, who deſire to return into the *Paradiſe*, out of which *Adam* had been driven, ſhould paſs through the Fire of Judgment.

Paulinus, having forſaken the *World,* to lead a *Religious Life,* afterwards Biſhop of *Nola,* in his ſecond *Epiſtle* to *Severus* his intimate Friend. *This is acceptable, and well-pleaſing, in the ſight of God; that our good ſhould be voluntarily, that we might receive the things, which are ours; that is to ſay, the houſe of* Paradiſe, *and eternal Life, wherein we were created; and which, if we, purged from the poſſeſſion of this earth, whereinto we came through condemnation, regain; then may we, as truly recalled from Baniſhment into our Country, or returned after a long Pilgrimage into the houſe we were born in, ſay,* God is our Portion in the land of the living, *&c.*

Prudentius, in the tenth of his *Hymns. While thou (O God) recalleſt, and reformeſt thy body, ſubject to diſſolution, in what Region wilt thou command the pure Soul to reſt it ſelf? Hidden in the boſom of the Bleſſed Old man, it ſhall lodge there, where* Eleazar *is; whom the rich man burning ſees, from afar off, encompaſſed with flowers all about. O* Redeemer, *we follow thy Sayings, whereby, Triumphing over black Death, Thou commandeſt the* Thief, *who was Companion of thy Croſs, to come after thee. Behold already the lightſom way of ſpacious* Paradiſe *opened to the Faithfull; and it is lawfull to go into that Grove, of which man had been deprived by the* Serpent.

The *Authour* of the *Homily upon the Thief,* unjuſtly attributed to *Euſebius Emiſſenus.* This day ſhalt thou be with me in *Paradiſe; as in thy hereditary, and paternal ſeat; which at thy entrance ſhall be opened; though, upon the expulſion thence of* Adam, *nay of two* (to wit, *Adam,* and *Eve*) *it had been ſhut up to innumerable people. Enter thou therefore the firſt of all; but with a happier entrance, then the firſt into* Paradiſe; *it being not required, thou ſhouldeſt with* Adam *ſee hell. Fear not thou ſhalt there meet with any mortal Viand, any Law, any Tree. I will be to thee both Food, and Life. And, that*

thou

thou mayst not have the least apprehension, that there may haply be some enemy, in that blessed Grove, and that the antient Thief *may lay Ambushes for thee; I will bring thee into it, and confirm the possession thereof to thee.*

The *Authour* of the *Questions* attributed to *Justin Martyr*, in the seventy fifth *Question*. *The souls of the Just are carried into* Paradise, *where they have the conversation, and sight of the Angels, and Archangels, and the Vision of* Christ *our Saviour*. And in the seventy sixth *Question*. *It was profitable for the* Thief, *at his entrance into* Paradise, *to learn, by the effects, the advantage of Faith, by which he had the honour to be admitted into the Assembly of the Saints; where he is kept till the day of the Resurrection, and retribution. Now he hath that Sentiment of* Paradise, *which is called* Cogitative; *according to which the Souls see, themselves, the things, that are below them, and moreover the Angels, and* Dæmons.

It were no hard matter to add to this number those *Authours*; who have followed the same prejudicate *Opinion*: as the *Monk Cæsarius* in his third *Dialogue*; St. *Hierome*, in his hundred twenty ninth *Epistle*, &c. But the fourteen before cited are sufficient, to shew, that, till after the year 450 their *Opinion*, which had its first rise from the pretended *Sibylline* Books, was so common in the *Church*, that it met not with any Contradiction.

Chap. XII.

The fourth Capital Tenet *proposed by the* Sibylline *Writing.*

The fourth *Supposition*, advanced by the *Authour* of that Counterfeit *Piece*, concerning the *State of the departed*, is; *That*, Jerusalem, *rebuilt, and made more glorious, then ever, the Son of God, being descended from heaven, shall establish a reign of a thousand years; full of sensible enjoyments, and a miraculous fertlity, and abundance of corporal goods*. He spreads his Fiction before us, in these Terms, in the second *Book* (page 14.) *The fruitfull earth shall again bring forth several Fruits*. And *page* 18. *The Angels, raising* (the Good) *out of the midst of the burning River, shall convey them into light, and bring them to a life free from care. There is the immortal way of the great God, and three Fountains, of Wine, Honey, and Milk; the earth also common to all, and being divided by neither walls, nor hedges, shall then, of it self, bring forth several Fruits*. And in the third *Book* (page 32.) *Then shall God give unto men a very great joy. For the earth, the Trees*, and *the innumerable flocks of Sheep, shall furnish men with the true fruit of Wine, sweet Honey, white Milk, and the best Corn, that ever mortals had*. And *page* 35. *The Wolves, upon the Mountains, shall eat grass with the Lambs; the spotted Lynxes shall feed with the Goats; the Bears with the Calves, and all Mortals; the flesh-devouring Lion shall eat straw in the Manger*, &c. *And the Dragons shall rest themselves with the motherless little ones*. And in the six and fourtieth *page* of the *fifth* Book. *The Land of the* Hebrews *shall be holy, and bring forth all things; (viz.) the River of the Rock, that distills Honey, and the immortal Milk shall fall down upon the tongues of all the Just*. And in

the *fourtieth* page. *All those, who live a godly life, shall live again upon the earth.* And in *page* the nine and fourtieth, *God hath made the City, he delighted in, more bright, then the Stars, the Sun, and the Moon.* So, that it is without all question, it was the design of this *Impostour*, who (in imitation of the *second Book* of *Esdras*, in the 19th *Verse* of the second *Chapter*, and the 35th *Verse* of the fourteenth *Chapter*) would needs entertain us with such extravagant *Narrations*, to abuse the words of *Esay*, and Saint *John*; who, in the twentieth, and one and twentieth *Chapters* of his *Apocalyps*, *mystically* represents the *Church*, under the Name of (a) *the holy City, the new* Jerusalem, *coming down from God out of Heaven*; (b) *built of Gold, and precious Stones*; (c) *having no need of Sun, or Moon*; (d) *and in the midst of it, and of either side of the River*, was there *the Tree of Life, which bare twelve manner of Fruits, yielding its fruit every Moneth: and the leaves of the Tree were for the healing of the Nations.*

(a) Chap. 21. 2
(b) Verse 18, 19.
(c) Verse 23.
(d) Chap. 22. verse 2.

The same Imagination so gained upon the *holy Fathers*, that lived after the middle of the *second Age*; that those *good Souls*, prepossessed by the *Opinion* they had conceived of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, took *literally*, and apprehended, after the *Jewish* sence, whatever they met with in *Esay*, and Saint *John*, concerning the *First Resurrection of those, who died for the Testimony of* Jesus, their *reign of a thousand years*, and *all the glory of the celestial* Jerusalem. Thus *Justin Martyr*, in his *Dialogue* against *Trypho*, answering that *Jew*, who (*page* 306) had asked him, *Whether he acknowledged, that* Jerusalem *should be rebuilt, and the* Christians *assemble there, and rejoyce with* Christ, *in the company of the* Patriarchs, Prophets, *&c.* not onely confesses it; but maintains further, that he had already averred it: reflecting, no doubt, on those words, of *page* 271. where he saith, that *Christ, being raised, should come again into* Jerusalem, *and then drink anew, and eat, with his Disciples.* And secondly, that he had signified unto him, that *Many among those, who were not of the pure, and religious sentiment of the* Christians, *acknowledged it not:* whereupon he adds; *I, and as many others, as are of the right, and truly* Christian, *sentiment in all things, know, that there must be a Resurrection of the Flesh; and the Prophets*, Ezechiel, Esay, *and others confess, that after* Jerusalem *shall be built, adorned, and amplified, a thousand years shall be spent there:* alledging, to that purpose, the sixty fifth *Chapter* of *Esay*, and the twentieth of the *Apocalyps*. And reinculcating it, *page* 340. where he says, *He* (viz. *Jesus*) *is the eternal Light, which is to shine in* Jerusalem; and *page* 369. where he writes of the *Christians*, that *they know with whom* (Christ) *they shall be in that Land* (viz. *Judæa*) which he had called *the Land of all the Saints*; and that *they shall inherit eternal, and incorruptible goods.*

Eusebius, in the nine and thirtieth *Chapter* of the third *Book* of his *Ecclesiastical History*, attributing the same opinion to *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who had been a follower of the *Disciples* of Saint *John*, hath this Discourse. *He affirms also many other things, that are more fabulous: among which he saith, that there are a certain thousand of years to pass after the Resurrection; and that* Christ *shall reign corporally in the same Land. Things; which, I think, he hath onely imagined upon a misapprehension of the Apostolical Expositions.*

Saint *Irenæus*, in the thirty fifth *Chapter* of his fifth *Book*, does not one-

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ly agree with *Papias*; but relyes upon his authority: citing out of his fourth *Book* theſe words, which *Papias* attributed to Saint *John*. *The daies ſhall come, wherein there ſhall grow up Vines, having each of them ten thouſand Branches; and upon every Branch ten thouſand Boughs; and on every Bough ten thouſand Buds; and on every Bud ten thouſand Bunches; and on every Bunch ten thouſand Grapes; and every Grape, preſſed, ſhall yield twenty five Meaſures of Wine: And, when any one of the* Saints *ſhall take one of the Grapes, another ſhall cry,* I am a better Grape, take me, and bleſs God by me. *In like manner, one Corn of Wheat ſhall bring forth ten thouſand Ears; and every Ear ſhall have ten thouſand Grains; and every Grain ſhall give ten Pounds of clear and fine Flower; and all other Fruits, Seeds, and Herbs, proportionably.* Was ever the *Synagogue*, cut off from the *Covenant* of God, delivered of an Extravagance, more deſerving contempt, then this: which feigns Bunches of Grapes ſpeaking; and Vines yielding (infinitely beyond all imaginable force of Nature) millions of millions of meaſures of Wine? And yet, the Holy *Martyr*, Saint *Irenæus* (out of an exceſs of reſpect, by no means, excuſable in him, preferring the authority of *Papias*, deceived by the counterfeit *Sibyl*, before all reaſon) blindly ſwallowed it, and, in his two and thirtieth *Chapter*, inferred from it, that *The Juſt ſhall reign* here below *before the day of Judgment*; that, *on the day of the Sabbath of the juſt*, they *ſhall have a Table furniſhed from* God, (e) *who ſhall repleniſh them with all manner of Viands.* That *The Wolves ſhall feed with the Lambs, and the Lyon ſhall live on Straw:* and, in the thirty fifth *Chapter*, that *The Juſt ſhall reign on earth;* in the thirty ſixth, that (*proportionably to the fruit they have brought forth an* hundred, ſixty, *or* thirty *for* one) *they ſhall be placed either in Heaven, or in Paradiſe, or in* Jeruſalem; and that *In that regard it was, that the Son of God ſaid,* (f) In my Father's Houſe are many Manſions.

(e) *Paſcentem Epulis omnibus.*

(f) John xiv. 2.

Tertullian, who lived near the ſame time, to ſhew us, that he was carryed away with the ſame Prejudice, cryes out in the twenty fourth *Chapter* of his third Book *Againſt* Marcion; *We confeſs, that the Kingdom is promiſed us upon Earth, for a thouſand years, after the Reſurrection, in the City of Divine workmanſhip,* (g) *Jeruſalem*, coming down out of Heaven. There is ſome ground to think that *Meliton*, Biſhop of *Sardes*, Contemporary with *Juſtin Martyr*, was of the ſame Opinion with him concerning the *temporal Reign* of *Jeſus Chriſt* in *Jeruſalem*; in asmuch as (to maintain it) he writ upon the *Revelation* of Saint *John*: the words whereof have been extreamly wreſted by the *Patrones* of that Imagination; but, in regard I am nothing preſſed, and have onely Conjecture to inferr it from, I ſhall forbear to urge it.

(g) John: xxi. 2.

I come to *Nepos*, the *Ægyptian* Biſhop, reverenced by *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* for his *Faith*, and great *Learning*, in the attainment whereof he had ſpent himſelf to the Laſt. Of this *Prelate* (h) *Euſebius* ſaies, Ἰουδαϊκώτερον τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, &c. *Teaching, that the Promiſes, made to the* Saints *in the Holy* Scriptures, *were to be accompliſhed after the manner conceived by the* Jews; *ſuppoſing, that there were to paſs a certain thouſand of Years in the purſuit of corporal Enjoyments upon Earth: and being of opinion, he might confirm his Suppoſition by the* Revelation *of* John. *He writ, concerning the ſaid* Revelation, *a certain* Diſcourſe, *entituled* A Reprehenſion of the

(h) Lib. 7. cap. 23, 24.

the *Allegoriſts, as not able to endure, that men ſhould take otherwiſe, then* Literally, *the Promiſes propoſed by the Holy Spirit for the comfort of the* Church; *nor that they ſhould be underſtood* myſtically.

About fifty years after appeared our *Victorinus*, Biſhop of *Poictiers*, who ſuffered *Martyrdom* on the ſecond day of *November* in the year 303. after he had compoſed *divers Treatiſes, great indeed in reſpect of the ſenſe, and ſlight in reſpect of the contexture of the Words*, according to the obſervation of (i) Saint *Hierome*: which cannot be contradicted; ſince there is nothing left of them, and that the *Commentary* upon the *Apocalyps*, which goeth under his name, contains, at this day, nothing of what the *Antients* had read in it. But, (k) Saint *Hierome* aſſuring us, that he was of the number of thoſe, who expected (l) *to come from Heaven a* Jeruſalem, *adorned with precious Stones, and Gold:* we need not fear, upon his Affirmation, to put him into the *Catalogue* of the *Millenaries*.

(i) In *Catalogo Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum.*

(k) In *Eliz.* lib. 11. cap. 36.

(l) Apoc. xxi. 2. 18, 19.

Not long after came *Lactantius*; who, in magnificent Terms, entertains us with all the particulars of their *Opinion*; ſaying, (m) *Cum deleverit injuſtitiam*, &c. *When God ſhall have taken away Injuſtice, and kept Sovereign Judgment, and reſtored to life the Juſt, who were from the beginning; he will converſe among men, for the ſpace of a thouſand years, and ſhall rule over them with Juſtice. Which is no more, then what the prophecying, and diſtracted* Sibyl *ſomewhere proclaims*;

(m) Lib. 7. 24.

Mortals attend, th' eternal King does reign.

And then thoſe, who ſhall be found alive in their Bodies, ſhall not dy; but, during the ſaid thouſand years ſhall propogate an infinite multitude, and their progeny ſhall be holy, and dear to God. Thoſe alſo, who ſhall be raiſed out of Hell, ſhall, as Judges, command the living, &c. *The holy City ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the midſt of the earth: in which God, the Founder thereof, ſhall make his abode with the Juſt, who govern.* After which; he ſuppoſes all we have ſaid of the *fruitfulneſs of the earth*, of *the peace, which there ſhall be in it*, and of *the change of the natures of cruel, and ſavage Beaſts*; alledging to that purpoſe (though with ſome little diverſity) the words of the third *Book* of the pretended *Sibyl*, in the thirty ſecond, and thirty fifth *pages*, and thoſe of the fifth *Book* in the fourty ſixth *page*, cited by us already.

Dionyſius of *Alexandria* (who had undertaken the *Refutation*, not of Saint *Irenæus* (as (n) Saint *Hierome* thought) but of *Nepos*, in *two Books*, entituled *Of the Promiſes* (o) was (about one hundred years after) engaged by *Apollinarius* of *Laodicea*; as we learn from the ſame Saint *Hierome* ſaying, *Duobus voluminibus reſpondit* Apollinarius, &c. That is to ſay, Apollinarius *anſwered in two Volumes; whom follow not onely the men of his own Sect, but alſo a great multitude of ours as to that particular onely. So, that I now ſee, with a ſpirit foreſeeing what will happen, what conſiderable Perſons will be exaſperated againſt me.*

(n) In *Eſai.* lib. 8. *præfat.*

(o) *Euſeb.* lib. 7. cap. 13.

Much about the ſame time lived *Tychonius*, the learned *African* of the *Donatiſt* Party; of whom *Gennadius* writes, in his *Catalogue*, (p) *Mille annorum quoq; regni, in terra Juſtorum, poſt reſurrectionem futuri, ſuſpicionem intulit*, &c. *He alſo gave ſome ſuſpicion of imagining a Reign of the Juſt upon Earth, for the ſpace of a thouſand years, after the Reſurrection.* To which may be added, that in the confuſed *Collection of Homilies*, which is attributed to Saint *Auguſtine*, and was indeed extracted out of the *Writings*

(p) Cap. 18.

of

of *Tychonius* upon the *Apocalyps*, we read these words, (q) *Retulit Spiritus (dum hæc scriberet) regnaturam Ecclesiam mille annos in hoc sæculo usque ad finem mundi.* That is to say, *The Spirit (while he writ these things) delivered, that the* Church *should reign a thousand years upon Earth, even to the end of the World.* (q) *Homil.* 17.

The same *Gennadius* observes of one *Commodianus*; (r) *De divinis repromissionibus adversùs illos* (Paganos) *agens, vili satis, & crasso (ut ità dixerim) sensu disseruit: illis stuporem, nobis desperationem incutiens*; Tertullianum, & Lactantium, & Papiam *sequutus*, &c. *Treating against the* Heathens *concerning the divine Promises, he discoursed thereof in a sence sufficiently flat, and unpolished: casting them into Insensibility, us into Despair; wherein he followed* Tertullian, Lactantius, *and* Papias *for his Authours.* (r) Cap. 15. *Gennad.*

We have it also upon the account of (s) St. *Hierome*, that our *Severus Sulpitius*, who writ the *Life* of St. *Martin*, had committed the same Errour in his *Dialogue*, entituled *Gallus*; wherein yet there is not, at this day, any thing of that nature to be found. (s) *In* Ezek. *lib.* 11. *cap.* 36.

Nay, the same St. *Hierome*, himself (though not chargeable with the Errour; which, to his grief, he saw generally followed by the *Christians* of the *fifth Age*) betrays himself guilty of so great a respect towards those, who first maintained it, that he dares not condemn it; saying, about the year 415. (t) *Licet non sequamur; tamen damnare non possumus: quia multi* Ecclesiasticorum *virorum, &* Martyres *ista dixerunt; & unusquisque in suo sensu abundat, & Domini cuncta judicio reservantur*, &c. *In regard many* Ecclesiastical *Persons, and* Martyrs *have said these things; as also that every man aboundeth in his own sence, and that all is reserved for the Judgment of the Lord: though I do not follow them; yet can I not condemn them.* (t) *In* Hierem. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 20.

Chap. XIII.

Inducements of Praying for the Dead, *arising from the* Hypotheses *proposed in the pretended* Sibylline *Writing.*

BY this means had the *Opinion* of the *Millenaries* (with a success equal to that of the other *Suppositions* of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing) not onely found *Partisans* among the *Christians*; but also gained the applause of many of the most eminent among them: and all had conceived this apprehension thereof; that it was impossible to maintain all the *Hypotheses* contained in it, without inducing, by a necessary consequence, *Prayer for the Dead:* whom they imagined to stand so much the more in need of the Assistances of the *living;* by how much they imagined them exposed, as well to the disturbances, which those might be subject to, who are reduced to the expectation of their Happiness, as to the Temptations, and Assaults, which the *Faithfull* are exercised with, through the implacable malice of *Evil Spirits*; and are obliged, at last, to stand to the rigorous Judgment of the *God of glory.*

We

We cannot make a better representation of the State, whereto the *Christians* of that Time conceived their *deceased Brethren* to be reduced; then by copying-out what *Justin Martyr* (who had seen the Eruption of the first *Sibylline* Imposture) hath written of the condition of our *Saviour* himself, to whom he very justly applied those words of the two and twentieth *Psalm* (according to the *Hebrews*) (a) *Save me from the Lyon's Mouth. That he prayed his Soul might be delivered* from the Sword, from the Lyon's Mouth, and the Paw of the Dog, *was a request, that none should prevail over his Soul; to the end, that, when we come to depart this life, we should desire the same things, as he did of Almighty God; that every wicked bold Spirit may be prevented from taking our Souls, as being what the Souls expect. I have shewn as much, in that* Saul *required, that the Soul of* Samuel *might be evocated by the Witch. It appears also, that the Souls of all those, who have been Just, and Prophets, are subject to such Powers, as (by the effect) it is manifest, was that, wherewith the Witch was Possessed. Whence it is, that he teacheth us by his* Son, *that we (for whose sake it is clear, that that was done) should Fight all manner of wayes, and desire, at our Departure out of this life, that our Souls may not fall under any such Powers, for as much, as when he gave up the Ghost upon the Cross, he said* (b) Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit.

(a) Psal. xxii. 21.

(b) Luke xxiiii. 46.

From which Discourse we learn; that he had a certain persuasion of four things;

1. That our *Saviour*, at the time of his *Passion* for our salvation, prayed, that his Soul might not fall under the power of the *Devils*.

2. That we are obliged, upon our approaches to Death, to imitate his Example.

3. That the *Prophets* were, after death, exposed to the insolencies of *Evil Spirits*, in such manner, that the Soul of *Samuel* could be evocated by the *Witch* of *Endor*.

4. That the Souls, of the *Faithfull*, who dayly *depart* this world, are subject to the same inconveniences; and, consequently, do all stand in extraordinary need of being relieved by the *Prayers* of the *Living*.

In like manner do we see, that upon this *mold* must needs be fashioned those Antient *Prayers*, which the *Church* of *Rome* makes, at this day, for the *Faithfull* departed; saying, *Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriæ, libera animas omnium Fidelium defunctorum de manu Inferni, & de profundo lacu. Libera eas de ore Leonis; nè absorbeat eas Tartarus; nè cadant in obscura Tenebrarum loca. Fac eas, Donine, transire te de morte ad-vitam Sanctam*, &c. *Liberatæ de principibus Tenebrarum, & locis pœnarum*, &c. *Repelle, quæsumus, Domine, ab ea omnes Principe Tenebrarum*, &c. That is to say; *O Lord*, Jesus Christ, *King of Glory, deliver out of the hand of Hell, and from the deep Lake, the souls of all the Faithfull departed. Save them from the mouth of the Lyon; that Hell do not swallow them up; and that they may not fall into the obscure places of Darkeness*, &c. *Lord make them to pass from Death to an Holy Life*, &c. *may they be delivered from the Princes of Darkness, and the places of Torments*, &c. *Drive away from them all the Princes of Darkness, O Lord we beseech thee.* Nay the tender Saint *Augustine* had such a kind of *Letany* in his Imagination; when, celebrating, in his *Confessions*, the Memory of Saint *Monica* his Mother,

Mother, who was (c) dead at leaſt ſix years before, he hath this Language. (d) *Nemo à protectione tua dirumpat eam: non ſe interponat, nec vi, nec inſidiis, Leo, & Draco; nec enim reſpondebit illa, nihil ſe debere, nè convincatur, & obtineatur ab Accuſatore callido*, &c. *Let no body ſnatch her out of thy protection: let not the Lion, or the Dragon interpoſe themſelves, either by force, or by ambuſh; for ſhe will not anſwer, that ſhe owes nothing, leſt ſhe be convicted, and carried away by the crafty Accuſer.*

(c) *May* the fourth, in the year of *Chriſt* 389.
(d) Lib. 9. cap. 13.

Chap. XIV.

The Motives, *propoſed by* Juſtin Martyr, *disallowed; and thoſe, which* St. Epiphanius *had to* pray for the Dead, *taken into Conſideration.*

BUt ſince the *Hypotheſis* of *Juſtin Martyr* was not embraced by all Antiquity; *Tertullian* telling us in general, *Abſit, ut animam cujuslibet Sancti, nedum Prophetæ à Dæmonio credamus extractam*, &c. *Far be it from us, to believe, that the Soul of any Saint whatſoever, much leſs of a Prophet, hath been extracted by the Devil*; and *Pionius Metaphraſtes*, upon the firſt of *February*; *Methodius*, in a particular *Treatiſe* againſt *Origen*; St. *Baſil*, upon the eighth *Chapter* of *Eſay*, and in an *Epiſtle* to *Euſtathius*; Saint *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, in an *Epiſtle* to *Theodoſius*; Saint *Gregory Nazianzene*, in the ſecond *Invective* againſt *Julian*; Saint *Hierome*, upon the ſixth *Chapter* of Saint *Matthew*; St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in the ſixth *Book* of *Adoration in Spirit and Truth*; *Procopius* of *Gaza*, upon the eight and twentieth *Chapter* of the *firſt Book* of *Kings*; *Georgius Syncellus*, in his *Hiſtory*; and others, particularly charging with Impoſture the pretended Evocation of *Samuel*; and *Philaſtrius* numbring it expreſsly among *Hereſies*: we are now to examine, upon what reaſons, *Praying for the Dead* hath been ſince grounded, and to hear, upon this Point, St. *Epiphanius* diſputing in the year 376. againſt *Aërius*; who, thinking it not enough to deny, that there accrewed any advantage to the deceaſed from the *Prayers* made, on their behalf, by the *living*, had withall, upon that account, left the *Church* of *Sebaſte*. He engages againſt him with theſe Conſiderations; Πιςεύειν μὲν τὰς παρόντας, &c. *Thoſe, who are here, believe, that thoſe, who are departed this world, live: and that they are not deprived of being; but that they both are, and live to the* Lord. *And to the end, that this excellent Doctrine may be explained; that there is an hope for thoſe, who pray for their Brethren, as for perſons in their journey; the prayer made for them is alſo profitable, although it does not cut all, that may be alledged againſt them: but (in as much, as, many times, while we are in this world, we ſin voluntarily, and involuntarily) to ſignifie what is accompliſhed. For we make mention of the* Juſt, *and pray for ſinners; for ſinners, directing our Eyes to the mercy of God, which they have obtained; for the* Juſt, *for the* Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſours, Biſhops, Anachorets, *and the whole Battalion, to the end, that we might make a diſtinction between the rank of men, and the Lord* Jeſus Chriſt; *becauſe of the honour, which is due to him, and render him convenient Veneration, as having*

this apprehenſion, that our Lord *is not to be parallelled with any of mankinde, though every one of mankinde were poſſeſſed of Juſtice ten thouſand times, and more.*

It is evident, that the firſt Conſideration of Saint *Epiphanius* could make nothing againſt *Aërius*; who denyed the advantage of *Prayer* for the *Faithfull* departed: the Ratiocination, or Argument of this *Father* being not neceſſary, either abſolutely, or in reſpect of his Adverſary *He is living, Therefore he muſt be prayed for*; ſince that, if this were allowed, *Prayers* ſhould be made for all the living Creatures that are, *Angels, Men,* and *Beaſts,* without any exception; and that for this reaſon, that all theſe, every one of theſe kindes is poſſeſſed of *Being,* and *Life,* in ſome degree. Beſides the Conſequence of ſuch a way of reaſoning would go much beyond, as well the intention of its *Authour,* as the practice of the *Church* of *Pontus*; in vindication whereof he had framed it: ſince that no Community of *Chriſtians* ever did, or thought it ſelf obliged to communicate its *Suffrages* to the *Angels, who live, and ſtand in the preſence of the Lord*; as ſuppoſing that Office could not be due to them, nor be conceived a *rational ſervice,* in regard they neither ſtand in need thereof, nor can receive any advantage thereby.

The ſecond *Conſideration,* which concerns the Hope the *Chriſtians* of the *fourth Age* conceived of the effect of their *Prayers* for their *deceaſed Brethren,* could not be of greater weight, then the former, as far as it concerned *Aërius*; who denyed, not that the *Faithfull* of his Time, had a certain hope of profiting the *Dead* by their *Prayers* (for that they had, was manifeſt) but that their hope was well grounded, and that their *Prayers* for the *Dead* were, or could be, of any advantage. But, as I cannot, without ſome trouble, reflect, that a *Perſon* ſo great (as Saint *Epiphanius*) ſhould be (through I know not what forgetfulneſs) reduced to alledg for a reaſon to his *Adverſary* the very thing he put in queſtion, and which had moſt need of proof; ſo I think my ſelf obliged to make this *Obſervation*; "That the *Chriſtians* at that time uſed "their hope concerning the communication of their *Suffrages* to the "*Dead,* with ſo much indulgence; that they extended it even to thoſe, "whom they thought dead in mortal ſin, and out of the communion "of the *Church.*

CHAP. XV.

Of the Prayers *made, and* Alms *given heretofore by the* Chriſtians *for the damned.*

NOt to bring upon the Stage the vain imaginations of *Origen,* and his Party; who conceived no other Puniſhments to be inflicted on either men, or Devils, then ſuch, as were *Purgatory,* and *for a time*; nor yet much to urge, that ſome very Great Perſon (as St. *Gregory Nyſſen,* in his great *Catechiſtical Oration,* in his Treatiſe *Of the Soul,* and in that which he made upon the eight and twentieth *Verſe* of the fifteenth

Chapter

Chapter of the first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*; and St. *Hierome*, in the eighteenth Book upon *Isaiah* (Chap. lxvi. 24.) seem to have some time countenanced it: I shall insist on this, that some others, no less eminent, were of Opinion, that there might be obtained some diminution of the Torments of the Damned; and that they might be relieved by *Prayers*, and *Alms*. Hence St. *Chrysostome*, in his third *Homily* upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*, speaking of those, who thought it much to dispose of their wealth to *Good Uses*, cryes out, Κλαίωμεν τέτες, &c. *Let us bewail them; let us assist them according to our power; let us finde out some little relief for them: little indeed; yet let us help them that little. And how shall we do it? By* praying *our selves, and exhorting others to* pray *for them; giving frequently for their sakes to the poor. That brings some comfort.* The same St. *Chrysostome*, affirming that the *Catechumens* have no part in the *publick Prayers* made for the *Faithfull departed*, adds, Οἱ Κατηχέμενοι, &c. *The* Catechumens *are not honoured with that consolation; but are deprived of all assistance of that nature, one onely excepted. What is that? It is in your power to* give *to the poor for them; and that gives them some refreshment.* And, in the sixty second *Homily* upon the Gospel of St. *John*, Εἰ μὲν ἁμαρτωλὸς, &c. *If he, who is dead, were a sinner, and had many ways offended God, it is requisite we weep, for that would be of no advantage to him, but do that which may procure him some consolation*; viz. *give* Alms, *and* Offerings. *This also we are to rejoyce at; that he is deprived the opportunities of commiting wickedness.*

Prudentius, in the fifth of his *Hymns*, upon a Supposition, that the Night between *Easter-Eve*, and *Easter-Day*, the Souls of the *Damned* receive some ease, and remission of their pains, saith:

Sunt & spiritibus sæpe nocentibus
Pœnarum celebres sub Styge Feriæ.
Illâ nocte, sacer quâ rediit Deus,
Stagnis ad Superos ex Acheronticis, &c.
Marcent suppliciis Tartara mitibus,
Exultátque sui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus, liber ab ignibus;
Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure, &c.

That is,

Th' Infernal Spirits sometimes gain
An intermission of their pain.
That Night, when God, from Acheron,
Ascended to his heav'nly Throne, &c.
A milder torture reigns in Hell,
The Ghosts in Flames no longer dwell,
Proud that their bonds were eas'd awhile;
The streams of Sulphur cease to boil, &c.

The same *Prudentius*, at the end of his *Hamartigenia*, numbring himself among the *Damned*, hath this Discourse,

Esto, cavernoso (quia sic pro labe necesse est
Corporeâ) tristis me sorbeat ignis Averno;
Saltem mitificos incendia lenta vapores
Exhalent, æstúque calor languente tepescat.

Lux immensa alios, & Tempora vincta coronis
Glorificent; me pœna levis clementer adurat, &c.

If (since our Stains corporeal so require)
I shall be swallow'd by Avernal *Fire;*
Yet may (at least) those Flames a gentler heat
Exhale, and Vapours less intense beget.
Whilest others glorious Crowns of Light obtain,
Let me but have a gentler heat, and pain.

And in the *Hymn* of St. *Fructuosus*, Bishop of *Tarragone*; *Fors dignabitur, & meis medelam, tormentis dare, prosperante Christo*, &c. *It may be also he will give ease to my Torments*, Christ *granting the good success*. For, referring the giving of that ease to the (a) *Destruction of the World*, he shews, it was not his meaning to speak of *Purgatory* such, as the *Church* of *Rome* conceives it at this day; but of the final condition of Souls at the last Judgment.

(a) *Ruente Mundo.*

Paulinus, Bishop of *Nola*, applying to himself the *Parable* of the sixteenth of *Luke*, and imagining himself in the place of the *wicked rich man*, whom the *Gospel* represents as damned, says to *Nicetas*, Bishop of *Dacia*, beyond *Danubius*, which we now call *Transylvania*;

Nos locis, quantum meritis, dirempti,
Eminus celsis humiles patronis,
Te procul sacris socium catervis
Suspiciemus.
Quis die nobis dabit hoc in illa,
Ut tui stemus lateris sub umbra,
Et tuæ nobis requietis aura
Temperet ignem.
Tunc, precor, nostri nimium memento,
Et patris sancti gremio recumbens,
Roscido nobis digito furentem
Discute flammam.

We, who in place from thee as far,
As in our merits, distant are,
From our Abyss to thee on high
Direct our cry.
Who is't, when that day comes, will yield,
Thy shade may serve us for a shield,
And some cool air from thy blest seat
May fan our heat?
Ah! then preserve us in thy mind,
And, on thy Father's Breast reclin'd,
But one drop from thy finger shake,
Our thirst to slake.

Saint *Augustine*, in the four and twentieth *Chapter* of his one and twentieth *Book* Of the *City of God*, professes; that he does not oppose such as applied, to the damned, those words of the seventy seventh *Psalm* according to the *Greeks*, (b) *Hath God forgotten to be gracious?* saying,

(b) Psal. lxxvii. 9.

Quibus

Quibus placet iſtam ſententiam uſq; ad illa impiorum tormenta protendere, &c. *I would have thoſe, who are pleaſed to extend that Sentence even to the Torments of the damned, underſtand it at leaſt in this manner; that the* (c) Wrath of God, *which was pronounced againſt them for their eternal puniſhment, ſtill remaining upon them,* (d) God ſhuts not up in anger his tender mercies, *and cauſes them not to be tormented with ſo much rigour, as they deſerve; not ſo as they ſhould never undergo thoſe pains, or that a time ſhould come, when they ſhould be determined; but to the end they ſhould ſuffer them more remiſſly, then their deſerts might require. For by that means, both the* Wrath of God ſhall remain, *and he ſhall not* withhold his compaſſions even in his wrath, *which I confirm not, though I do not oppoſe.* But in the tenth *Chapter* of his *Manual* copied-out by *Iſidorus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Sevil* (*Offic.* lib. 1. *Chap.* 18.) by *Julian*, Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo*, (*Prognoſt.* lib. 1. *Chap.* 21.) by *Bede*, (in 2 *Cor.* v.) by *Eterius*, Biſhop of *Oſmo*, (*Adversùs* Elipand. *lib.* 1.) he makes a clearer diſcovery of his ſentiment; writing, *Cùm ſacrificia ſive Altaris, ſive quarumcunque Eleemoſynarum pro Baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur,* &c. *When the Sacrifices, whether of the Altar, or of Alms, of what kinde ſoever they be, are offered for all the* Faithfull *departed, they are acts of thanksgiving for thoſe, that have been very good, Propitiations for thoſe, who have not been very Bad, conſolations in ſome ſort to the living for thoſe, who have been very wicked, though there are no aſſiſtances of the dead; and as for thoſe, who reap advantage by them, they benefit them in this, that either their ſins are fully remitted, or their damnation made more ſupportable.* The reſult whereof is, that (according to the Opinion of this *Father*, whom ſo many others have followed, as their Guid, and Directour) it was not impoſſible, but that *Alms* might procure an Alleviation of the Torments of the damned, for whom they had been offered to God by the *Living*.

Athanaſius of *Antioch*, in his *Anſwer* to the thirty fourth *Queſtion* of *Antiochus*, asking, Τί ἦν, &c. *How then, do not the Souls even of Sinners receive ſome benefit, when Aſſemblies meet, Good Deeds are done, and Offerings are offered for them?* concludes, that they do, and ſays, Εἰ μὴ τινὸς ἐνεργεσίας μετῆρχον ἐκ τούτου ἂν ἐν τῇ προσκομιδῇ ἐμνημονεύοντο· *If they reap no good thereby, there would be no mention made of them at their Interment.* And note, that he ſpeaks of the Souls of thoſe Sinners, of whom he had ſaid in his *Anſwer* to the two and thirty *Queſtion*, that they *minded nothing, but their puniſhment*; and in that to the *thirty third*, that they *could do neither good, nor ill*, oppoſing them to the Souls of the *Saints*, which, (e) *ſeized by the Angels, praiſe God.*

From this Source ſprang ſeveral ill-digeſted Stories, and Relations about the year 416. *Vincent Rogatiſta* objected to St. *Auguſtine*, that St. *Perpetua* had by her *Prayers* obtained the diſmiſſion of *Dinocrates*, her Brother, out of the place of Torments. Nay, after the year 730. *Damaſcene* undertook to deliver out three thence upon his Warrant; the firſt taken out of the *Legend* of St. *Thecla*, converted in *Iconia* by Saint *Paul*; where the *Authour* (who ſeems to have been very deſirous to take upon him the Name of *Baſil*, Biſhop of *Seleucia*, upon this account, that in his City reſted the body of that *Bleſſed Virgin*) ſays, that *Tryphæna*, a Kinswoman to the *Emperour*; who, after the death of her Daughter *Falconilla*,

(c) Joh. iii. 36.

(d) Pſal. lxxvii. 9.

(e) Ἐνέργεμέναι.

Falconilla, though dead in the darkneſs of *Paganiſm*, had entertained at her houſe *Thecla*, perſecuted by *Alexander*, and, upon his proſecution, condemned to be torn in pieces by the Beaſts in the *Theatre* of *Antioch*; that this *Tryphæna*, I ſay, in a *Dream* ſaw her Daughter *Falconilla*, earneſtly begging of her to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Saints* Prayers, that by her interceſſion ſhe might be (f) transferred into the abode of the *Juſt*; and that her deſire was immediately granted.

(f) Πρὸς τὸν τῶν δικαίων μεταλαβεῖν χῶρον.

The *Second* is taken out of the *Hiſtory* of *Palladius*, Biſhop of *Heleno-polis* (where there is no Track of any ſuch thing to be found now) to this effect; that Saint *Macarius* the *Hermite*, having made ſome queſtion to the dry Skull of a certain *Heathen*, God inſpired that dry Bone with this true Diſcourſe, by way of Anſwer, *When thou offereſt thy Prayers for the Dead, we receive ſome little conſolation.*

The *Third*, atteſted (as he ſaies) by (g) the *Eaſt*, and *Weſt* (though not any one of the *Latines* ſpeak of it) attributes to Saint *Gregory the Great* the deliverance of *Trajan*'s Soul; who was not onely an *Infidel*, but a Perſecutour alſo, 470. years, and above, after his death, and detention in Hell. But it is to litle purpoſe to diſturb the duſt of an old Imagination, frivolous enough, and diſclamed even by thoſe, who are at this day the moſt earneſt *Patrones* of *Prayer for the Dead*.

(g) Μάρτυς ἑῴη πᾶσα, καὶ ἑσπέρια.

CHAP. XVI.

The Third, and Fourth Motives of Saint Epiphanius *taken into conſideration.*

THe third Conſideration of Saint *Epiphanius* to confirm the cuſtom of Praying for the Dead: *viz.* That the departed are (in relation to the living) *as perſons that Travell*, ſeems to preſuppoſe the firſt *Hypotheſis* of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, which gives occaſion to imagine, that thoſe, who dy, arrive, upon the diſſolution of the Body, not at the place of their ſovereign Happineſs; but are transferred to ſome unpleaſing receptacle under the earth, where their patience is no leſs exerciſed, then that of Travellers, who have a long and tedious Journey to go through. This *Hypotheſis* indeed (if ſo be it were maintained by *Aërius*) might juſtly have been objected to him, to induce him to admit Prayer for the Dead? ſince it is evident, that thoſe, who are at a diſtance from their Happineſs, and languiſh in the expectation of it, ſtand in need of comfort, and the Prayers requiſite to obtain grace of him, who is the author of Grace. But it cannot be of any conſideration, as to what concerns the *Proteſtants*, who unanimouſly Impugn it, and conſtantly teach, that the Souls of men, at the very departure out of their Bodies, enter either into Eternal fire, whence there is no deliverance, and where there is no comfort; or into the Glory of God, which for ever exempts them from all thoſe exigencies, which they are Subject to, who are deprived thereof, while they endeavour to attain it.

The

The fourth Consideration of the same Father, to wit, that those, who dy, have, during the time of their Pilgrimage in this world, *Sinned both voluntarily, and involuntarily*, is very Just, and as *Aërius* never had any reason to deny it, so is it not at all contradicted by any of the *Protestants*; who, by that which they have learnt of Saint *John*, that those men, who (at any assignable time of their Life) *say they have no sin, deceive themselves, make God a Lyar, and have neither his word, nor truth in them*, do very well comprehend, that it must of necessity follow, that those, who should deny *they had any* till the hour of Death, would *deceive themselves* no less then others, and with equal presumption charg with falsehood the God of truth. But (omitting what *Aërius* might have said according to his *Hypothesis*, of which we have nothing certain) the *Protestants* hold, that there is no necessity of this consequence, *he hath (whether voluntarily, or involuntarily, it matters not) sinned during his life*: therefore *we must Pray for him after his death.*

Secondly, that the Church of *Rome* grants it, inasmuch as she, acknowledging that this Antecedent, *he hath sinned*, is and shall eternally be as undeniably true in respect of the *Saints*, which are, and ever shall be in the Glory of God, and the *Damned*, who shall never come out of Hell torments, as of the *living*, who aspire to felicity, and desire to escape Damnation: she, I say, neither prays, nor thinks she ought to pray, for either the *Saints Glorified*, nor the *Sinners Condemned*, but onely for the *Faithfull*, whom she presupposes to expect their Glorification, and that onely for a certain time.

Thirdly, that if from this antecedent, *he hath sinned*, it did of necessity always follow, *We must Pray for him*, the Church of *Rome* would be obliged to Pray; *First*, For the *Apostatized Angels*, who, having quitted their first station, sinned no less then men do, but in such manner, that their offence condemned by an irrevocable decree is absolutely incapable of remedy. *Secondly*, For the Damned, who are not in a state capable of amendment. *Thirdly*, For those, that are Glorified, who have not any good to obtain, and that as well after, as before, the last Judgment; since that after the Pronuntiation of it, this truth, that *men, and Devils have sinned*, will remain evident, and irrefragable as before, though that after the retribution, which shall be for ever made to every one according to his works, it will not be any longer either necessary, or convenient, or rational to pray for him.

Chap. XVII.

Saint Epiphanius's *fift Motive considered.*

For a fifth consideration Saint *Epiphanius* alledges, that *Prayers for the Dead* are made by the surviving, out of a design to *signifie what is accomplished*; & thereby insinuates, that he conceived the state of the Faithfull, from the moment of their death, to the time of their resurrection, to

to be imperfect, and capable of melioration; it is possible *Aerius* might have been of the same Sentiment, and upon that account have been forced to acknowledg some necessity of praying for them, untill the absolute accomplishment of their Glory. But this imagination neither hath, nor can have, any force against the *Protestants*; who believe, that (a) 2 Cor. v. 1. the *Faithfull*, at the very *demolition of the* (a) *earthly Tabernacles* of their bodies, are received (according to the saying of St. *Paul*) into *their celestial habitations*, and that, at the very instant of their *putting-off* of Flesh, God *cloaths* their souls with the glory, which they are eternally (b) 2 Cor. v. 8. to enjoy; so that what till then was (b) *in part*, and imperfect in them, is from thence absolutely *abolished*; and that these Considerations, that the *Prayer does not cut off all, that is layed in charge against the dead*, and that it is made to signifie what is *accomplished*, cannot be any way seasonable in respect of those, who (as they) are perswaded by the *Scripture*, that to no purpose are alledged, either the need, which the *Faithfull* departed stand in of their *accomplishment*; since they are already in actual (c) 2 Cor. v. 8. Phil. 1. 23. possession thereof, (c) *being present with the Lord*, and *absent from the body* particularly, to that end: or the *charges*, which are pretended to remain against them after death, since there can be no (d) *accusation*, (d) Rom. viii. 33. nor any one to lay *ought to their charge*, who are *justified* by the *Lord*, who protesteth (according to the tenour of his own Covenant) that (e) Heb. viii. 12. and x. 17. Jer. xxxi. 33. he (e) will be mercifull to their unrighteousnes, and their sins, and iniquities will he remember no more.

CHAP. XVIII.

Saint Epiphanius's *sixth Motive Considered.*

IN the sixth place, St. *Epiphanius* tells us, That some, in his Time, prayed *for Sinners* departed, *having a respect*, or *recourse*, Θεόμενοι, *to the Mercy of God*; Δεόμενοι, *imploring the Mercy of God*; and it may be said, that upon this ground, *That sinners continued charged with sins, and imperfections after their decease*, Antiquity was induced to demand, by Prayers, the *remission of their sins*, and consequently their *establishment in a place of rest*. To this purpose is what we read in the one and fourtieth *Chapter* of the eighth *Book* of the *Constitutions*, attributed to Saint *Clement*; Ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς, &c. *That God, the lover of men, having received his soul, would turn away his face from all his sins voluntary, and unvoluntary, and out of his Graciousness, and Mercy, place him in the Region of the godly, who enjoy themselves in the Bosom of* Abraham, *&c. whence trouble, sadness, and sighing are departed*, &c. *Look upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen, and taken to thy self, to receive another lot, and pardon him what he hath (voluntarily, or involuntarily) sinned, and place about him good Angels, and dispose of him into the Bosom of the* Patriarchs, *&c. where there is neither sadness, nor trouble, nor sighing*, &c.

In the *Liturgie* of the *Armenians*. *Memento, Domine, miserere, & fac gratiam animabus requiescentibus, pacifica, illumina eas*, &c. *Remember, O Lord,*

shew

ſhew Mercy, and be Gracious unto the ſouls, which are in reſt, pacify them, and illuminate them, &c.

In the *Liturgy* of St. *Baſily* Ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως, καὶ ἀφέσεως, τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ δούλου σου. *For the repoſe, and remiſſion of thy Servant.*

In the *Anaphora*, or *Liturgie*, tranſlated out of the *Syriack*, and attributed to St. *Baſil*, whereof the *Summary* is alledged by *Caſſander*; *That God would conduct the departed through the horrid receptacles, and place them in habitations of light. That God would deliver them out of the thick darkneſs of tribulation, and grief, that he would not enter into judgement with them,* &c. *If they have ſinned in any manner, as men clad in fleſh, that he would pardon them.*

In the *Miſsal* of the *Latine* Church. *Animabus famulorum, famularumq; tuarum, remiſsionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum; ut indulgentiam, quam ſemper optaverunt, piis ſupplicationibus conſequantur,* &c. *Grant (O Lord) unto the ſouls of thy Servants, of what Sex ſoever, the remiſſion of all their ſins; that, by devout ſupplications, they may obtain that indulgence, which they have always deſired,* &c. *Do away, by the pardon of thy moſt mercifull Piety, the ſins, which he hath committed through the frailty of worldly converſation,* &c. *Do thou (O God) mercifully, out of thy wonted Goodneſs, wipe away the ſtains, which the ſouls have contracted from the contagion of the World,* Amen. *Mercifully pardon them,* &c. *put them into perpetual oblivion,* Amen, &c. *O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy Servants; for no man ſhall be juſtifyed in thy ſight; deliver their ſouls from the Gates of Hell,* &c. *Grant them the remiſsion of all their ſins,* &c. *free them from all their ſins,* &c. *We beſeech thee, that thy judicial ſentence fall not heavy upon them,* &c. *That what vices ſoever ſhe hath, through the ſubtlety of the Devil contracted, thou wouldeſt, out of thy compaſſion, and mercy, indulgently do away,* &c. *Free, O Lord, we beſeech thee, the ſoul of thy Servant from all chains of ſin.* Which *Prayers* are for the moſt part repeated in the firſt *Book* of *Sacred Ceremonies*, (Sect. 15. *chap.* 1.)* and the enſuing is there added, over and above, by a late *Cardinal*: *Non intres in judicium tuum, Domine, cum ſervo tuo,* &c. *O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy ſervant: for no man ſhall be juſtifyed in thy ſight; if the remiſsion of his ſins be not granted him by thee. We therefore beſeech thee, O Lord, that thy Judgments may not by ſtrange Sentences be rigorous towards him, whom the true ſupplication of* Chriſtian *faith recommends to thee; but that, through the aſsiſtance of thy grace, he may be thought worthy to eſcape the Judgment of eternal vengeance, he, who, while living, was honoured with the Seal of the Holy Trinity, through* Jeſus Chriſt, *our Lord,* Amen.

* See alſo *lib* 2. *Sect.* 2. *capp.* 24, 25, 26, 34, 35.

Upon ſome ſuch conſiderations was it that St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, in his fifth *Myſtagogical Catecheſis*, ſpeaking of the departed, ſaid, Ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων τὰς λειτουργίας προσφέρομεν, &c. *We offer prayers to God for the departed: and, if they are ſinners, we do not weave Crowns for them; but offer up* Chriſt *ſacrificed for our ſins: appeaſing on their behalf, and our own, him, who is the Lover of mankiud.* Upon which *paſsage* it is to be noted by the way; that the *Text* is diſordered by the *Tranſcriber*; who, having found in his *Copy*, Παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν, &c. ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων, ἵνα μνημονεύσωμεν, &c. thruſt in a whole line after δεομένων, writing, Δεόμεθά σε πάντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν θυσίαν, ἵνα μνημονεύσωμεν.

From the ſame *Hypotheſis* alſo St. *Auguſtine*, in the forecited place of

his *Confessions*, took occasion to make these *Prayers* for his Mother, *Dimitte illi & tu debitu sua; non intres cum ea in judicium; superexaltet misericordia tua judicium*, &c. *Do thou also forgive her her Trespasses, enter not into judgment with her; Let thy mercy be above thy judgment*, &c. But though it were granted, this *Hypothesis* might do somewhat against *Aërius*; who might have been drawn into the common Opinion; that the departed, being after death in an imperfect State, were detained, in a place by themselves, till their resurrection; yet does it not amount to any thing against the *Protestants*, who are of a different Opinion; since that, if it be always lawfull to conclude, *He was guilty of sin*, Therefore *we must pray for him*, the *Church* would be obliged to pray eternally for all its Members, even after their Resurrection, and the last Judgment; which none hitherto hath conceived she ought to practise.

CHAP. XIX.

Saint Epiphanius's *seventh* Motive *Considered.*

IN the last place, St. *Epiphanius* affirms, that, in his Time, *Men prayed for the Saints, and the Just*, whoever they were, upon this accompt, that there might be a *distinction made between them, and our Saviour*; who, interceding for all, does not stand in need of any one's intercession: and to shew, that *there ought not to be parallelled with him any of those, who were most recommendable for their Piety*. Upon which last *Hypothesis* it may be said; that from most certain *Principles*, to wit, that we must be *tender of the honour of* Jesus Christ, *and distinguish him from the men redeemed by him, and by no means suffer, that any one compare them to their Saviour*; it draws a false *Consequence*, to wit, that *we must pray for them*. For, if it were admitted, it were also necessary to pray for the *Faithfull*, as well after their Resurrection, and the last Judgment, as before; since the *honour proper to the Son of God*, will be no less due after the Resurrection, then before, and that it will be, at all times, impiously done to take away the *distinction there is between him, and men*, for whom he died, and interceded, by making any one *equal to him*.

Thence it appears, how weak St. *Epiphanius*'s *Reason* is, even from this; that it proves more, then he had proposed to himself; nay, more, then the *Church* of *Rome* at this day desires: the *Church* of *Rome*, I say; which hath not onely for the space of 1200. years past, left off *Praying for the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs*, &c. but would look on that kinde of Devotion as *injurious*, having grounded her proceeding on this *Discourse* of St. *Augustine*, copied by *Beda*, upon the twelfth *Chapter* (a) to the *Hebrews*, and others. *Habet Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, &c. *It is according to* Ecclesiastical *Discipline, as the Faithfull know; that, when* [the Names of] *the* Martyrs *are recited before the Altar of God, men pray not for them; but for all others, that are Commemorated, Prayers are made. For it is an injury to pray for the* Martyr, *by whose Prayers we are to be recommended*. And yet what (to use the *Terms* of this *Father*)

(a) *De verbis Apost.* Serm. 27.

Father) the *Eccleſiaſtical* Diſcipline of the *Chriſtians* of *Africk*, *Rome*, and in a word, of all the *Weſt*, thruſt, as injurious, and ill-grounded, out of the both *Publick*, and *Private Service*; after they had quitted the *Hypotheſes* of thoſe, that had preceeded them, is continued in the *Offices* of many other *Churches*. Whence we read, in the *Liturgie* of the *Armenians*, *Da æternam pacem omnibus, qui nos præceſſerunt in fide* Chriſti, *Sanctis Patribus, Patriarchis, Apoſtolis, Prophetis, Martyribus*, &c. *Give eternal peace to the holy Fathers, Patriarchs, Apoſtles, Prophets, Martyrs, who have preceeded us in the Faith of* Chriſt.

In that, which goes under the Name of Saint *Mark*, Τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστῷ προκεκοιμημένων πάτερων, &c. *O Lord, our God, give reſt unto the Souls of our Fathers, and Brethren, who are departed before us in the Faith of* Chriſt; *being mindfull of the firſt* Fathers, *who lived in the beginning of the World, the Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſours, Biſhops, Saints, Juſt men, the ſpirits of all thoſe, that have had their accompliſhment in the Faith of* Chriſt, *of whom we this day make Commemoration, as alſo of our holy Father, the Apoſtle, and Evangeliſt* St. Mark, *who hath ſhewn us the way of Salvation.*

In that of St. *Chryſoſtome*, though very much altered, Προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν, &c. *We offer unto thee this reaſonable ſervice for thoſe, who reſt in Faith, our Anceſtours, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Preachers, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſours, continent perſons, and every ſpirit accompliſhed in Faith, eſpecially for the abſolutely-holy, undefiled, bleſſed above all things, our glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin,* Mary.

In the *Sacramentary* of St. *Gregory*; *Divina myſteria Sanctis tuis proſint ad gloriam*, &c. *Let the divine Myſteries be profitable to thy Saints for their glory.*

We might finde as much in that, which St. *Epiphanius* had ſeen in uſe among the *Chriſtians* of *Cyprus*, *Paleſtine*, *Syria*, and all the other *Provinces*; not excepting even *Africk* it ſelf: if we had them at preſent, ſince that in the year 250. St. *Cyprian* in his 34th *Epiſtle*, ſpeaking of *Celerina*, Grandmother to *Laurentinus*, Uncle by the Father's ſide, and of *Ignatius*, Uncle by the Mother-ſide to *Celerinus*, Confeſſour, and *Reader* in the *Church* of *Carthage*, ſaid, *Palmas à Domino, & coronas illuſtri paſſione meruerunt; ſacrificia pro eis ſemper (ut meminiſtis) offerimus, quoties Martyrum paſſiones, & dies, anniverſariâ commemoratione celebramus*, &c. *They have, by their illuſtrious ſufferings, obtained of the Lord Palms, and Crowns. We dayly offer ſacrifices for them (as you remember) as often, as we celebrate the Anniverſaries of the Paſſions, and Days of the Martyrs.* But they have been either aboliſhed, or ſo altered; that they contain not any thing of what was in them before, of greateſt conſideration. And thence it is come to paſs, that in thoſe, who go under the name of St. *James*, St. *Peter*, St. *Baſil*, and St. *Gregory*, we meet not with (as in the firſt) *Prayers* to God *for the Saints*, but Prayers *to the Saints*; the fear of making them *equal with Jeſus Chriſt* being by degrees vaniſhed, and experience forcing us to acknowledg, that all the imaginations of men, as well what are good, as what bad, paſs away; but that *Jeſus Chriſt*, alone, is, and ſhall be the ſame eternally; as St. *Paul*, to our comfort, gives us to obſerve in the 8th *Verſe* of the 13th *Chapter* to the *Hebrews*.

CHAP. XX.

The Motive *of* Dionyſius, *the pretended* Areopagite, *taken into conſideration.*

HE, who about the year 490. took upon him the name of St. *Denys* the *Areopagite*, to gain the greater credit to his Books *Of the Celeſtial and Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchies*, grounds, upon one onely conſideration, the Commemoration of the departed, which was made in his time in the *Publick Service*, and declares his ſentiment with the ordinary oſtentation, in theſe Termes, (a) Τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν σῳυχῶν, &c. *The recitation of the ſacred Rolls, which is made after the kiſsing of the* Pax, *declares the names of thoſe, who have lived holily, and who are irreturnably gone to the perfection of virtuous life, exhorting, and leading us to the moſt bleſſed and Godlike condition by reſemblance of them, and pronouncing them, as it were living, and (as* Theology *expreſses it) not dead, but (b) paſsed from death to a moſt divine life. But withall obſerve, that they are repoſited by ſacred Memorials in the Remembrance of the Deity, and not according to the manner of men transmitted from the fancy to the memory, (but to ſpeak ſuitably to God) according to the venerable, and irrecoverable knowledg of the God-like deceaſed, which is in God. For (as the* Oracles *ſay)* (c) he knows thoſe, who are his, *and* (d) The death of his Saints is precious in his ſight; *the* death *of the Saints being named, inſtead of their* accompliſhment *in ſanctity. Think devoutly upon this;* viz. *that the venerable Signs, whereby* Chriſt *is ſignified, and participated, having been placed upon the divine Altar, immediately after follows the Deſcription of the Saints; declaring thus much, that they are inſeparably conjoyned by the ſupercelestial, and ſacred union, which is between them.*

(a) *Hierarch. Eccles.* cap. 3.

(b) Sap. v. 16. Jo. v. 14.

(c) 2 Tim. ii. 19.

(d) Pſal. cxvi. 15.

This Diſcourſe, which makes no mention of any thing, but the recital of the Names of the Departed, denoting the perpetuity of the bleſſed life they enjoy, in conſequence of their living conformably to the will of God, might ſtand, without the uſe of any *Prayer*, made on their behalf by the *living*. But, in the ſeventh *Chapter*, he not onely ſpeaks very clearly; but expreſſes his meaning of it thus: Προσελθὼν ὁ θεῖος Ἱεροθέχης, ἐυχὴν ἱερὰν ἐπὶ τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ ποιεῖται· &c. *The divine* Hierarch (or *Preſident over things ſacred*) *advancing, makes the holy Prayer for the Perſon departed; and, after the Prayer, the ſame* Hierarch *kiſſeth him; and afterwards all, that are preſent, do the like. Now the prayer requires of that Goodneſs, which divinely governs all things; that whatſoever ſin the departed hath, through humane frailty, committed, might be forgiven him; and that he might be placed in Light, and in the Region of the Living, in the Boſoms of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *whence trouble and* e) ſorrow, and ſighing ſhall flee away.

(e) Iſai. xxxv. 10.

Thus does this learned, but inſincere *Authour*, ground what he ſays on the ſixth of St. *Epiphanius*'s *Motives*, as the moſt rational of all, and hath perſwaded thereto all the Modern *Greeks*. And, as St. *Epiphanius*'s alledging of ſeveral other Conſiderations argues, he writ before the

pre-

pretended *Areopagite* ever thought of his Suppoſition: ſo this latter's copying the words of the *Conſtitutions*, attributed to St. *Clement*, and above transcribed, and not allowing of *Prayer for the damned*, ſhews, that his work is later, and of as little authority.

CHAP. XXI.

The Motives *of* Tertullian *examined.*

TERTULLIAN, before any of theſe *Authours*, alledged two *Motives* of *praying for the Dead*; that is to ſay, their *refreſhment*, and the *haſtening*, or *advancement of their Reſurrection*. For this Great man (I know not how) bewitched by the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, ſuppoſed, that, before the laſt Judgment, the *Son of God*, being deſcended upon Earth, to eſtabliſh a new Kingdom in *Jeruſalem*, and to govern it himſelf, ſhould bring together all his *Faithfull*, and ſhould there fill them with all delights, even corporeal, for the ſpace of a *thouſand years*. And, whereas St. *John* had foretold in his *Apocalyps*, that, the *Old Serpent being bound for a thouſand years*, there ſhould be a *firſt Reſurrection*, in favour of their Souls, *who were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus*, he, with *Juſtin Martyr*, *Papias*, St. *Irenæus*, and all thoſe, who have ſince gone under the name of *Millenaries*, took that Prædiction *literally*, and, wreſting it to a contrary ſence, imagined, that, during the thouſand years of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s *Reign*, which he pretended ſhould be in *Jeruſalem*, the moſt eminent for Sanctity, among the *Faithfull* departed, ſhould riſe again before the reſt of mankind; but ſucceſſively, and every one at this appointed time; ſo as that, if one took poſſeſsion of his body in the firſt of the *thouſand years*, another ſhould not have that privilege, till a hundred, two, or three hundred years after, and ſo to the end of that period of ten Ages; and that thoſe ſhould have leaſt advantage thereof, whoſe Reſurrection ſhould be either delayed, till near the end of the *thouſand years*, or put off till after it, and referred to the laſt day aſsigned for the general Reſurrection, as well of the reſt of the Juſt, as the Wicked. To induce us to embrace that Opinion, St. *Irenæus*, in the thirty fourth *Chapter* of his *fifth Book*, making a coherence between the words of St. *John* in the twentieth *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*, and thoſe of the *Son of God* in the twelfth of St. *Luke*, ſaid, *Hoc eſt, quod à Domino dictum eſt*, &c. "This is it, which is "ſaid by our *Saviour*; (a) *Bleſſed are thoſe ſervants, whom the Lord, when he* (a) Luke xii. 37.
"*cometh, ſhall find watching: Verily, I ſay unto you, that he ſhall gird himſelf, and* "*make them to ſit down to meat, and, will ſtill come forth and ſerve them:* and, "if he come in the *Evening-Watch*, and finde them ſo doing, they are "bleſsed; becauſe he ſhall make them ſit down, and ſhall ſerve them; "nay, though it be in the *ſecond*, or the *third Watch*, *they are bleſſed.* The "ſame thing ſaith alſo *John* in the *Apocalyps*, (b) *Bleſſed, and holy, is he, that* (b) Apoc. xx. 6.
hath part in the firſt Reſurrection. For, comparing the *Faithfull* departed to the *Servants, that wait for the return of their Lord*, he would have thoſe, that are raiſed the firſt; thoſe, who next to them; and thoſe, who after them;

them; designed by those, who are visited at the *first*, *second*, and *third watch*. And *Tertullian*, having embraced the same *Opinion*, presupposes; that the *Faithfull* might, either by their own Devotions, or those of their surviving Friends, have the honour of *rising*, if not the first, at least before the expiration of the *thousand years*. And thence takes occasion to exhort the *Husband*, that hath lost his *Wife*, not to propose to himself any change of condition; but affectionatly to preserve the remembrance of his deceased *Consort*, and to do, upon her account, all possible *Offices*; saying, (e) *Pro anima ejus orat, & refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, & in prima Resurrectione consortium*, &c. *He prays for her Soul, and in the mean time wishes her, by his Prayers, refreshment, and a society with her in the first Resurrection*; as if he had said, "Let him wish, that she be "of the number of those, who shall *rise again*, during the *thousand* "*years* of the *Saints* in *Jerusalem*; and that in expectation of that "*Resurrection*, hastened by his Prayers, she might receive those con- "solations from God, which should refresh her Soul, languishing in "expectation of her Happiness.

(c) De Monog. cap. 10. Et De Anima, cap. 58. novissimum Quadrantem *modicum quodque delictum, mora resurrectionis illic luendum, interpretamur.*

CHAP. XXII.

The Sentiment of St. Ambrose *brought to the Test.*

According to this Pattern was drawn the Antient *Gothick Liturgie*, containing these words; *Quiescentium animas in sinu* Abrahæ *collocare dignetur, & in partem primæ Resurrectionis admittat, per Dominum nostrum* Jesum Christum, *&c. That the Lord would vouchsafe to dispose the Souls of those, that rest, into the Bosom of* Abraham, *and admit them to a participation of the first Resurrection, through* Jesus Christ *our Lord.*

It might seem (and there want not Great men, who have thought so) that St. *Ambrose* was of the same Sentiment; when, closing up his *Funeral Oration* upon the Death of *Valentinian the Second*, he writ in the year 392. *Te quæso*, &c. *I beseech thee, Sovereign God, that, by an hastened Resurrection, thou wouldest awake, and raise up these most dear young men* (Gratian, *and* Valentinian) *so as that thou recompense by an advanced Resurrection the course of this life, which they have terminated, before it was come to its perfection:* as if by the *hastened*, or *advanced Resurrection*, which he desired, he had meant the *first Resurrection*, which the *Millenaries* imagined to themselves; and had begged it, as well for *Gratian*, who was born on the eighteenth of *April*, 359. and had been murthered twenty four years, four Moneths, and seven days after, that is to say, on the twenty fifth day of *August*, 383. as for *Valentinian*, whose *birth*, happening on the eighteenth of *January* 370. had not preceeded his *death* (falling on *Whitsun-Eve*, *May* the fifteenth, 392) but twenty two years, three Moneths, and twenty seven days: upon which account he called them both *Young men*, and bemoaned them, that the *course of their Life* had been cut off before its *maturity*, and just *perfection*.

But neither the Expression of *Resurrectio matura*, &c. *Hastened Resurrection*,

rection, upon which this Imagination was grounded, does neceſſarily imply any thing, whence ſuch a Conceit might be induced, nor can the Explication, which St. *Ambroſe* made of his Faith, nine years before, permit it. For in his *Treatiſe concerning the Faith of the Reſurrection* (writ immediately upon the *Death* of his Brother *Satyrus*, which happened on the ſeventeenth of *September* 383.) ſuppoſing that the ſound of many Trumpets ſhall awake the dead at the Laſt day, he hath this Diſcourſe, abſolutely incompatible with the *Opinion* of the *Millenaries*; *Adverte, juxta Typum Legis, ordinem Gratiæ*, &c. *Conſider, according to the Type of the Law, the order of Grace. When the* firſt *Trumpet ſhall have ſounded, it gathers together thoſe towards the* Eaſt, *as the Principal, and Elect. When the* ſecond, *thoſe, who are neareſt in point of Merit, ſuch, as, being ſcituated towards* Libanus, *have forſaken the vanities of the* Nations. *When the* third, *thoſe, who toſſed, as it were, in the Sea, by the Wind of this World, have been overwhelmed with the Waves of the preſent Time. When the* fourth, *thoſe, who could not ſufficiently ſoften the hardneſs of their underſtandings, by the Precept of the ſpiritual Word; and are, for that reaſon, called* Thoſe towards the *North*; *for* (a) Boreas (*according to* Salomon) *is an* hard *Wind. Although therefore* (b) *all ſhall be raiſed again* in a moment, and the twinkling of an Eye, *yet are all raiſed according to the order of their Merits, and thereupon thoſe ſhall be raiſed firſt; who, by an early Advancement of Devotion, and a certain dawning of Faith, have entertained the Raies of the eternal Sun riſing upon them, as I may juſtly inſtance* (*according to the Tenour of the* Old Teſtament) *in the* Patriarchs, *or* (*according to the* Goſpel) *in the* Apoſtles. *But the* ſecond *are thoſe, who, quitting the Cuſtom of the* Nations, *are paſſed from the ſacrilegious Errour, to the Diſcipline of the* Church, *and for that reaſon thoſe firſt are of the* Fathers; *thoſe next, from among the* Gentiles.

(a) Eccleſ. xliii. 20.

(b) 1 Cor. xv. 52. Ψυχεβς.

This *Diſcourſe* of St. *Ambroſe* is an alluſion to the *Ordinance* contained in the tenth of *Numbers*, concerning the (c) *Aſſembling of the people of Iſrael*; and he applies, to the Reſurrection of the Dead, what is ſaid (d) *of the calling of thoſe, who poſſeſſed the Quarter towards the* Eaſt.

(c) Verſe 2.

(d) Verſe 5.

Secondly, Of thoſe who were *Quartered* towards the (e) *South*, and, as it was in his *Tranſlation*, towards *Libs*: which he miſtaking, confounded with *Libanus*; making, for want of reflection, a *Mountain* of a *Wind*; and changing the *South-Quarter*, whence *Libs* blows, into that of the *North*, on which ſide *Libanus* is, in reſpect of the *Deſart*.

(e) Verſe 6.

Thirdly, Of thoſe, who were diſpoſed towards the *Sea*.

Fourthly, Of thoſe, who were towards the Quarter of the *North*, or of *Boreas*.

And, as he applied the *calling together* of theſe ſeveral *Quarters* to the *laſt Reſurrection*; ſo he acknowledged, withall, it ſhould be general; and that all ſhould riſe, not onely the ſame day, but in the ſame moment. Which *Aſſertion* of his was grounded on the expreſs Declaration of Saint *Paul* in his *firſt Epiſtle* to the (f) *Corinthians*, and abſolutely deſtroyed the *Hypotheſis* of the *Millenaries*; who believed there would be *two Reſurrections*, one preceding the other by above a *thouſand years*: but he ſuppoſed, that in that moment of the *general Reſurrection*, there would be ſeveral diviſions, and a certain precedence of order among thoſe Diviſions, according to the diſpoſitions of each of them.

(f) 1 Cor. xv. 52.

Next

Next he pretended, that the first *Class* of those, that were raised, should be that of the *Patriarchs*, and *Apostles*; who had never been infected with the Sacrilegious *Errour* of the *Gentiles*, but were come, by an *early advancement*, and as it were at *a start*, into the light: and in that he also opposed the *Errour* of the *Millenaries*; who imagined, that the *Patriarchs* were risen with our *Saviour*; that the *Apostles*, and others of the most Eminent among the *Saints* should rise, when (according to their *Opinion*) he should come to establish a *Kingdom of a thousand years* at *Jerusalem*; and the rest of the Dead (after the determination of the *thousand years*) at the *last Day*.

When therefore he desires, for *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, that God would grant them an *early Resurrection*, as a recompense for their *short Life*, his meaning was not to require, that they should *rise before the Last Day*, but in the *same moment* with others; but, as to order, in the most worthy, and first in excellence, *viz.* that of the *Patriarchs*, and *Apostles*; and that, because those *Princes* were descended of a *Christian* Father; because they had from their Mother's Breasts been imbued with Piety, and had never (no more then the *Patriarchs*, and *Apostles*) been defiled with the Superstition of the *Heathen*, out of which most of the *Christians* of their time had been delivered.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Time, when Praying for the Dead *was first introduced into the* Service *of the* Church.

HAving given an accompt of the *Motives*, which the Antients had to *Pray for the Dead*, it may, haply, be questioned by some, When this kind of *Office*, which is not grounded upon any *Precept*, or *Example*, of either *Old*, or *New Testament*, came to be used in the *Church?* In answer to which, I make no difficulty to affirm, That it might be practised some time before the year 200. in as much as *Tertullian*, the most Antient of all those, that say any thing of it, numbred it, even then, among the *Customs* received in his Time; writing in the year 199. (a) *Oblationes pro Defunctis, pro Natalitiis, annuâ die facimus*, &c. *Upon a certain Anniversary-day we make Oblations for the Dead, and for Birth-days*: meaning by those *Birth-days*, the days of the *Passions* of the *Martyrs*; on which, putting a Period to their *Lives*, and *Combats*, they entred, as it were, by a *second-Birth*, into the enjoyment of their *true Life*, and their *Glory*. And in another place, treating of the *Duties* of the *Surviving Husband* towards his *deceased Wife*; (b) *Pro anima ejus orat, & refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, & in prima Resurrectione consortium, & offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus*, &c. *He prays for her Soul, and, in the mean time, begs she may finde refreshment, and that he might enjoy her Society at the first Resurrection; and offers upon the Anniversary-days of her falling-asleep*, that is to say, *of her departure*. Again; (c) *Jam repete apud Deum, pro cujus Spiritu postules, pro qua Oblationes*

(a) *De Corona*, cap. 3.

(b) *De Monogamia*, cap. 10.

(c) *De exhortatione Castitatis*, cap. 11.

tiones annuas reddas. Stabis ergò ad Deum cum tot uxoribus, quot illas oratione commemoras, & offeres pro duabus, & commemoras alias duas per Sacerdotem, de Monogamia, ob priſtinum de virginitate ſancitum, circumdatum virginibus, & univiris? &c. Conſider now well, for whoſe Spirit thou makeſt thy Addreſſes to God, for whom thou doſt return annual Oblations. Wilt thou therefore ſtand before God with as many Wives, as thou doſt in thy Prayers commemorate, and wilt thou offer for two, and doſt thou make Commemoration of thoſe two by the Prieſt, *who, after his once marrying, becauſe of the precedent Ordinance concerning Virginity, is encompaſſed with Virgins, and Women, that have had but one Husband?*

From the things, which this Great Perſon, the moſt Antient, and moſt Learned of all the *Latines*, that we have remaining, does advance, as to matter of *fact*, concerning the *Oblations*, which were publickly made, and the employment of *Prieſts*, the onely *Miniſters* of the *Publick ſervice*; as a thing ordinary, and grown into Cuſtom, it is manifeſt; that *Praying for the Dead* was, in his Time, uſed, not onely by particular Perſons, but alſo in the Body of the *Church*; and that the *Liturgies* thereof were full of it. So that, if we admit, as equally, if not more, antient then *Tertullian*, the *Formularies* of his *Service*, ſuch as we have them now, we ſhould not, upon that accompt, have any Inconvenience to fear. But, ſeeing that *Tertullian*, who (the firſt of all the *Authours* we have remaining) gives us occaſion to obſerve what the *Practice* of the *Chriſtians* of his Time was, relyed (as well for the *Prayers*, as the *Offerings*) upon no other *Hypotheſes*, then thoſe propoſed by the *Authour* of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing; and that he had reverenced it, as a *Piece* not to be charged with any inſincerity (alledging it with this *Elogie* in the year 208. (d) *Et Sibylla, non mendax*, that is, *And the* Sibyl, *no Lyar*) I finde my ſelf forced to believe, that, from that Sink, over-eaſily taken by *Antiquity*, for a pure and ſacred Source, was (from the midſt of the *ſecond Age*) derived the Cuſtom, which had already gained ſtrength, when *Tertullian* writ the *Books* we have cited. I think alſo, that who will but conſider, that there are threeſcore years, and above, between the year 138. wherein the *Romance* of the Counterfeit *Sibyl* ſeems to have come firſt abroad, and the year 199. in which *Tertullian* writ his Book *De Corona*, and that the Books *De exhortatione Caſtitatis*, and *De Monogamia* are yet later, will eaſily judge that ſpace of Time, more then ſufficient, to give Birth unto, ſpread, and confirm, as well by ſolemn *Formularies*, as by conſtant *Practice*, the Cuſtom, which (though with great alterations) hath continued even to this day.

(d) *De Pallio*, cap. 2.

Add to this, that as none of the *Antients*, who in the *ſecond Age* made mention of the *State of the Dead*, either writ before the year 138. or made any difficulty to go upon the *Hypotheſes* of the Counterfeit *Prophetes*, who hath deſcribed it according to her Fancy, or thought it much ſometimes to have recourſe to her *Authority*; ſo all thoſe, who (after *Tertullian*, and the uſe confirmed in his Time) ſpoke of *Prayers for the Dead*, have built upon the ſame Foundations; ſome (as *Lactantius*) have alledged her pretended *Oracles*, and not any one would preſume to derogate from the Reputation, which ſhe had but too too eaſily acquired.

I could wiſh, for their ſakes, who (after they had diſclaimed the firſt cauſes, for which *Tertullian*, St. *Epiphanius*, and others of the *Antients*, thought it neceſſary to *Pray for the Dead*) are yet reſolved to retain the *Cuſtom* of *Praying* for them, that it were in their power, to diſcover a beter ground, whence their *Obſervation* might derive its Origine. I ſhould entertain with joy, and reſpect, what they might have to acquaint me with in recommendation thereof, and would freely ſubſcribe what ſatisfactory Teſtimony can be produced; but I hope they will bear with me, if (taking the liberty to diſcover my Thoughts) I ſay, they have not any thing of greater weight, then the *Cuſtom* alledged by *Tertullian*, and introduced by thoſe, who, for the ſpace of threeſcore years together, had been deceived by the *Writing*, unjuſtly called the *Sibylline*. I am not ignorant how that St. *Chryſoſtom*, two hundred years after *Tertullian*, ſpoke advantageouſly of this *Cuſtom*, writing in the twenty firſt *Homily* upon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, Οὐχ ἁπλῶς ὁ Διάκονος βοᾷ &c. *It is not in vain, that the* Deacon *crys for thoſe, who reſt in* Chriſt, *and thoſe, who make Commemorations for them*, &c. *the Spirit hath ordained all theſe things*, &c. *it is not the* Deacon, *which utters that voice, but the Spirit*. And in the fourty firſt *Homily* upon the *firſt Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, where he ſpeaks of *Prayers*, *Offerings*, and *Alms* for the Dead, and ſays, Πνεύματος διατάξει ταῦτα γίνεται· *All theſe things are done by the direction of the Spirit*. For what other Judgment could he have made of a *Cuſtom*, which he approved, and admired, the more he ſaw it confirmed by the Practice of thoſe, who had preceded him, and for whom he had an high eſteem, as Perſons truly taught of God? With the ſame confidence did he alledge the *Authority* of the *Apoſtles*, writing in the third *Homily* upon the *Epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, Οὐκ εἰκῇ ταῦτα ἐνεμοθετήθη ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀποστόλων· *It is not in vain, that the* Apoſtles *have made Laws concerning theſe things*. For though he found not ſo much as one *Iota* in their Writings, that might invite him to that perſwaſion; yet, according to the prejudgment of St. *Hierome* in his *Epiſtle* to *Licinius*, (e) *Unaquæque Provincia abundet in ſuo ſenſu, & præcepta Majorum Leges Apoſtolicas arbitretur*, &c. *Let every Province abound in its own ſenſe, and account the Precepts of our Anceſtours as Apoſtolical Laws*, he preſumed, that what had been practiſed by men, that had lived near the *Apoſtles* Times, and were famous for their Piety, came from the *Apoſtles* themſelves; and indeed, it were impoſſible to conceive any thing more plauſible, then to attribute to the *Apoſtles* the *Cuſtom*, which men, reputed *Apoſtolical*, had introduced. For who would have thought upon the firſt Start, that *Papias*, that Antient Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, whom St. *Irenæus* in the thirty third *Chapter* of his fifth *Book*, *Euſebius* in the nine and thirtieth *Chapter* of the third *Book*, St. *Hierome* in his *Catalogue*, and the *Martyrologies* upon the two and twentieth of *February*, have (with an exceſs of ſincerity) qualified (f) *Auditour of* St. *John*, and *Companion of* Saint *Polycarp*, and whom St. *Hierome* aſſures us to have given out the *Apoſtles* for *Authours* of his Relations, was ſuch as *Euſebius* qualifies him, σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, a man *of little underſtanding*, apt to circumvent, and to ſcatter abroad, under venerable Names, as of our *Saviour*, or his *Diſciples*, or of *Ariſtion*, and *John*, their *Auditours*, all the feigned *Stories* he had either

(e) Epiſt. 28.

(f) Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκροατὴς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος, *Papias* in the words, which *Euſebius* cites of him, acknowledges he had not ſeen any of the *Apoſtles*.

either dream'd, or heard of? And who could have imagined, that Saint *Irenæus*, of whom St. *Basil*, in his Book *Of the Holy Ghost*, in the nine and twentieth *Chapter*, says, that he was, Ὁ ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἀποστόλων, *A neighbour of the Apostles*; and St. *Epiphanius*, in his twenty fourth *Hæresie*, Ὁ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διάδοχος, *Successour of the Apostles*; and *Tertullian*, in the fifth *chapter* of his Book *Against the* Valentinians, *Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator*, &c. *The most diligent Inquisitour of all Doctrines*; and St. *Hierome*, in his twenty ninth *Epistle*, *Vir Apostolicorum Temporum*, &c. *A man of the Apostolical Times*; and upon the sixty fourth *Chapter* of *Esay*, *Vir Apostolicus*, &c, *An Apostolical man, who writ with great diligence*; and St. *Augustine*, in his first Book *Against* Julian, *Antiquus homo Dei*, &c. *The antient man of God*: who, I say, could have imagined, that this Great man should suffer himself to be so far surprized by the fond Conceits of *Papias*, as to have (as we have already made appear by what is above alledged out of the thirty fifth *Chapter* of his fifth *Book*) embraced them, and given occasion to St. *Hierome* to write, that he was *Papiæ discipulus*, &c. *the Disciple of* Papias, *&c.* from whose hands he received the Principal *Hypotheses* of the *Sibylline* Writing, concerning the State of the departed? Yet hath he done it, with all those, who were his Contemporaries, of whom we have any thing left; and though they might all, or most of them, in some respect, have attributed to them the Name of *Apostolicks*, *Lights of the Church*, and *Martyrs of God*, yet have they cast *Shadows*, and furnished Posterity with examples of Infirmity, which oblige it, and all *Christians* religiously to practise the advice of St. *Paul*, (g) *Prove all things, hold fast to that, which is good*, and to conclude with the Prophet, (h) *It is better to trust in the Lord, then to put confidence in man*. But since St. *Chrysostome* hath thought fit, to deduce the Original of *Praying for the dead*, from I know not what Law, and Ordinance of the *Apostles*; whereof there is no Track to be found in their Writings; since that, of this kinde of *Office*, which he pretended prescribed by such a Law, no *Christian* Authour, of whom we have ought, truly Authentick, remaining, hath made any mention before *Tertullian*, who first spoke of it in the year 199. and continued till about the year 212. And lastly, since that there are, at this day, some Persons, who will needs ascend much higher, and derive (as to this particular) the *Christian Liturgie* from the *Custom* they are pleased to attribute to the *Jews*, as if the shame they conceive it to acknowledg (as they are obliged to do) *Tertullian*, a *Montanist*, a *Millenary*, and Admirer of the pretended *Sibyl*, to have been the first certifier of one of their Principal *Observations*, had reduced them to a necessity of appealing to the *Synagogue*, and taking up its Authority for a Buckler against the *Protestants*; who do not think themselves any way obliged to the admission of any *Worship* proceeding from the *Will* of man, without the *Word* of God: we come now to see what probability there may be in their *Opinion*.

(g) 1 Thess. v. 21.
(h) Psal. cxviii. 8.

Chap. XXIV.

Whether the Prayers *made by* Christians *for the* Dead, *are indeed grounded on the* Second *of the* Maccabees, *and the Examples of the* Jews.

They affirm then, that there was no necessity of making any Regulations in the *Church* concerning the *Offices* of the *living* towards the *dead*, in as much as the *Faithfull*, being at first called from among the *Jews*, had learned the necessity thereof even in the *Synagogue*, before they were admitted into the *Society* of the *Christians*. They further hold, that it is manifest from the Sentiment of the *Jews* under the *Old Testament*, by the Example of *Judas* their *General*, who (as we finde it in the twelfth *Chapter* of the second *Book* of *Maccabees*) caused *Sacrifices* to be offered, and *Prayers* to be made for those of his Army, who had been killed in the fight against *Gorgias*. In answer to which, not to insist on the Considerations, which might be made, as well on the difference there is between the States of the *Synagogue*, and the *Church*, as the remarkable diversity of the *Legal* Administration, and *Evangelical* Grace, which is enoug to hinder a man from concluding necessarily, *This was practised under the* Old Testament, *Therefore it ought to be under the* New, I make in the first place this *Observation*;

That those, who have recourse to this kinde of Defence, make a formal disacknowledgment of St. *Chrysostome*, who, grounding his *Hypothesis* onely upon the *Law of the Apostles*, under the *New Testament*, hath even in that discovered, how vain and frivolous, he thought their undertaking, who would prove their Custom out of the *Old*, in the same manner, as these later disclaim all the advantage, which St. *chrysostom* had promised himself in the allegation of the *Apostolical Law*.

Secondly, That it argues want of circumspection, to suppose, as acknowledged, what is in Question; *viz. That the* Synagogue *under the* Old Testament *made any Prayers for the dead, and that their Practice can be justified by Writings either precedent, or immediately subsequent to the Birth of* Christianity. For, since the *Hierosolymitane Talmud* was not (by the Confession even of the *Jews* themselves) began till one hundred sixty two years after the Destruction of both *Jerusalem* and its *Temple*, and consequently fifteen years at least after the *Death* of *Tertullian*, which happened (as S. *Hierome* would have it) under *Caracalla*, Assassinated on the eighth of *April*, in the year 217. seventy nine years after the first littering of the pretended *Sibylline* Writings; that the compilation of the *Babylonian Talmud* began not, till the 476. year after the final Destruction of the *Temple*, that is to say, in the year of our *Lord*, 546. that it took up an hundred years to finish it, that these two *Collections* were made by the implacable enemies of the *Gospel*, and its Truth, such as have thrust together, without either sincerity, or judgment, all the Extravagancies,

Extravagancies, that ever troubled the Brains of their *Anceſtours*, *delivered over* (as themſelves) *into a reprobate ſence*; and that their Opinions concerning the *State of the dead* hold correſpondence, neither with the Sentiment of the *Fathers*, nor with that of the *Greeks*, nor laſtly with that, which the *Church* of *Rome* holds at preſent: there cannot with reaſon any certain relyance be made thereon.

Thirdly, That to no purpoſe is alledged the ſeventeenth *Verſe* of the fourth *Chapter* of *Tobit*, which runs thus, *Pour out thy Bread* (the old *Latine Verſion*, made according to the *Chaldee*, adds *and thy Wine*) *on the Burial of the Juſt, but give nothing to the wicked*: becauſe, *Firſt*, it is not manifeſt, that there ever was really ſuch a man as *Tobit*, and that the *Relation* of his Adventures ſmell (as much as may be) of a *Romance*. *Secondly*, That the *Jews*, as well *Antient*, as *Modern*, have not attributed any authority thereto. *Thirdly*, That all the *Greek Fathers* unanimouſly, and many of the *Latine*, have held it to be *Apocryphal*. *Fourthly*, That though of all the *Canonical* Books it were the moſt *Canonical*, yet neither ought the words alledged out of it to be taken *literally*, ſince they are notoriouſly *figurative*, nor could they have any relation to the *Cuſtom* either of *praying*, or *making Offerings for the Dead*; but, according to the uſe of *Funeral Entertainments*, or *Banquets*, ordained, not to procure eaſe to the Departed; but to relieve the kindred he had left, to induce them to an oblivion of their mourning, and to comfort them. For, as the Prophet *Jeremy*, threatning the *Jews* with the Judgment of God, which was likely to deprive them of all means of comforting one another, ſaid, (*a*) *Neither ſhall men break Bread for them in mourning to comfort them for the Dead; neither ſhall men give them the Cup of conſolation to drink for their Father, or for their Mother*; ſo *Tobit*, exhorting his Son to the *Offices* of Charity towards his afflicted Brethren, orders him to *Pour out his Bread, and his Wine on the Burial of the dead*, and (by a kind of ſpeaking) to *fill* it, by kindly treating thoſe, that were in mourning, upon their accompt, and raiſing them out of their Heavineſs; which does not inferr either *Prayer*, or *Offering*, for the *dead*; but onely a charitable care, and tenderneſs towards the *living*.

(*a*) Jer. xvi. 7.

Fourthly, That the words of the *Son of Sirach*, in the thirty third *Verſe* of the ſeventh *Chapter* of his *Eccleſiaſticus*, *A gift hath grace in the ſight of every man Living, and for the Dead detain it not*, make nothing to the Buſineſs of *Offerings*, and *Prayers* for the Dead, to which ſome would have them relate: in as much as that *Authour*, who made his *Collection* of *Sentences* in the year 247. before the *Birth* of our *Saviour*, is ſo far from ſaying, that the *gift*, which was to be given upon the accompt *of the dead*, was to be exerciſed towards the departed Perſon himſelf, that he expreſly declares, it was ſo done *upon the accompt of the dead*, that it referred, as to its proper object, to the ſurviving, adding in the next verſe, (*b*) *Fail not to be with them, that weep, and mourn with them, that mourn*; as if he ſaid, "That that *kindneſs*, which he deſired ſhould not be *detained for* "*the dead*, conſiſts not in *praying for the dead*; but in having a *ſympathy* "for their affliction, who bewail him, and endeavouring to comfort "them. Beſides it is to be noted by the way, that the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* (though very antient, ſince it was written 247. years before the

(*b*) Verſe 34.

Birth

Birth of our *Saviour*, and very full of good *Doctrine*, upon which accompt it hath been cited by the *Fathers*) was never enrolled among the *Canonical Books*, neither by the *Jews*, nor by any of the *Greek Fathers*, nor by moſt of the *Latines*.

Fifthly, That there cannot be a clearer Evidence, to convince thoſe of Errour, who ſuppoſe that the Cuſtom of *Praying for the Dead* was antiently among the *Jews*, then to urge, that there is not the leaſt track of it in thoſe, who were Contemporary with the *Apoſtles*, viz. *Philo*, who had made himſelf *Maſter* of all prophane Wiſdom, and the Philoſophy of *Plato*, and who was (in *Caligula*'s Time) reputed the *Glory of his Nation*; and *Joſephus*, who was one of the chief *Commanders* of the *Jewiſh* War under *Nero*, and the moſt diligent ſearcher into the *Antiquities* of his Nation under *Domitian*. So that the later *Jews* muſt needs have borrowed the Cuſtom they ſtill continue, either from ſome piece of *Heatheniſh* ſuperſtition, or from the *Opinions* crept into *Chriſtianity*, through their means, who were admirers of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing.

Sixthly, That the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees* was neither known, nor of any accompt among the *Jews*. For, as it is manifeſt, that it hath no coherence with the firſt, neither in reſpect of the obſervations of time, nor in reſpect of events, and their circumſtances; ſo we both may, and ought to hold it for certain, that *Joſephus*, who very ſtrictly followed the firſt, either had not any knowledg of it, or (if he had) made no accompt of it; ſince that even when it was his buſineſs to repreſent ſome *Hiſtory*, whereof there was alſo a relation in that Book, he hath *not onely* related it according to his own way; but hath often laid it down in circumſtances, as to the matter of fact, incompatible with what was reported thereof in the ſaid Book. Whereto may be added the *ſtrange obſcurity* of it: which is ſuch, that it is not known, neither *who* they were, nor about *what Time* flouriſhed either *Jaſon* the *Cyrenian*, the firſt *Authour*; or the *Abbreviator*, who reduced into a ſmall *Epitome* the *five Books* of *Jaſon*; nor yet in what Language *Jaſon* had firſt writ them; nor whether he was more antient, then *Joſephus*, who finiſhed his Work *Of the Antiquities*, in the year of our *Lord* 94. concurrent with the thirteenth of *Domitian*, and the fourty fourth before the *Forgeries* of the counterfeit *Sibyl* appeared; nor laſtly, whether that Abridgment came betimes into the hands of the *Chriſtians*; it appearing not, that any of them had ſeen it before the year of our *Lord* 200.

Seventhly, That it is abſolutely impoſſible, that any of the *Chriſtians* of the *ſecond*, *third*, and *fourth Ages*, ſhould, in their *Prayers for the dead*, have propoſed to themſelves, for a Pattern, the Example of *Judas Maccabæus*, and the Judgment, which either *Jaſon* the *Cyrenian*, or his *Abridger* made of it. And that for theſe reaſons;

Firſt, Becauſe it was not cited by any of the *Fathers* till 280. years after the firſt coming abroad of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing. For, St. (c) *Auguſtine*, having firſt cited it in the year 416. (d) *Proſper Africanus* followed him, about the year 450. It was afterwards cited by *Bacchiarius*, in his *Epiſtle* to *Januarius*, about the year 460. and *Julian* of *Toledo*, about the year 680. in the one and twentieth *Chapter* of the firſt

(c) In his Books *De anima*, & *De cura pro mortuis*.

(d) *De prædict. & promiſſ.* par. 2. cap. 40.

Book

Book of his *Prognoſticks*; and *Damaſcene*, about the year 760. in his *Oration De defunctis*; and *Peter*, ſirnamed the *Venerable*, *Abbot* of *Clugny*, about the year, 1150. in the ſecond *Epiſtle* of his firſt *Book*; and *Echbert*, a *Prieſt* of *Bonne*, near *Cullen*, about the year 1160. *Adverſus Cathar. ſerm.* and *Guy* of *Perpignan*, firſt *General* of the *Order* of the *Carmelites*, afterwards *Biſhop* of *Majorca*, about the year 1318. *De Hæreſibus*.

Secondly, Becauſe we do not finde, that any of the *Fathers* have cited, or ſo much as made the leaſt diſcovery, that they had ſeen the *ſecond Book* of the *Maccabees*, before *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origene* among the *Greeks*, about the year 200, and 240. (the former in the fifth of his *Stromata*, and the later in the firſt *Chapter* of the ſecond *Book De Principiis*, and his third *Homily* upon *Solomon's Song*, and his eighteenth *Tome* upon St. *John*, and upon the fifth *Chapter* of the *Epiſtle* to the *Romanes*) and St. *Cyprian* among the *Latines*, in the year 252. in his four hundred, and fifty ſixth *Epiſtle*, *De exhortatione Martyrii*, the eleventh *Chapter*, and *Zeno* of *Verona*, about the year 360. *Sermone de Reſurrectione*, & *De Sancto* Arcadio.

Thirdly, In regard that, as not any one of the *Greek Fathers*, either in *Councel*, or in any particular Writing held the *ſecond Book* of the *Maccabees* for *Canonical*; ſo many of the *Latines*, for inſtance, *Tertullian* in his fourth Book *Adverſus Marcionem carmine ſcripto*, cap. 7. St. *Hilary* in his *Prologue* upon the *Pſalms*; *Philaſtrius*, Biſhop of *Breſcia*, in the *Chapter de Apocryphis*; St. *Hierome*, in his ſeventh *Epiſtle*, and the one hundred and third, and his *Prologue* upon the Book of *Kings*, and *Solomon*; *Ruffinus*, upon the *Crede*; the *Prieſts* of *Marſeille*, *Hilary's* Epiſtle to St. *Auguſtine*; *Primaſius*, Biſhop of *Adrumetum*, *in Apocal.* lib. 1. cap. 4. *Junilius*, another *African Prelate*, in the ſeventh *Chapter* of his firſt *Book De partitione Divinæ Legis*; St. *Gregory*, in the ſeventeenth *Chapter* of the nineteenth *Book* of his *Morals* upon *Job*; the *Authour* of the Book, *De mirabilibus Sanctæ Scripturæ*, lib. 2. cap. 33. *Beda*, *De ſex ætatibus*, & *In Reg.* lib. 4. *In Apocal.* cap. 4. *Ambroſe Ansbert*, *In Apoc.* lib. 3. cap. 4. *Alcuinus*, *Adverſus Elipand.* lib. 1. *Charle-Maigne* in his *Capitulary* of the year 789. cap. 10. and the *Commentaries* attributed to St. *Victorinus* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, thoſe to St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Millain*, and thoſe to St. *Auguſtine*, upon the fourth *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*, have all (in imitation of the *Greeks*, eſpecially of the *Councel* of *Laodicea*) put this Book out of the *Canon*, that is, out of the *Liſt* of the Writings *inſpired by God*, to be received as a *Rule of Faith*.

And this *Remark* ſeems to be the more neceſſary, in as much as it contributes to the reconciling with the *Greek Fathers*, and with the *Latines*, that have been of the ſame *Opinion*, thoſe others of the *Latine Church*, who have comprehended within the *Canon* of the *Holy Scriptures*, as well the *Maccabees*, as the other Books accounted *Apocryphal* by the *Jews*, and ſeveral of the *Chriſtians*. For, if the *Councel* met at *Carthage* on the twenty fifth of *Auguſt*, 397. during the *Popedom* of *Siricius*, and ſince adapted, by I know not what *Rhapſodiſt*, under the Name of the *Sixth Councel of Carthage*, to the twenty fifth of *May*, 419. under the *Papacy* of *Boniface the Firſt*; if St. *Auguſtine*, in the eighth *Chapter* of his Second Book *Of Chriſtian Doctrine*, writ immediately after the *Councel* of the year 397. if

Innocent,

Innocent, in his *Epiſtle* written to *Exuperus* Biſhop of *Toloſa*, on the twentieth of *February*, 405. if the *Councel* aſſembled at *Rome* in the year 494. under *Pope Gelaſius*; and, if *Iſidore* Arch-Biſhop of *Sevil*, in the ſixth *Chapter* of his firſt *Book* of his *Etymologies*, ſent to *Braulio* Biſhop of *Saragoſſa*, after the year 626. inſerting the Books of the *Maccabees* into the *Canon* of the *Scriptures*, had taken the words *Canon*, and *Holy Scriptures*, in the ſame ſence, as the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Latines*, adhering to their Sentiment, concerning the *Liſt* of the *Books* beſtowed on the *Church* for a *Rule of Faith*, ſince they have eſteemed *Canonical* the Books, which the reſt of the *Fathers* formally excluded out of the *Canon*, and that holding in appearance, one the *affirmative*, the other the *negative* of the ſame *Propoſition*, they ſeem to be formally contradictory, it were abſolutely impoſſible to reconcile them all, and there would be a neceſſity of charging with prevarication (contrary to the judgment of the *Romane Church*, declared by *Innocent the Firſt*, and the *Councel* aſſembled under *Gelaſius*) *Gregory the Great*, who expreſly qualified *not-canonical* the *Maccabees received into the Canon of the Holy Scriptures by* Innocent, *and* numbred by the *Councel*, under *Gelaſius*, among the *Prophetical Scriptures*, *& Hiſtories of the old-Teſtament*. Nay, it would be contrary alſo to that of the *African Church*, declared by the *Councel* of *Carthage*, and by St. *Auguſtine*, *Primaſius*, and *Junilius*, *Africans*; who formally confined themſelves to the *Canon* of the *Jews*; nay it were hard to avoid making St. *Auguſtine* contradict himſelf, in as much as, after he had affirmed, that the *Maccabees* were *held by the Church to be Canonical*, he preſently adds, That *they are not among the Holy Scriptures called Canonical*; ſaying (e) *Supputatio Temporum non in Scripturis ſanctis, quæ* Canonicæ *appellantur, ſed in aliis invenitur, in quibus ſunt &* Maccabæorum *libri, quos, non* Judæi, *ſed Eccleſia pro* Canonicis *habet*, &c. *The computation of Times is not found in the Holy Scriptures, which are called* Canonical; *but in the others, among which are alſo the Books of the* Maccabees, *which are held to be* Canonical *by the Church, but not by the* Jews. Whereby it clearly appears, that he (and, no doubt, with him, the *Councels* of *Rome*, and *Carthage*, and *Pope Innocent*) admitted two *Canons*, or *Catalogues*, of the *Holy Scriptures*; one more ſtrict, *viz.* that of the *Jews*, whereto all the *Greeks*, and ſome of the *Latines* confined themſelves, and to which he thought himſelf obliged particularly to ſubmit, holding for a *Rule of Faith*, and *Canonical*, the Books contained therein; and another larger, propoſed as well by him, and *Pope Innocent*, as by the *Councels* of *Carthage*, and *Rome*, as comprehending the Books, which (in ſome certain reſpect, *viz.* the publick reading thereof in the *Church*, and the common Edification ariſing from them, though they were not eſteemed to appertain to the *Rule of Faith*) were called *Canonical*, *Sacred*, and *Eccleſiaſtical* by the *Latines*. And indeed, to make his meaning more obvious to the meaner Capacities, he ſaies, that the *Church* holds the *Books* of the *Maccabees* to be *Canonical*, not as abſolutely, and properly, as thoſe comprehended in the *Canon* of the *Jews*, and *Greeks*, which contained the *Rule of Faith*; but improperly, and taking the word *Canonical* in a larger ſignification; which the better to inſinuate, he ſaies, *They are held to be* Canonical, *propter quorundam Martyrum paſſiones vehementes, atque mirabiles*, &c. *becauſe of the grievous, and miraculous Sufferings*

(e) De Civitate Dei, lib. 18. cap. 36.

of

of ſome Martyrs: and, in the three and twentieth *Chapter* of his ſecond *Book* Againſt *Gaudentius*, that the writing of the *Maccabees recepta eſt ab Eccleſia, non inutiliter, ſi ſobriè legatur, vel audiatur*, &c. *is received by the* Church, *not without profit, if it be read, or heard ſoberly*; as if he had ſaid *in terminis*, that ſhe accounted it among the *Canonical*, in a certain reſpect onely, not through an obedience of *Faith*, but out of a deſire of *Edification*, and upon that accompt was it to to be *read, and underſtood ſoberly*; without which caution, the *admiſſion* of it into the *Canon*, or *Catalogue* of *Eccleſiaſtical Books* would not have been *profitable*.

Conſonantly to this ſence, *Ruffinus*, after he had propoſed *Secundùm Traditionem Majorum*, &c. *according to the Tradition of our Anceſtours*, the *Catalogue* of the *Books* truly, and properly *Divine*, and *Canonical*, concludes it in theſe Terms, *Hæc ſunt, quæ Patres inter Canonem concluſerunt, ex quibus Fidei noſtræ aſſertiones conſtare voluerunt. Theſe are the Books, which the* Fathers *have comprehended in the* Canon, *out of which they would have the Aſſertions of our Faith to be made manifeſt.* To which he immediately adds; *Sciendum tamen eſt, quòd & alii Libri ſunt; qui non* Canonici, *ſed* Eccleſiaſtici *à Majoribus appellati ſunt*, &c. *quæ omnia Legi quidem in* Eccleſiis *voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad authoritatem ex his Fidei confirmandam*, &c. *Yet is it to be known, that there are alſo other Books; which were called by our Anceſtours, not* Canonical, *but* Eccleſiaſtical, *&c. all which they were willing ſhould be read in the* Churches, *but not cited to confirm the authority of Faith.*

Upon which it may be noted, that this Sentiment, being revived by *Cardinal Cajetan*, was ſo ſtiffly maintained in the (f) *Councel* of *Trent*; that, from the two and twentieth of *February* 1546. to the ninth of *March*, the *Aſſembly* continued divided into three *Opinions*; ſome deſiring, that the *Scriptures* might be diſtinguiſhed into *three Claſſes*, of different Authority; others, that they ſhould be diſpoſed into *two*; and the *third* Party, which prevailed on the fifteenth of *March*, requiring, that a *Catalogue* ſhould be drawn up, without any Diſtinction, apparent in the *Decree*. By which *Decree* the *Councel*, intending to thunder-ſtrike (at leaſt in appearance) the Sentiment of the *Proteſtants*, though they ſaw it ſtrongly maintained by many of their own Body, declared, that they comprehended in the *Index* of *Sacred Books* thoſe, which the *Proteſtants* (in imitation of the *Greeks*, and moſt of the *Latine Fathers*) admitted not into the *Canon*; which might be underſtood in the ſence propoſed by *Ruffinus*, and without any derogation from thoſe, which the *Church* ever held properly, and abſolutely *Canonical*.

(f) *Hiſt. del Concilio*, lib. 2. pagg. 148, 149, 150.

In the next place the *Councel* anathematized thoſe, who would not *receive them for* Sacred, *and* Canonical: which might alſo very well be; obſerving the Diſtinction of *Ruffinus*, and *Cajetan*, which makes nothing againſt the *Proteſtants*. And, at laſt, they, declare their *Anathema* is diſcharged to let the World know, (g) *what Teſtimonies, and Arguments, principally, they ſhould make uſe of, to confirm Tenents, and regulate Morality in the Church*; inſinuating further, in favour of the *Partizans* of *Cardinal Cajetan*, who, as to the main Ground, agreed with the *Proteſtants*, the diſtinction, which they had made, after *Ruffinus*, of the Books *properly Canonical*, ſubſervient as well to the *Confirmation of Faith*,

(g) *Quibus potiſſimum Teſtimoniis, ac præſidiis in confirmandis dogmatibus, & inſtaurandis in Eccleſia moribus uſura ſit.*

as *reſtauration of Manners*; and the *improperly*, and in a *certain reſpect*, *Canonical*, appointed onely for the *reſtauration of Manners*.

This preſuppoſed, it clearly appears, that the *Fathers*, who had any knowledg of the *ſecond Book* of the *Maccabees*, upon this very accompt, that they either abſolutely denied it, or onely half-granted it, and upon great *Qualifications*, the Title of *Canonical*, could not any way ground upon the report of it, the right, which the *Church* of *Rome* pretends to at this day for *Praying for the dead*; and that that Report could not be urged any further, then to an Atteſtation, that it had really been in uſe, from the Time of the *Maccabees*. And indeed, St. *Auguſtine*, the firſt who cited it to that purpoſe, and at the very place where he alledged it, pretended not to go any further; for his Diſcouſe, cited by *Julian* of *Toledo*, runs thus; *In* Maccabeorum *libris, legimus oblatum pro mortuis ſacrificium. Sed etſi nuſquam in Scripturis veteribus omnino legeretur, non parva eſt univerſæ Eccleſiæ, quæ in hâc conſuetudine claret, authoritas*, &c. *We read in the Book of* Maccabees, *that Sacrifice was offered for the dead; but though there ſhould be no ſuch thing any where in the antient Scriptures, yet is the authority of the univerſal Church, which ſhines in that Cuſtom, not of little weight.*

Fourthly, Beſides the precedent Reaſons which demonſtrate the impoſſibility of deriving the Original of *Oblations* and *Prayers for departed* Chriſtians, from the pretended Example of *Judas Maccabæus*, and the Application which the Abridger of *Jaſon* the *Cyrenian* conceived he ought to make of it; this (no leſs conſiderable then the reſt) is to be added, *viz.* that the firſt, who undertook the Patronage of ſuch a *Cuſtom*, built very much upon the not-written *Tradition* onely, and by that means, acknowledged, and profeſſed, that neither they, nor (in their Judgment) their *Predeceſſours*, had any ground to recurr to the Authority of any Scripture, either properly, or improperly ſaid to be *Canonical*; and conſequently, that their imagination is abſolutely Erroneous, who believe that the *Antients* grounded their *Cuſtom* on the fourth of *Tobit*, or on the ſeventh of *Eccleſiaſticus*; or laſtly, on the twelfth of the ſecond of *Maccabees*. Thus *Tertullian*, in the year 199. in the third *Chapter* of his Book *De Corona*, tells us, *Quæramus an & Traditio*, &c. *Let us enquire, whether the not-written Tradition is not alſo to be received? No doubt we ſhall deny that it ought to be received; if no prejudice ariſe from the Examples of other Obſervations, which we challenge to our ſelves, without any recommendation from Scripture, onely upon the accompt of Tradition, fortified by the Patronage of Cuſtom*, &c. *Upon anniverſary-days, we make Oblations for the departed, and for their Birth-days*, &c. *viz.* Of the departure of Martyrs.

In like manner, St. *Epiphanius* in the year 376. concludes his Diſputation againſt *Aërius* with the Allegation of *Tradition*, ſaying; ἔτα δὲ περὶ. &c. *Next I ſhall again take the conſequence of this, that the* Church *accompliſhes this thing neceſſarily, having taken the Tradition of the* Fathers. *Now, who can violate the Ordinance of his Mother, or the Law of his Father? according to the words of* Salomon (h) My Son, hear the Inſtruction of thy Father, and forſake not the Law of thy Mother, *ſhewing, that the Father, that is to ſay, God, the onely Son, and the Holy Spirit, hath*

(h) Prov. i. 8.

hath taught as well by writing, as without writing, and that our Mother the Church, hath Laws made in her self, such as are indissoluble, and cannot be destroyed.

Denys, the pretended *Areopagite*, about the year 490. follows the same track, in the seventh Chapter of his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, saying; *It is necessary to speak of the Tradition come even to us from our conductours inspired by God, concerning the said Prayer, which the* Hierarch *pronounces over the Deceased.* The like may be said of St. *Augustine*, who had first of any alledged the pretended example of the *Maccabees*; for, distrusting what Arguments might be drawn thence, he flies to the Authority of the Church, and thereby shews his main strength lay on that side.

The same thing is further insinuated as well by the ingenuous confession, which the *Fathers* make of the doubts of many of the *Christians* in their times, concerning the advantage of Prayer for the dead, as by the answers given by them thereto. For *Aërius*, in St. *Epiphanius*, in the year 376. put this difficulty; asking, Τίνι τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ θάνατον, &c. *Upon what accompt do you name after their death those, who are dead? For whether the surviving prays, or dispenses his goods, what advantage accrews thereby to the deceased? If the Prayers of those, who are here, be any way beneficial to those, who are there, let not any one live religiously, nor do well, but so behave himself, as he would have Friends, whether it be by procuring them for many, or intreating them at his death to pray for him, to the end he may not suffer there, and that there be no inquisition made into the incurable sins he hath committed.* Some twenty years before, St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* had acknowledged, in his fifth *Mystagogical Catechesis*, that in *Palæstine*, there were many persons troubled about the difficulty made by *Aërius* in *Armenia*, crying out, οἶδα πολλὰς, &c. *I know many say thus, What advantage is it to the Soul transported out of this World with sins, or without sins, that you remember her in your Prayers?* And, about one hundred years after, *Denys*, the pretended *Areopagite*, writing in the seventh Chapter of his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Φάις δὲ ἄν, &c. *It may be (will you say) that these things are well said by us; but that you are in doubt as to the* Hierarch's *desiring of the Sovereign goodness of God, for the deceased, the remission of his Sins, and the portion of light assigned for those, who are like God. For, if every one shall receive from the justice of God the reward of all the good things, and others, which he hath done in this life, and the deceased hath accomplished all Functions suitable to the life, which is led here, by what* Hierarchical *Prayer shall he be transferred (beyond his merit, and the reward due to the life he hath led here) into another lot?*

From this diversity of *Questions*, renewed from time to time, it is apparent, that the first answers made to those, who could not conceive any *benefit* arising from *Prayer for the dead*, had not given them satisfaction; and that neither they, nor those, who answered them, saw any Text of Scripture that could decide the difficulty proposed by them. For who could expect from a *Christian*, that he durst bring into question what he knew to have been resolved by the *Oracles of God*? On the contrary, who will not be easily induced to doubt of things, whereof he findes no other confirmation, then that of Custom, and that not fortified by any Command of God, to whose Worship, it is pretended, that Custome re-

lates? Nay, when we do not finde, in the Fathers Anſwers to the Objections, whereby that Cuſtom was oppoſed, any mention either of the ſecond of the *Maccabees*, or of any place of Scripture, concerning the State of the dead, ought we not, of neceſſity, to conclude, that not onely they had not any to alledge, but alſo that they made not, in their *Offices for the dead*, any reflection on the ſecond of the *Maccabees*, or any of the Books, juſtly, or unjuſtly reputed *Canonical*, but onely on the example of their Predeceſſours?

CHAP. XXV.

Whether there be any reaſon to ground Prayer for the Dead upon the Second Book of the Maccabees.

I Have hitherto made it my buſineſs onely to prove, that *praying for the Dead* never was, as to matter of *fact*, grounded by the firſt that practiſed it among the *Chriſtians*, upon the ſecond of the *Maccabees*, nor any other Book, either *Canonical*, or *Apocryphal*. I am to ſhew, that, as to matter of *right*, it could not have been grounded thereon; and to that purpoſe, I am in the firſt place to give a relation of the fact of *Judas Maccabæus*, and ſecondly, an accompt of the application made of it by *Jaſon* the *Cyrenian*, or his Abridger. The fact is ſet down in theſe Terms.

(a) Macc. xii. 38, &c. *So* Judas *gathered his Hoſt, and came into the* (a) *City of* Odollam, *and when the ſeventh day came, they purified themſelves (as the Cuſtom was) and kept the Sabbath in the ſame place.*

And upon the day following, as the uſe had been, Judas, *and his Company came to take up the Bodies of them, that were ſlain, and to bury them with their Kinſmen in their Father's Graves.*

Now, under the Coats of every one that was ſlain, they found things conſecrated to the Idols of the Jamnites, *which is forbidden the* Jews *by the Law. Then every man ſaw that this was the cauſe, wherefore they were ſlain.*

All men therefore, prayſing the Lord, *the righteous Judg, who had opened the things that were hid,*

Betook themſelves unto Prayer, and beſought him, that the ſin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Beſides, the noble Judas *exhorted the people to keep themſelves from ſin; for ſo much as they ſaw before their eyes, the things that came to paſs for the ſin of thoſe, that were ſlain.*

And when he had made a gathering throughout the Company, to the ſum of two thouſand Drachms of ſilver, he ſent it to Jeruſalem *to offer a ſin-offering.*

In this Relation we are to obſerve, 1. The crime of the Perſons killed, condemned in the ſeventh of *Deuteronomy*, verſe 25. in theſe Terms: *The Graven Images of their Gods ſhall ye burn with fire, thou ſhalt not deſire the Silver, or Gold, that is on them, nor take it unto thee, leſt thou be ſnared therein; for it is an abhomination to the Lord thy God.*

2. The

2. The judgment of all the people, acknowledging that they had been punished according to their sin.

3. The procedure as well of *Judas*, as the whole Army thereupon, in praying, that the sin might be forgotten, and pardoned, not to the dead, who had perished upon that occasion, but to the Army, which had been infected therewith, as with a pestilent contagion; in like manner, as when, upon the sacrilege of *Achan*, God said to *Joshua*, (b) *Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my Covenant which I commanded them; for they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stollen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even amongst their own stuff. Therefore the Children of* Israel *could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed*, &c. *There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O* Israel, *thou canst not stand before thine Enemies, till ye take away the accursed thing from among you.* As also when God, having sent a Famine of three years, answered *David*, (c) *It is for* Saul, *and for his bloody House, because he slew the Gibeonites.* And when some years after, God, upon *David*'s pride, slew in one day (d) seventy thousand persons. For the people had not contributed to the sin of *Achan*, nor to that of *Saul*; nor lastly, to that of *David*, who, acknowledging them no way chargeable therewith, made this observable reflection on it, (e) *Lo, I have sinned, and done wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done?*

(b) Josh. 7. 11, 12.

(c) 2 Sam. 21. 1.

(d) 2 Sam. 24. 15.

(e) 2 Sam. 24. 17.

To prevent the like misfortunes, God had made these Ordinances, *And* (f) *if the whole Congregation of* Israel *sin through ignorance, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the Assembly, and they have done somewhat against the Commandements of the Lord, concerning things, which should not be done, and are guilty. When the sin, which they have sinned against it, is known, then the Congregation shall offer a young Bullock for the Sin, and bring him before the Tabernacle of the Congregation. And the Elders of the Congregation shall lay their hands upon the Head of the Bullock before the Lord; and the Bullock shall be killed before the Lord*, &c. *And the Priest shall make an atonement for them, and it shall be forgiven them.* Again, (g) *If one be found slain in the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath slain him; Then thy Elders and thy Judges shall come forth, and they shall measure unto the Cities, which are round about him that is slain; And it shall be, that the City, which is next unto the slain man, even the Elders of the said City, shall take an Heifer, which hath not been wrought with, and which hath not drawn in the Yoke. And the Elders of that City shall bring down the Heifer unto a rough Valley, which is neither eared, nor sowen, and shall strike off the Heifer's neck there in the Valley. And the Priests, the Sons of* Levi, *shall come near (for them the Lord thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the Name of the Lord) and by their Word shall every Controversie, and every stroak be tryed. And all the Elders of that City, that are next unto the slain man, shall wash their hands over the Heifer, that is beheaded in the Valley. And they shall answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it shed; Be mercifull, O Lord, unto thy people* Israel, *whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of* Israel's *charge; and the blood shall be forgiven them.*

(f) Levit. 4. 13, &c.

(g) Deut. 21. 1. &c.

If the *Elders of the People* were obliged, in their own Names, to beg pardon for the evil, which had been committed without their knowledg,

ledg, as soon as they had discovered it, if there was a necessity, that the *Priests* should make an atonement for the whole Body of the Congregation, whereof some Members onely had been guilty; and if the City, in the Confines whereof a Murther had been committed, though the Authours of it had not been known, stood in need of purification, and the *Elders*, innocent of the Crime, were, not to pray for the dead Person murthered, but to make a publick Protestation of their innocence, and to beg of God, that he would be pleased to turn away, from the innocent Community, the miseries, wherewith the Murther seemed to threaten it; how should not *Judas*, and all the Army, acknowledging, that the hand of God had been upon many of the *Souldiery*, who had some days before lost their lives, for the sacrilege committed by them, and whereof they were found seized, think it necessary to pray, not for those wretches that died in their sin, but for the whole Body of the *Army*, which they had (as much as lay in them) prophaned, and deprived of the protection of God? He therefore (according to the Law) makes Prayers immediately for himself, and for all the people, that were left; and because *Jerusalem* was the onely place, where the *Expiatory Victims* were to be sacrificed, and that the urgency of Affairs permitted him not to go thither in Person with the *Army*, he sends thither, and raises a Contribution for the Sacrifice of two thousand (h) *Drachms*, amounting to about fourty two *Marks* of Silver; after he had exhorted the people, not to Pray for the dead, but to beware of doing that, which was evil, and take example from the calamity of those, who came to destruction through their own fault.

(h) The *Latine Version* says, 12000. amounting to 250. *Marks*, a vast Sum, in respect of the *Time*, and the *Abilities* of the People, reduced to Beggery by the War.

As therefore it is manifest, from what we have observed, that the procedure of *Judas Maccabæus* was most conformable to the Law; and that it may be conceived such without any difficulty: so it will be most easie to deduce, that the same thing cannot be said of the Application, which *Jason*, the *Cyrenæan*, or his *Abridger*, would have made thereof, since it disguizes the Intention of that *Prince*, under pretence of making a natural representation of it. Having then related how he had *sent two thousand Drachms to* Jerusalem *for the Sin-offering*, the *Historian* adds of his own, these words; *Doing therein very well, and* (i) *civilly, in that he was mindfull of the Resurrection.* (*For, if he had not hoped, that they, that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous, and vain to pray for the dead.*) *And also in that he perceived, that there was great favour laid up for those, that died godly* (*it was an holy and good thought*) *whereupon he made a Reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin:* supposing of his own head; First, what could not justly be inferred from any part of the precedent Relation, *viz.* that *Judas* had prayed, and *given order for the offering of Sacrifices at* Jerusalem; not for himself, and his Army (as the *History* teaches) but for *those, who had been slain before*, because of their prophane covetousness. And secondly, that *Judas*, and his Army, conceived those Wretches *to have died godly*, and in a capacity to receive the *Favours* reserved for those, who *die godly*, since that it is evident from the *Historian*'s own words, that they were destroyed in the midst of their wickedness, and not departed *in godliness*; that every one had known it, and, from that knowledg, taken occasion to bless the *Lord*, who had

(i) Ἀγαθῶς.

had by a juſt Judgment diſcovered their ſecret *Impiety*, beſeeching him not to impute it to the Army, whereof they had been a part; and laſtly, that *Judas* had exhorted every one to be carefull of himſelf, learning Prudence at their coſt, who had ſo juſtly received the puniſhment due to their ſin.

All which premiſed, it naturally follows, that whether we ſtick to the *Conſideration* of *Judas*, ſuch as it hath been related to us by the *Abridger* of *Jaſon*; or repreſent to our ſelves the accompt, which the *Fathers* made of his *Abridgment*, thruſt out by them among *Apocryphal* Writings, and conſequently of too weak Authority to ſerve for the foundation of a *Religious Cuſtom*; or laſtly, keep to the *Declaration* of the ſame *Fathers*, deriving their *Cuſtom* purely from *Tradition*; there is no ground at all to alledge the *Hiſtory* of the *Maccabees*, for a reaſon of what the *Antient Chriſtians* practiſed, and much of what the *Modern* practiſe at this day, as well in the *Eaſt* (where *Prayers* are made, not ſimply for the *Reſurrection of the dead*, as the *Authour* of the *ſecond* of the *Maccabees* would have it, preſuppoſing with the *Jews* at preſent, that the *Wicked* riſe not again, and that *Judas* had prayed for the remiſſion of the Sin committed by thoſe ſacrilegious Perſons, to the end, they might be *raiſed again*, as thoſe, who *die godly*, but for the dayly conſolation of thoſe, who are ſuppoſed, in ſome manner, to languiſh in expectation of their Happineſs) as in the *Weſt*, where men propoſe to themſelves onely the obtaining their deliverance out of the *Pains of Purgatory*. But it may with very great *probability*, or rather evident *neceſſity*, be believed, that the firſt *Cuſtom* of *praying for the Dead*, was a *conſequence* drawn by the *Fathers* from the *Suppoſitions* contained in the *Writing* by them pretended to be *Sibylline*. For the firſt *minute* of its coming abroad, they not onely entertained it without contradiction, but as a *divine Piece*, the *moſt antient* of all the *Prophecies*; that of *Enoch* onely excepted, the Contriver of that *Impoſture* having cunningly put it out under the Name of one of the *Daughter-in-law*'s of *Noe*; the *moſt ample*, ſince it gives an accompt of the *principal Heads* of the *Evangelical Hiſtory*, and extends its *Predictions* to the end of the World; the *moſt clear*, ſince it preſents us with the *Acroſtick* of the *Names*, and *Titles* of the *Son of God*; and the *moſt advantageous* againſt the *Errour* of the *Heathens*; ſince that thoſe among the *Chriſtians*, who firſt cited it, imagined they had it from them, and were come to the knowledg of it through their means. Which very *Conſiderations* might haply have moved (k) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, when he promiſed them the allegation of the *Prophecies*, to place that, which he conceived to be the *Sibyl*'s, before all, and afterwards ſpeak of *Eſaiah*, *Jeremy*, &c. as leſs *antient*, and many times leſs *clear*. And thence alſo it ſeems to have come to paſs; that thoſe who quitted (if not abſolutely, at leaſt in ſome meaſure) the *Hypotheſes* of the pretended *Sibyl*, either diſſembled the *Imperfections* of the *Propheteſs*, and forbore to charge her with *Impoſture*, treating her in that particular with more regard, then they did ſome of the *Books* divinely-inſpired, or openly payed her the accuſtomed reſpects, continuing a reverence to her *Work*, notwithſtanding it betrayed it ſelf a thouſand ways unworthy their eſteem.

(k) *Protrept.* Page 50.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

That divers of the Fathers *have expreſsed more reſpect towards the* Book *attributed to the* Sibyl, *then to the* Apocalyps.

TO make this the more clear, I ſhall onely make a ſhort *recapitulation* of the *heads* of *Impoſture* I have already obſerved, in which any one might have ſeen, that the counterfeit *Sibyl*, taking carnally whatever ſhe had read in the *Prophecies*, and particularly in the *Revelation* of St. *John*, concerning the glory, and happineſs of the *myſtical Jeruſalem*, had imagined, and perſwaded *Papias*, and St. *Irenæus*, and all the *Millenaries*, that our *Saviour*, before the laſt Judgment, ſhould eſtabliſh a Kingdom abounding with *corporeal delights* in the *earthly Jeruſalem*, laid deſolate by *Titus*. This fond Imagination met with, about the beginning of the *third Age*, ſuch as ſtiffly oppoſed it; but who can forbear deploring the miſcarriages of humane Infirmity? The firſt, that took this *task* upon them, engaged in it with a Judgment ſo prepoſſeſſed, that, propoſing to themſelves to confute a palpable *Errour*, they ran themſelves (for want of circumſpection) into a kind of *Treaſon* againſt *God*, and ſo unworthily treated the *Apocalyps*, wherewith he had honoured his *beloved Apoſtle*, that they preſumed to cry it down, as a *counterfeit Piece*, compoſed, and publiſhed by the *Heretick Cerinthus*, under the name of St. *John*, while they ſuffered to ſpread up, and down, unqueſtioned, uncenſured, the *Romance* attributed to the *Sibyl* with the ſtrangeſt impudence, that ever was heard of.

(a) Lib. 2. cap. 25. (b) *Hierom.* in *Catalogo.*

Thus *Caius*, an *Eccleſiaſtical* Perſon, whom (a) *Euſebius*, and (b) St. *Hierome* obſerve to have been *contemporary* with *Pope Zephyrinus*, and conſequently to have written his *Diſputation* againſt the *Montaniſt Proculus*, between *Sunday*, *Auguſt* the ſeventh, 197. on which day *Zephyrinus* ſucceeded *Victor*, and *Auguſt* the twenty ſixth, 217. on which *God* took the ſaid *Zephyrinus* to himſelf; this *Caius*, I ſay, made no difficulty to disburthen his ſtomach of this injurious *Diſcourſe* againſt the *Apocalyps*:

(c) *Euſeb.* lib. 3. cap. 28.

(c) Κήρινθος ὁ δὲ Ἀποκαλύψεων, &c. Cerinthus *alſo by Revelations, pretended to be written by a great* Apoſtle, *endeavours to introduce monſtrous Diſcourſes, feigning, that they were ſhewn him by the* Angels, *and ſaying that,* (d) *after the Reſurrection, the* Royal *Palace of* Chriſt *ſhall be* Terreſtrial, *and that the fleſh converſing in* Jeruſalem *ſhall be again ſubject to ſenſual appetites, and pleaſures; being alſo in oppoſition to the Divine Writings, and, out of a deſire to deceive, he ſaith* (e) *that the term of a thouſand years ſhall be ſpent in* (f) *Nuptial Entertainments.*

(d) S. *John* ſays expreſsly, that the *Angel of God* ſhewed him the *myſtical Jeruſalem*; Apoc. xxi. 10. Apoc. xxi. 1. Apoc. xxii. 1. (e) Apoc. xx. 4. (f) Apoc. xix. 7, 9.

Indeed, ſome thirty years after, *Denys* of *Alexandria* paſſed a more ſound Judgment, condemning the Imaginations of *Cerinthus*, after whoſe Example the counterfeit *Sibyl* had wreſted, to an ill ſence, the *Predictions* of St. *John*; and acknowledging the *Apocalyps* (which he confeſſed to be above his underſtanding, and conceived to have been the work

work of ſome other *Authour*, then the Apoſtle St. *John*) ſhould be underſtood in a more ſpiritual way, then *Cerinthus*, the pretended *Sibyl*, and the *Millenaries* had conceived. In ſo much that in the year 380. or thereabouts, (g) *Philaſtrius*, Biſhop of *Breſcia*, put into the *Catalogue* of *Hereſies* the Sentiment of *Caius*; ſaying, *Sunt Hæretici, qui* Evangelium Joannis, *& Apocalypſim non accipiunt; & non intelligunt virtutem Scripturæ*, &c. *Audent dicere* Apocalypſim *non* Beati Joannis Evangeliſtæ *& Apoſtoli; ſed* Cerinthi *Hæretici, qui, tunc ab Apoſtolis Beatis Hæreticus manifeſtatus, abjectus eſt ab Eccleſia*, &c. *There are certain* Hereticks, *who receive not the* Goſpel *of St.* John, *and his* Revelation, *and underſtand not the efficacy of Scripture*, &c. *They preſumptuouſly affirm, that the* Apocalyps *is not the Work of the Bleſſed* John *the* Evangeliſt, *and* Apoſtle, *but of the* Heretick Cerinthus; *who, having been then diſcovered to be an* Heretick *by the Bleſſed* Apoſtles, *was caſt out of the Church.* And yet ſome ſixteen years before, the *Councel* of (h) *Laodicea*, and that in the Time of *Philaſtrius*, (i) *Gregory Nazianzene*, and (k) *Amphilochius* of *Iconia*, and moſt of the *Greeks*, though they were not ſo unreaſonable, as to follow the Sentiment of *Caius*, in making *Cerinthus* Authour of the *Apocalyps*, did nevertheleſs incline ſo far to his ſide; that they denied the ſaid *Book* the Title of *Canonical*; not vouchſafing to afford it any place among the *Divine Writings*. Which obliged St. *Hierome* to write to *Dardanus*, (l) That *as the Cuſtom of the* Latines *admitted not the* Epiſtle *to the* Hebrews *among the Scriptures, ſo the* Greek Churches, *with the ſame liberty, admitted not the* Apocalyps *of St. John.* Upon which may be noted; that none of them, who expreſsed ſo much diſtaſte towards thoſe two *Sacred Books* (for ought we know at this day) diſcovered any averſion againſt the Impoſtures of the pretended *Sibyl*; which ſhews, that as the Spirit of man is of it ſelf inclined to love, and admire its own *Inventions* (let me not ſay, *Recreations*) in the things, that are moſt *ſerious*, and *ſacred*; ſo is it naturally backward, as to the *obedience of Faith* in reſpect of the Divine, which would not make any Impreſſion upon him, if God himſelf, preſſing them internally, did not efficaciouſly inſinuate the Truth thereof. To be ſhort, the *Errour* of the *Millenaries*, oppoſed from the beginning of the *third Age*, being to be weeded out of the Sentiments of *Chriſtians*, thoſe, who firſt refuted it (to compaſs their deſign) engaged againſt, not the Writing pretended to be *Sibylline*, which formally contained what was moſt obviouſly reprovable therein; but the *Apocalyps*, which, well conſidered, had ever been free from all ſuſpicion of affording it any countenance; and it was the good pleaſure of *God*, that divers *Great Men* ſhould riſe up; who, to pull down that erroneous *Opinion*, ſhould knock againſt one of the moſt remarkable parts of that *Rule*, which condemns them all, and be ſo unfortunate, as to ſpare a *Fabulous Piece*, no way deſerving their ſupport; while they deprived one of the moſt Divine of the honour, and acknowledgement, due thereto.

(g) Hæres. 30.

(h) *Concil. Laodic.* cap. 60.
(i) *Nazianz.* carm. 33.
(k) *Amphiloch.* carm. ad *Seleucum.*

(l) Epiſt. 129. *Nec* Græcorum *Eccleſiæ* Apocalypſim Joannis *eadem libertate ſuſcipiunt.*

CHAP. XXVII.

That the third Hypotheſis *of the* Sibylline *Writing ſo called is, at this day, abandoned by all* Chriſtians.

THE third *Hypotheſis* before extracted out of the *Sibylline* Writing ſo called, and relating to the conſervation of the *Terreſtrial Paradiſe*, and the eſtabliſhment of the *Saints* after their *Reſurrection* in that bleſſed habitation, out of which the *Firſt-man* had been driven, was ſo far from having given *Antiquity* any trouble; that, though it ſuppoſed what was falſe, it found favour, and countenance, from *Age* to *Age*, the *Paradiſe* mentioned in the *New Teſtament* neither being to be underſtood *carnally*, nor having any thing common with the other, whereof the keeping, and culture, had been at firſt committed to *Adam*. And, as to this particular, I conceive that, without any injury done to the *Holy Fathers*, who (as it were with a certain emulation) preſuppoſed the Introduction of the *Bleſſed* into that *Paradiſe towards the Eaſt*, where, after the fall of *Adam*, the *Cherubims* were placed *to keep the way of the Tree of Life*, it may be confidently ſaid of the *Chriſtians* of all *Nations*, that they have at the preſent (as it were with an unanimous conſent) embraced a belief more conformable to the Truth, then their *Anceſtours* had; ſince that there is not at this day (that I know of) any *Church* in the *Univerſe*, which propoſes to the *Hope* and *Faith* of *Believers* any other *Paradiſe*, then the *Celeſtial*, and which makes mention of that planted by the hand of *God* in the *Garden* of *Eden*, out of any other Deſign, then to recommend it to their conſideration as a *Type*, repreſenting the *Spiritual Paradiſe* with the ſame imperfection, according to which the firſt *Adam*, who had been driven out of the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*, was the (a) *Figure* of the ſecond, *who was to come, to open unto us the entrance into the Holy places* (b) *by his precious blood*, and *the ſword of the Cherubim*, a repreſentation of the (c) *curſe of the Law*, remains, in reſpect of the Sinner, onely (d) *the miniſtration of Death*. However it be, the *Suppoſition* of the Counterfeit *Sibyl* is, as to this reſpect, inſenſibly vaniſhed; ſo as, that it is quite diſcarded.

(a) Rom v. 14.
(b) Hebr. ix. 12.
(c) Gal. iii. 13.
(d) 2 Cor. iii. 7.

CHAP.

Chap. XXVIII.

That the second Hypothesis *of the* Sibylline *Writing so called made way for the new Opinion of* Purgatory.

THe second *Hypothesis*, which taught, that the *fire of the general conflagration* of the Universe should at the last day *purge* the Bodies of the *Saints*, had not been long e're it opened a Gap to imaginations yet more Fantastick, and irrational; among others, that of the cessation of all *Infernal pains*; an Opinion taken out of the *Schole* of *Plato* into the Bosom of the *Church* by *Origen*, and his *Party*, to which (not to mention the multitude, that had followed it from the year 250. to the year 399.) stuck the most eminent among the *Fathers*, as Saint *Gregory Nyssenus*, *Didymus*, and (in his Youth) St. *Hierome*. But the *Councels* of *Alexandria*, *Cyprus*, and *Rome*, having almost at the same time issued out their *Decrees* against that inveterate corruption of *Christian* Doctrine, and the fifth *General Councel* having solemnly fulminated it in the year 553. it, by little and little, vanished, to make way for an *Opinion* before unknown to all *Antiquity*, and which drew its *origine*; First, from the prejudication, which the *Christians* of the *sixth Age* conceived of the necessity of their proper satisfactions to appease the wrath of God.

Secondly, From the design, which many among them had to reform the *Custom* of their *Predecessours*, praying even for those, whom they presupposed *Damned*, as we have seen before.

Thirdly, From the *New Philosophy*, which some *Melancholy Spirits*, apt upon any occasion to conceive Horrours, began to advance in the *West*, about the time of St. *Gregory*. For some persons, having observed, that the *Heathens* called by the Name of *Ollas Vulcanias*, or *Kettles of* Vulcan, the (a) *gaping places*, through which the Mountains of *Gibel*, *Vesuvium*, *Lipara*, *Strongoli*, and other places, full of *sulphur*, disburthen themselves of the Flames, which (either by intervals, or a constant burning) devour their Entrails, and taken (either out of astonishment, or of set purpose) the *crakings* of those *subterranean Fires*, for the *groans*, and *crys* of Tormented persons; and lastly met with men, who had the confidence, either out of the excess of their malice against some Persons *Departed*, or a desire to make their advantage of the credulous simplicity of the Living, to compose *Histories* of the *Apparitions* of *Souls* separated by Death from the Bodies, which they had animated before, would needs (without any *Oracle* of *Scripture*, or *Tradition* of the *first Ages* of the *Church*, and without the *Example* of any of the *Saints*, that lived in them) suppose, that the *Souls* of those *Christians*; which, during their life-time, had been defiled with Sin, were after their death, as it were melted again in a *subterranean Fire*, where they were purified, some sooner, others later, and all before the *Last Day*. And as we finde the *Poet Dante* (by a Liberty truly *Poetical*) confined to the *Hell*, where the *Damned* were, all his *enemies*; advanced into *Paradise* the best of his *Friends*, and reduced

(a) *Crateres.*

the reſt to be content with *Purgatory*; ſo were there about the midſt of the *ſixth Age*, a ſort of People, that had the boldneſs to affirm (upon the *Authority* of their own *pretended Viſions*) the damnation of the Greateſt men. About that time was it, that the (b) *Hermit* of *Lipara* had perſwaded the Father of the Step-father of *Julian*, one of the *Agents* of the *Romane Church*, that he had ſeen *Theodoric*, King of the *Oſtrogoths*, who died on the one and thirtieth of *Auguſt*, 536. led between *Pope John* the Firſt, and *Symmachus*, without a *Girdle*, without *Shoes*, his *hands tyed*, and, at laſt, caſt into the next *Vulcanian Cauldron*; whence honeſt (c) St. *Gregory* inferred, in the year 593. that, by the Eructations of *Fire*, which happened many times in *Sicily*, and other adjacent *Iſlands*, the (d) tormenting *Cauldrons* were diſcovered. Thus alſo came it to paſs, that, after the Death of *Charles Martel*, which happened on the two and twentieth of *October*, 741. the *Monks* of St. *Tron*, having publiſhed, that *Eucherius*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, had ſeen in a *Viſion* the eternal Torments of that *Prince*, who had dealt very roughly with him, and given *Eccleſiaſtical Revenues* to thoſe, who had aſſiſted him in the *War*; and that thereupon, there had been found in his *Sepulchre* onely a *Dragon*, with the viſible marks of his Body's being Divinely conſumed by *Fire*; the *Story* (though ſo much the more evidently falſe, in as much as the Death of *Eucherius*, who died the fifteenth of *February*, 727. preceded, by fifteen years, eight Moneths, and two days, that of *Charles Martel*, whom he is ridiculouſly ſuppoſed to have ſurvived) was ſo pleaſing to the humour of the *Clergie*, that the *Writers* of the *Legends* of *Rigobert* of *Rheims*, of *Eucherius*, and *Peter* the Library-keeper, and *Flodoard*, undertook the diſperſing of it; and in the year 858. in *November*, the (e) *Prelats* of the Provinces of *Rheims*, and *Rouën*, gave it for certain to *Lewis* King of *Germany*, whom they knew to be deſcended of *Martel*, by *Pipin*, his ſecond Son (who, upon the twenty ninth of *July*, 753. concurrent with the fourth of his Reign, (f) gave, for his Father's ſake, *Saint Michael's-Mount* in *Verdunois* to the *Abbey* of Saint *Denys*, and by *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, Grand-Son of *Pipin*, (g) who Writ in the year 836. to *Hilduin*, *Abbot* of Saint *Denys*) that *Charles*, his Great-grandfather, *had religiouſly recommended himſelf, and had for that end principally ſhewn his Devotion, and confidence towards that his particular Patron*; a manifeſt Argument, that the *Fable* of his *Damnation* was not yet invented; and that thoſe *Gentlemen*, who two and twenty years before bragged, they had heard the Relation of it from *Lewis*, impoſed upon him, and very boldly abuſed the credulity of *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and *Charles the Bald* his children. And in the year 1090. (h) In *Saxony*, a *Clergy-man* (*Dead, as was conceived*) *dragged into Hell, and returning thence, three days after, confirmed by the Prediction of his own Death, and the diſcoveries of other things, the Judgment he had before given concerning the Torments of* Pope Gregory *the Seventh, and the Petty Kings*, (i) Rodolph, *and* Herman: the firſt of whom died the twenty fourth of *May*, 1085. the ſecond, the fifteenth of *October*, 1080. and the third, in the year, 1088.

(b) *Gregor. Dial. lib. 4. cap. 30. Et ex eo* Frecu-phus, *&* Aimonius.

(c) Cap. 35.

(d) *Tormentorum Ollæ patuerunt.*

(e) *Concil. Gall. Tom. 3. p. 122.*

(f) *Hiſt. Sancti* Dionys. *à* J. Doublet *ſcripta*, pag 696.

(g) Tom. 2. *Concil. Gall.* p. 630.

(h) Chron. *Auguſt.*

(i) *Rodolph of Suawbe*; *Herman of Salmes in Arduenna.*

Theſe three *Examples* (whereto a thouſand others of equal authority might be added) are ſufficient to make it appear, what a ſtrange power malice

malice hath over thoſe, who are once infected with its venome. There may be produced alſo ſuch, as ſhall demonſtrate what Impreſſions Intereſt can give; for, to raiſe an horrour againſt Schiſm, there was ſpread up and down *Rome* (k) this Diſcourſe concerning *Paſchaſius* Deacon of the *Romane Church*, who had been, to his death, engaged in the Party of the Anti-Pope *Laurence*, put by his pretences the 23 of *October* 501. That, notwithſtanding the merit of his Perſon, being ſuch, that the very *touching of the Surplice placed upon his biere had*, while he was carrying to the ground, *healed a poſſeſſed perſon*; yet had his ſoul been condemned to endure the ardors of the boyling-waters in the Baths ſurnamed the *Angulani*, whence it was afterwards delivered upon the Prayers of *Germanus* Biſhop of (l) *Capua*. And to encourage men to liberality, it was ſaid of *Dagobert*, who died *January* 19. 644. that the Devils beating him as they were carrying him away in a Boat towards the Iſles of *Vulcan*, St. *Denys*, St. *Maurice*, and St. *Martin*, whom he continually called to his relief, came with Thunder and Tempeſt to his reſcue, and *diſpoſed* him afterwards into *Abraham's Boſom*; all which paſſages *John* the Hermite, who lived in a little Iſle not far thence, ſaw in a Viſion, and gave the Relation of it to *Anſeald* then *Agent*, and afterwards Biſhop of the Church of *Poictiers*. In like manner, the *Impoſtor*, who took upon him the name of *Turpin*, for that of *Tilpin*, Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, who died the third of *September* 789. (never conſidering that *Wolfarius*, Succeſſour to *Tilpin*, did in the year 811. ſubſcribe the Teſtament of *Charle-maigne*) feigned, that that Prince dying on *Saturday*, *Jan.* 28. 814. and Canonized by *Paſchal* the Third, *Anti-Pope*, in the year 1166. had (m) been *carried up to the Celeſtial Kingdom by the aſſiſtance of St.* James, *to whom* he had *built many Churches*, and that a certain Devil, whom he had ſeen running after the Troops of his Companions, and drawing towards *Aix la Chapelle*, whither they were all going, in hope to be preſent at *Charles's* death, and afterwards to *carry away his Soul to Hell*, had told him at his return, that the *headleſs* (n) Galician *had put into the ballance ſo many ſtones, and pieces of Timber, out of his Churches, that the good works of* Charles *had out-weighed the evil, and that notwithſtanding he had taken away his Soul from them.* And laſtly, towards the declination of the tenth Age, to advance the reputation of the Order of *Clugni*; and indeed, of all the Religious Orders in general, *Peter Damiani*, Cardinal of *Oſtia*, and from him (o) *Sigebert*, have left in writing, That *a Religious man*, by Country, of *Rouergue*, *coming from* Jeruſalem, *entertained for ſome time in* Sicily *by the kindneſs of a certain* Monk, *was told by him, that in the Neighbour-hood there were certain places caſting up flames of fire, and called by the Inhabitants the* Cauldrons of Vulcan, *in which the Souls of the departed endured ſeveral puniſhments, according to their deſerts; and that there were in thoſe places certain Devils appointed to ſee the execution done, Of whom he ſaid, that he had often heard their voices, indignation, and terrours; as alſo their lamentations, when they complained, that the ſouls were taken out of their hands, by the Alms and Prayers of the Faithfull, and eſpecially (at that time) by the devotions of thoſe of* Clugni, *who inceſſantly prayed for the repoſe of the deceaſed. That the Abbot* Odilo, *receiving this information from him, ordained, in the year* 998. *through all the Monaſteries ſubject to his Order, that as the ſolemnity of* All-Saints *is obſerved*

(k) *Greg. Dial.* lib. 4. c. 40.

(l) In *Vita Dagoberti.*

(m) Cap. 32.

(n) St. *James*, beheaded at *Jeruſalem*, and afterwards (as the *Spaniards* pretend) carried into *Galicia*.

(o) *Chron. Hincmar.* Epiſt. 50. and *Flodoard*, lib. 3 c. 18. ſay, that a certain Native of *Rheims*, named *Bernold*, ſaw *Charles the Bald*, gnawn by worms, and wallowing in putrefaction: and *William* of *Malmsbury*, lib. 2. ſuppoſes, that *Charles the Fat* ſaw *Lewis the Debonnaire* in a Tun of ſeething water; which that *Manuſcript Chronicle* of Monſieur *De Thou* affirms, had been ſhewn to *Charles the Bald*, Uncle to the ſaid *Charles the*

On Eut.

on the first of November, *so the next day should be celebrated the memory of all those, that rest in* Christ: *which Custom, passing to several Churches, proved the ground of solemnizing the memory of the faithful departed.*

Hence then came it, 1. That, *Princes* and the *People*, moved with compassion for their *kindred*, and *friends*, and conceiving a fear of themselves, with Consciences disturbed and racked with amazement, multiplied their Donations to *Churches*, and *Monasteries*, even to infinite. 2. That in the *Instruments* of those Donations, they began to insert, as necessary and essential, this President, whereof it were hard to produce many Examples more antient, *pro remedio animæ, & animæ parentum*, &c. *for the relief of my soul, and the souls of my kindred.* And 3. That, whereas Antiquity would hardly have been brought to grant any true and real apparition of souls, some endeavoured to perswade people they are so common, that they happen every minute. To be short, they thought they might with some probability introduce into the *Church* what the *Platonick* Philosophy had suggested to *Virgil*, who gives us this draught of the state of separated Souls, and of what he conceived of Hell.

Æneid. 6.

Quin & supremo cùm lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum, miseris nec funditùs omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes, penitúsq; necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergò exercentur pœnis, veterúmq; malorum
Supplicia expendunt; aliæ panduntur, inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni, &c.

T. W.

Nor when (poor souls) they leave this wretched life,
Do all their evils cease, all plagues, all strife
Contracted in the body: many a stain
Long time inur'd needs must, ev'n then, remain;
For which sharp Torments are to be endur'd,
That vice inveterate may, at last, be cur'd.
Some empty souls are to the piercing winds
Expos'd, whilst others, in their sev'ral kinds,
Are plung'd in Icy, or sulphureous Lakes, &c.

For, according to the Visions of *Germanus*, Bishop of *Capua*, and the Hermite of *Sicily*, it would be insinuated, that the Souls might be purged by *Baths* and *subterranean fires*, and there remained onely (to make it absolutely *Heathenish Mythologie*) to feign some exposed to the *Winds*, and hung up in *smoak*, for which the Councel of *Florence* (as it were to excuse (p) *Dante* and (q) *Arioste* hath taken care, supplying what the precedent *Theologie* of the *Cloisters*, to whose advantages all these Relations do ever contribute, seemed to have omitted.

(p) *Canto* 5. of Hell.
(q) *Canto* 34. of *Orlando.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Proofs of the Novelty of the precedent Opinion of Purgatory.

THe precedent opinion concerning *Purgatory* came so lately into play, that in the year 593. *Petrus Diaconus*, astonished at the novelty of it, was in a manner forced to make this question to St. *Gregory*, (a) *Quid hoc est, quæso te, quod in his extremis temporibus tam multa de animabus clarescunt, quæ antè latuerunt, ità ut apertis Revelationibus atque ostensionibus venturum sæculum inferre se nobis, atque aperire videatur?* &c. *What means it, I pray thee, that in these last times so many things, which before were hidden, are now become so manifest concerning souls, that the world to come seems, by clear Revelations, and Declarations, to bring and discover it self to us?* And as by what we have heard of *Odilo*, Abbot of *Clugny*, it might be evident, that at the expiration of the tenth Age, but 400 years after St. *Gregory*, (b) that Religious man (by Country of *Auvergne*) extreamly moved at the discourse of I know not what Pilgrim of *Rouërgue*, had the confidence to put the last hand to the draught of *Purgatory*, which the first Antiquity had been ignorant of for five whole Ages; so from this very Position, that it was not *believed from the beginning*, it follows, that it neither is, nor can be a *Catholick Tenet*.

(a) *Dial.* l. 4. c. 40.

(b) Of the antient House of *Mercury*.

But this hath appeared also by other means, *viz.* First, by the opposition of the *Greeks*, and all the *East*, which was no less constant and earnest, then that of *Peter De Bruis*, *Henry* his Disciple, the *Waldenses*, and the *Albigenses*, and at the present all the *Protestants* in the *West*.

Secondly, By the falling off of the *Latines*, who have in some measure quitted the Sentiment of St. *Gregory*, and *Odilo*, which was restrained onely to the pain of fire, when upon the ninth of *June* 1439. (but some few hours before *Joseph* Patriarch of the *Greeks*, then dying, had signed his last *Declaration* running in general Terms, (c) Ὁμολογῶ, &c. τῶν ψυχῶν καθαρτήριον, *I confess the Purgatory of Souls*) they thought good to declare themselves by this indefinite expression, Αἱ μέσαι ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ἐν βασανιστηρίῳ, καὶ εἴτε πῦρ ἐστιν, εἴτε ζόφος, εἴτε θύελλα, εἴτε τι ἕτερον, ἃ διαφερόμεθα· *The Souls of a middle condition, between the just and sinners, are in a place of torments, and whether it be fire, or darkness, or tempest, or some other thing, we differ not about it.*

(c) *Concil. Florent.* Sess. 25.

Thirdly, By the *Concordate* signed by them on Sunday *July* the fifth, and published the next day under the name of Pope *Eugenius*, in these words, Διορίζομεθα, ἐὰν δὲ ἀληθῶς μετανοήσαντες ἀποθάνωσιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπῃ πρὶν τοῖς ἀξίοις τῆς μετανοίας καρποῖς ἱκανοποιῆσαι περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, τὰς τούτων ψυχὰς καθαρικαῖς πυρίαις καθαίρεσθαι μετὰ θάνατον· *We decree, that if those, who have unfeignedly repented them of their sins, die in charity towards God, before they had, by works worthy repentance, made satisfaction for their sins, as well those of Commission, as Omission, the Souls of such are after death purged by Purgatory pains.*

Fourthly, By the formal disallowance, and Protestation of the *Greeks*, immediately

immediately after their return, againſt what ever extreme neceſſity had extorted from thoſe of their Nation at *Florence*, maintained by publick Writings, by *Mark* Arch-Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and *Nilus*.

And laſtly, by the Anſwer, which the *Greeks* of the State of *Venice* made in the year 1560. to the fourteenth of the *Queſtions* propoſed by the *Cardinal* of *Guiſe*, in theſe Terms; *Eorum hominum animæ, quorum quaſi media quædam conditio eſt*, &c. *The Souls of thoſe men, that are, as it were, in a middle condition,* between the juſt and the unjuſt, *that is to ſay; thoſe, who gave not up their laſt breath in mortal Sins, yet were not abſolutely free from guilt, nor manifeſted the Fruits of Repentance, the Souls, I ſay, of ſuch are thought by ours to be purged in this manner, not by any Purgatory Fire, or by any determinate Puniſhment in ſome certain place, but ſome by pure fear, at the very ſeparation from the Body; others, after the ſeparation, it may be alſo detained in Hell, not ſo, as if they were in Fire, or Puniſhment, but as if they were kept in Priſon, and Chains.* Of which Sentiment though there is as little ground, either in *Scripture*, or *Reaſon*, as there is for the *Fire* generally believed by moſt of the *Church* of *Rome*; yet may it ſuffice to force her to acknowledge, that her Suppoſition, advanced after the year 500. and conſequently *New*, and *not Catholick*, nor *was*, nor *is* avowed, neither *every where*, nor *by all* People; whereof the Inference again is, that it neither is, nor can be *Catholick*, by her own Confeſſion, ſince that, in imitation of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, (whoſe words ſhe perpetually abuſes againſt the *Proteſtants)* it may be ſaid (d) *Quod ubique, quod ſemper, quod ab omnibus creditum eſt, hoc verè propriéque Catholicum*, &c. *What hath been believed in all places, at all times, and by all people, that is truly, and properly Catholick.* Beſides that, it is impoſſible, that the indefinite and doubtfull Propoſition of the Councel of *Florence*, declaring that they admit for *Purgatory, either fire, or darkneſs, or tempeſt, or any thing elſe*; as if they would have ſaid expreſsly, that they were content with any thing, provided it had ſome appearance of conformity with their Opinion, ſhould ſerve to any other end, then to ſhew, that they knew not what to faſten on, and found in their conſciences, that their *Purgatory*, which they neither durſt, nor could determine, could not any way be an Article of *Faith*.

(d) Advers. *Hæret.* cap. 3.

Nor hath the Councel of *Trent* been more fortunate in the buſineſs, then the other; for though the *Prelates* there began their *Decree* on the fourth of *December*, 1563. in very magnificent Terms, ſaying, *Cùm Catholica Eccleſia, Spiritu Sancto edocta, & ſacris literis, & antiqua Patrum Traditione, in ſacris Conciliis, & noviſſimè in hâc Oecumenicâ Synodo, docuerit Purgatorium eſſe, animásque ibi detentas fidelium ſuffragiis, potiſſimùm verò acceptabili Altaris ſacrificio, juvari, præcipit ſancta Synodus Epiſcopis, ut ſanam de Purgatorio Doctrinam, à Sanctis Patribus, & ſacris Conciliis traditam, à Chriſti fidelibus credi, teneri, doceri, & ubique prædicari diligenter ſtudeant*, &c. *Whereas the* Catholick Church, *taught by the Holy Spirit, the divine Scriptures, and the antient Tradition of the Fathers, in Sacred Councels, and lately in this Oecumenical Synod, hath taught that there is a Purgatory; and that the ſouls there detained, are by the Suffrages of the Faithfull, but eſpecially by the acceptable ſacrifice of the Altar, relieved, the holy Synod enjoyns the* Biſhops, *that they endeavour, that the ſound Doctrine of Purgatory,*

gatory, delivered by the holy Fathers, *and ſacred* Councels, *may be believed by the faithfull, maintained, taught, and preached in all places.* Yet all this well conſidered comes to nothing, ſince the *Scripture* does not any where teach there is either *any ſubterranean Fire*, that purges the ſeparated ſouls, or *any place*, where they are purged; ſince that not any one of the *Fathers*, before St. *Gregory*, either durſt define, that there was any place of Torment appointed for the purgation of Souls after this life, or poſitively affirmed, that they paſs through any *ſubterraneous Purgatory fire*; ſince that no *Councel* (no not even that of *Lateran*, under *Innocent the Third*: whereto nevertheleſs Cardinal *Bellarmine*, (e) either deceived himſelf by others, or not caring much how he deceives us, is pleaſed to referr us) no *Councel*, I ſay, before that of *Florence*, *affirmatively* aſſigned any *Purgative place*, after any manner whatſoever, for the Souls of the Faithfull departed; and conſequently, that the *Councel* of *Trent*, which had (though it boaſted as much) neither *Scripture*, nor *Fathers* of the firſt *five Ages*, nor *Councel*, before that of *Florence*, from which it might derive ought in the *Queſtion* of *Purgatory*, a thing unknown to *Antiquity*, hath taught us, not what it had learned from *antient Tradition*, but what it pleaſed it ſelf; and purely upon its own *Authority*. As to what the *Councel* adds, concerning what it had, it ſelf, taught before, as if it had taken it, either out of the *antient Tradition of the Fathers*, or their *Councels*, 'tis a pure Illuſion; for before the twenty fifth *Seſſion*, we have not in all its *Decrees*, and *Anathematiſms*, but *two* words, whence any ſuppoſition of *Purgatory* may be deduced, and thoſe, without any *proof* of Declaration of what it is: the *Former* in the thirtieth *Anathematiſm*, fulminated on the ſeventeenth of *January*, 1547. in the ſixth *Seſſion*, where it pronounces *Anathema, Si quis ità reatum Pœnæ æternæ deleri dixerit; ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ Temporalis exſolvendo, vel in hoc ſæculo, vel in futuro Purgatorio*, &c. *If any one ſhall affirm, that the guilt of eternal Puniſhment is ſo forgiven, as that there remains no guilt of Temporal Puniſhment to be paid, either in this life, or hereafter in Purgatory*, &c. The later in the twenty ſecond *Chapter* of the *Decree* of the *Maſs*, drawn up on the ſeventeenth of *September*, 1562. in the two and twentieth *Seſſion*, where it ſays again, that the *Sacrifice of the Maſs* is offered, *pro defunctis in* Chriſto, *nondum ad plenum purgatis*, &c. *for the departed in* Chriſt, *not yet fully purged.*

(e) *De Purgator.* lib. 1. ca. 9.

Having therefore heard the *Councel* referring, at its laſt *Seſſion*, to the precedent, if you pretend to finde therein any allegation, either of *Scripture*, or *Tradition* for *Purgatory*, or any *Reaſon* inſinuating it, or any *Declaration*, expreſſing the nature of it with any ſatisfaction, you will make no great advantage of the *Allegations*; they containing in effect, but a ſimple, and naked *deſcription*, and no more. And whereas the *Councel* thinks it enough, by its *Decree*, to ſay, that *it is*, without declaring, in what manner, and whether it does, or does not, conſiſt in *Fire*, ſuch as Saint *Gregory*, and *Odilo*, conceived it, and the *common Opinion* ſeems to inſinuate; it is thence apparent, that it knew no more of it, then other *Councels*, and that its *Exhortation* to the *Biſhops, to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved the ſound Doctrine thereof*, is, and ſhall ever be a *ſound* without *ſignification*, while there ſhall onely be an Oſten-

tation to name it and men ſhall wave to expreſs the *Nature* of it, to give the *Eaſtern Greeks*, and the *Proteſtants*, who abſolutely deny it, ſome *proof* of the *Tradition*, which they pretend to produce for the Confirmation thereof.

CHAP. XXX.

Shewing, that the firſt Hypotheſis *propoſed by the* Sibylline *Writing, ſo called is generally diſclaimed.*

AS to the firſt *Hypotheſis*, which concerns *The detention of all ſouls whatſoever, in Hell*, from their ſeparation from the Bodies, which they had animated, to their Reſurrection; though it were in ſuch high eſteem that it induced the *Chriſtians* of the *ſecond* and *third Ages* to compoſe the *Libera*, and the other *Prayers*, in which the *departed* Perſon is introduced, deſiring to be *delivered from eternal Death*, and the Living require that he be *delivered from the Gates of Hell, and preſerved from the places of Torment*, Tartarus, *the deep Lake, from the pains of Darkneſs, from the mouth of the Lion*; yet was it at the very beginning moderated by thoſe, who ſeemed to have embraced it with greateſt reſolution. For *Tertullian*, perſwaded by the *Relation* had been made to him of the *Viſions* of St *Perpetua*, was of *Opinion* (as we have already obſerved) that the Souls of *Martyrs* were, by way of preference, placed in the *Terreſtrial Paradiſe*, and the reſt confined in *Hell*. And ſince, it hath, by little and little, been abandoned; yet ſo, as that thoſe, who quitted it, would not be obliged either to the rejection of the *Sibylline* Writing, which had occaſioned the production of it, or to a change of the *Prayers* introduced into the *Publick Service*, which preſuppoſed it. For many (making no mention of *Hell*) contented themſelves to aſſign (at leaſt in words) the *ſouls* of the *Faithfull* a certain *ſequeſtred* place, as *under the Altars*, and *Holy Tables*, appointed for the conſervation, and diſtribution of the *Euchariſt*; and upon that accompt (if we may rely on the Judgment of the late Biſhop of *Orleans*, (a) *Gabriel de l'Aubeſpine*) the *Councel* Aſſembled about the year 305 from all *Parts* of *Spain*, at *Elvira*, near *Granada*, had drawn up its thirty fourth *Canon* in theſe Terms; *Cereos per diem placuit in Cœmeterio non incendi: inquietandi enim ſpiritus Sanctorum non ſunt*, &c. *It is thought good, that, in the day-time, no Wax-candles ſhould be lighted in the Church-yard: for the ſpirits of the Saints are not to be diſturbed.* In effect, it might ſeem, that (the *Chriſtians* at that time meeting in *Cœmeteries*, or *Church-yards*, the *Altars* being, upon that occaſion, placed there, and many believing, that the *Angels*, and *ſeparated ſouls* were diſpoſed into ſome ſubtile Bodies, capable, as ours, of reſenting ſtrong *Perfumes*) *Prohibition* was made by the *Spaniſh Prelates*, That *Wax-candles ſhould be lighted in the day-time*; leſt the *ſmoak* of them might prove offenſive to the *ſpirits* of the *Faithfull*, whoſe *Bodies* had been there interred.

(a) In *Notis* ad *Canones Concilii Elliberitani.*

It might alſo be thought that *Vigilantius*, by Birth indeed of *Aquitain*, but a *Prieſt* of *Barcelona*, who had, with all *Spain*, received the *Decree* of *Elvira*, Diſputing, in the year 406. *viz.* an hundred

dred years preciſely after the ſaid *Decree*, againſt the Maintainers of the *Worſhip* done (according to the *Cuſtom* of that *Time*) to the *Reliques* of the *Saints* whom he juſtly conceived (b) *illuminated by the Majeſty of the Lamb ſitting in the midſt of the Throne of God*, cruſhed them with the Inconvenience, which he found in their *Opinion*; ſaying, *Ergò cineres ſuos amant animæ Martyrum, & circumvolant eos, ſempérque præſentes ſunt; nè fortè, ſi aliquis Precator advenerit, abſentes audire non poſſint*, &c. *The Souls therefore of the* Martyrs *are in love with their own duſt, and fly about it, and are ever at hand; leſt, if any one comes to pray, they ſhould not, being abſent, hear him.* For this *Argument* makes onely againſt thoſe, who aſsigned, at leaſt in appearance, the *Souls* of the *Faithfull* departed, for their habitation, the *Place* under the *Altars*, that were near their *Sepulchres*.

(b) *Hieron.* Adverſus *Vigilantium*, cap. 2.

There is alſo ſome Ground to number, among the Followers of this ſtrange *Opinion*, thoſe, who had been ſo confident, as to give it for certain to the good St. *Auguſtine*, that St. *John*, having cauſed himſelf to be buried *alive* at *Epheſus*, (c) the *Earth* continually *ſprung up*, and *boyled*, as it were over the place of his *Interment*. For, if they thought it no Inconvenience to ſay of our *Saviour's Beloved Apoſtle*, that he was confined to his *Sepulchre*, there to expect, in Body, and Soul, the Day of Judgment; how much leſs would they have thought it, to reduce the Souls of other *Saints departed* to the ſame condition? St. *Auguſtine* thought it better (d) to *comply with the Opinion, which he conceived could not be refuted by certain Proofs*. But it is ſo vaniſhed of it ſelf, that, being at this day generally declined, we need not trouble our ſelves with the Confutation thereof, no more, then of that of *Juſtine Martyr*; who, from the *Hypotheſis* of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, and the *Story* of the *Witch* of *Endor*, inferred, that all *Souls*, without any exception, either of *Saints*, or *Patriarchs*, or *Prophets*, are in *Hell* under the power of the *Devils*. For though the *Prayers*, whereby it is, even to this day, required in the *Church* of *Rome*, that *God would deliver the Souls of the Faithfull departed from the power of Hell, from the Mouth of the Lion, from the Pains of Darkneſs*, and that *he would put away far from them the Princes of darkneſs*, do notoriouſly diſcover they drew their *Original* from ſuch a *preſuppoſition*; yet hath it nevertheleſs ſo abſolutely loſt all Credit, that even in the year 380. *Philaſtrius*, *Biſhop* of *Breſcia*, charged it with *Hereſie*; ſaying, (e) *Alia eſt Hæreſis de Pythoniſſa*, &c. *There is another kind of Hereſie concerning the Witch; whereby ſome, covering a Woman with Cloaths, hoped they might obtain certain Anſwers from her, whence it is ſaid, that that Witch raiſed, out of Hell, the Soul of the bleſſed* Samuel: *and for that reaſon is it principally, that many men, even to this Day, ſuſpect; that ſhe might be believed, eſpecially for that it is known, that ſhe (as it were a ſecond time) gave in that excitation true Anſwers of thoſe things, which the bleſsed* Prophet *had ſaid to King* Saul: *and becauſe many are content to acquieſce in a Ly, they deſcend into perpetual death; ſince the* Prophet *ſaith*, (f) The Souls of the Juſt are in the hand of the Lord, and Death toucheth them not. *How then could an impious Soul raiſe out of Hell a pious, and holy one, eſpecially that of a* Prophet?

(c) *Auguſt.* in *Joann.* Tract. 124. *Illic terra ſenſim ſcatere, & quaſi ebullire, perhibetur.*

(d) *Cedamus opinioni; quam certis documentis refellere non valemus.*

(e) *Hæres.* 26.

(f) Wiſd. iii. 1.

But what a ſtrange aſtoniſhment muſt we neceſſarily conceive at this, that the *Opinion* of *Juſtine Martyr*, concerning the *State of Souls*, ſhould diſpleaſe the whole *Church*; which yet, in her *Service*, preſuppoſed ſome

such thing? For, if it be *Hereſie* to think, that the *Souls* of the *Faithfull*, after their retirement out of this *World*, ſhould be in danger of being expoſed to the Rage of *Devils*, what pretence can there be to continue the *Prayers*, which inſinuate ſuch a perſwaſion? And, if the Ground-work of ſuch *Prayers* be taken away, what reaſon can be alledged ſufficient to authoriſe the continuance of them? Can it be ſaid, It is lawful, and conſiſtent with the *Piety* of the *Church* to put up to *God Requeſts*, that are erroneous according to her own Sentiment, and impoſſible according to the perſwaſion ſhe hath of the merciful diſpoſal of her *Saviour* in reſpect of his *Elect*; whom he hath (g) *taken away from the Evil to come*, (h) *to ſleep in a ſleep of Peace*, and (i) *to reſt from their Labours?* And, ſuppoſing theſe things grounded upon the expreſs *Text* of the *Scripture*, and the (k) *Canon of the Maſs*, which makes *commemoration* to *God* onely of thoſe, who, *ſleeping a ſleep of Peace*, are accordingly *in Peace*, ſhould not men think themſelves obliged, either to diſcard thoſe *Prayers*, which contain a *formal* expreſſion of what is contrary to *Peace*, in reſpect of thoſe, for whom they are made, and prove ſo much the more fruitleſs, and inconvenient, by how much the Foundations thereof are undermined, by rejecting the *Hypotheſes*, as well of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, as of *Juſtine Martyr*; or, by retaining them, to run into the Inconvenience of a *Contradiction*; and that ſo much the more inevitable, the more unadviſedly they engage themſelves upon the maintaining of both the Terms of it at the ſame time; *affirming* on the *one* ſide, that thoſe, who are to be *delivered out of the Bonds of a dreadful death*, and *from the Gates of Hell, a place of Trouble*, and (as the *Text* of the *Prayer* bears it) *of Pains*, are neither in *Death*, nor in *Bonds*, nor in *Hell*; that thoſe, far from whom muſt be *driven away the Princes of Darkneſs*, are not onely not engaged in any War againſt them; but are in a condition *to ſleep the ſleep of Peace*, to be in *poſſeſſion* of *Peace*, to *reſt*, in the enjoyment of that Peace, *from their Labours*: And on the *other* ſide, that thoſe, who *are taken away from the evil to come*, ſo as they ſleep in *Peace*, and *reſt from their Labours*, are in the moſt dreadful Abyſs of *Miſeries*, in the horrour of the moſt irrevocable War, and the extremity of Troubles? And what does this amount to leſs, then to affirm, that they are, and are not, either in *Peace*, and *Reſt*, or in *Trouble*, and *War*; and conſequently, that they both can, and cannot, be *delivered* out of them? Time was, when thoſe, who followed the *Party* of the *Millenaries*, imagining, that during the term of a *thouſand years*, which they aſſigned for the *Earthly Kingdom* of our *Saviour* in *Jeruſalem*, there ſhould be a *Reſurrection* preceding the *general* one of the *Laſt-day*, and upon that accompt be called the *Firſt*, thought they had juſt ground to beg, that their *deceaſed Friends* might have their *part in that firſt Reſurrection*: But as ſoon as their Imagination, loſt to all credit, came of it ſelf to be abſolutely laid aſide, the uſe of that kind of *Prayers* came, (upon this very ſcore, that every one thought them ill-grounded) to be ſo far aboliſhed; that there is no Track of them in any of the *Formularies*, that are come to us, but onely in the *Gothick*. Which if, who ſees not there is the ſame Obligation to abrogate the *Prayers*, which are (as hath been clearly demonſtrated) *formally* contradicted by the *Canon of the Maſs*, whereby the *Church* of *Rome* is wholly directed at the preſent?

(g) Eſa. lvii. 1.
(h) *Can. Miſſæ.*
(i) Apoc. xiv. 13.
(k) Note, that thoſe, who have written the *Romane Order*, affirm, that *Pope Pelagius the Firſt*, advanced to the *Chair* on *Sunday, Aug.* 23. 554. inſerted the *Memento* into the *Canon*; which ſhews that, by their own confeſſion, that part of the *Service*, which concerns the *Departed*, is new.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXI.

That the Passage *in the* twelfth Chapter *of the* second Book *of the* Maccabees *hath no relation to the Opinion of* Purgatory, *nor to the* Service *of the* Churches.

THe *Doctours* of the *Romane Communion* pretend, that the *Christians* of the *second Age* grounded their *Prayers for the Dead* upon the Authority of the *second Book* of the *Maccabees*, unknown (as we have observed) to the *Jews*; who were *contemporary* with the *Apostles*, or at least, slighted by them, and looked upon with so much indignation by the *Christians*, that not any one of them, before St. *Augustine*, cited it with any respect to the *Offices* rendred by the *surviving Faithfull* to their *departed Brethren*. Nay, indeed, none among them could (without destroying his own *presuppositions* concerning the *State of the Dead*) make any advantage of that *Testimony*, which notoriously wrests the action, and intention of *Judas Maccabæus* to a wrong sence, and applies it to the false *Hypothesis*, which the *Jews* of the last times did, and do still maintain, so much the more obstinately, the more they are perswaded, that it may be derived from the words of the *first Psalm*, in the fifth *Verse*; saying, that the *wicked shall not stand*, or (as the *Greek Version*, and the *antient Latine* hath it) *shall not rise up in Judgment*. Since therefore they were of this extravagant *Opinion*, that the *Resurrection* of the *Last-day* should be onely for the *Just*, and that those, who had concluded a *criminal Life* in the Wrath of God, should not participate thereof, it must needs be, that, having perswaded thereto either *Jason* the *Cyrenæan*, or his *Abridger*, the said *Jason*, or other man, had conceived it necessary, that *Judas* should make a *Prayer* for a sort of unhappy wretches, whom he acknowledged destroyed in their *Sacrilege*, to the end that (being *freed from their sin*) they might be made capable of the *Resurrection*; which (according to their prejudicated judgment) was to be peculiar onely to those, who had continued, and concluded their lives in *piety*. This *Imagination* could not relate to any of the *Opinions* of the *antient Christians*, assured by St. *Paul*, (a) that *every one should appear before the Judgment-seat of* Christ, *to receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good, or bad*; and unanimously presuppoſing, (b) that *Judgment should be given of all*, good, and bad, *according to their works*, and consequently believing, that there would be a double *Resurrection*, that is to say, that of the righteous (c) to eternal *life*, and glory, and that of the wicked to death, and *shame, and everlasting contempt*.

(a) 2 Cor. 7. 10.

(b) Apoc. xx. 13.

(c) Dan. xii. 2, Matth. xxv. 34, &c. Joan. v. 29.

But let us put the *Case*, that the *Sentiment*, whether of the *Authour* of the *Second Book* of the *Maccabees*, or of his *Abridger*, was absolutely conformable to so manifest, and so known a Truth, and that he alledged this onely end of the *Prayer* attributed by him to *Judas*, that the *Dead*, for whom onely he pretends, that he made it, being *freed from their sins*, were there-

thereupon conveyed to the enjoyment of *Beatitude*, which ſhall have its full accompliſhment in the *Reſurrection*, which the *Fathers* call the *proper Faith of* Chriſtians, *and the conſummation of the glory, which they expect*. Nay, let us put the *Caſe*, that the *Latine Church* had, from the beginning, a great eſteem for the *Teſtimony* of that Perſon; if (as is ſuppoſed) ſhe drew up her *Service* according to the *Preſident* of *Judas Maccabæus*, whence comes it, that, in the *Canon of the Maß*, ſhe hath made no mention of the *Reſurrection?* And, that among the *Liturgies* of the *Grecks*, *Armenians*, &c. there are onely two, *viz.* thoſe of St. *Baſil*, and St. *Chryſoſtome*, drawn up, one by the other, which have onely this word of it by the way; Ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναςάσεως, καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου κεκοιμημένων· *Reſting in hope of Reſurrection, and eternal life?* Where it is evident, to any one, that hath but common ſenſe, that he, who pronounces the *Prayer*, deſires not for the Dead, either *Reſurrection*, or *Life*; but onely declares, that both of them have ever been the *Object* of their *hope*. To be abſolutely ſilent in it, as the *Canon of the* Latine *Maß* is, or to ſpeak uncertainly of it, without making any requeſt, is that propoſing to one's ſelf the pretended *Example* of *Judas Maccabæus*, and the *Tradition* of the *antient Synagogue?* Or can it either enter into any man's Imagination, to ſay, *they imitate*, who, neither in their *Diſcourſes*, nor in their *Actions*, expreſs any thing of what is contained in the *Original?* If it be ſaid; that the *Latins*, in the *Office of the Dead* added to the *Canon*, demand the *Reſurrection* of the *departed* Perſon, whom they recommend to *God* in their *Prayers*; it will be eaſie to reply; that of three and fourty *Prayers*, whereof that *Office* conſiſts, one onely, *viz.* the *fifth*, propoſes, in one word, that kinde of *ſupplication*, ſaying, *Partem Reſurrectionis accipiat Anima famuli tui*, &c. *That the ſoul of thy ſervant may participate of the bleſſed Reſurrection:* three others, which ſpake of the *Reſurrection:* preſuppoſe it, without making any demand, and amount to no more, then to require onely the effect of it; as, for inſtance, the *ſecond*, layd down in theſe Terms, *Inter Sanctos, & Electos tuos reſuſcitati, gloriâ manifeſtæ contemplationis perpetuò ſatientur*, &c. *That thy ſervants, being raiſed again, may be perpetually filled, among the* Saints, *and* Elect, *with the glory of a manifeſt contemplation:* the *fourth*, which hath, *Ad propria corpora quandoque reverſuras, Sanctorum tuorum cœtibus aggregari præcipias*, &c. *That thou wouldeſt command, that the ſouls of all the* Faithfull, *which are one day to return to their bodies, may meet together in the* Aſſemblies *of thy Saints:* and the *nine* and *thirtieth*, which contains theſe words; *In Reſurrectionis gloria inter Sanctos, & Electos tuos reſuſcitati, reſpirent*, &c. *That thy ſervants of both Sexes, being raiſed up, may live among thy* Saints, *and* Elect, *in the glory of the Reſurrection.*

From all which *Forms* it neceſſary follows, that the *Latine Church* never thought of framing her *Service* according to the *Example* of *Judas Maccabæus*; and that it is vainly, and without any ſhadow of *Proof*, that any *Venture* at this day to maintain it; never conſidering, that, if the firſt *Authours* of *Praying for the Dead* among *Chriſtians* had had any deſign to build their *Form* of *Service* upon the pretended *Pattern* of the *Maccabees*, they could not, without prevarication from their own Intentions, ſo far have miſſed the Lineaments thereof, as to have omitted in their

their *Canon* what they had propoſed to themſelves to put in Practice; or not to inſiſt on it, but *obliquely*, and *perfunctorily*; not making it, as they ſhould have done, their *Principal* buſineſs.

Chap. XXXII.

That the Primitive *Sence of the* Prayers, *whereby the Remiſsion of Sins is demanded for the* Dead, *is not embraced by any.*

The *Prayers*, which the *antient Church* made *for Remiſſion of Sins* on the behalf of the *Faithfull departed*, did not onely proceed from the *Hypotheſis* of the *Sibylline* Writing, concerning the *confinement of all Souls in Hell*, and of *Juſtine Martyr*, concerning the *power of the Devils, even over thoſe of the greateſt Saints*; but is alſo an effect of their *Opinion*, who imagined, that *our Saviour*, and his *Apoſtles*, after his *Example*, being, after their *departure*, *deſcended into Hell*, *had preached there*, and, in effect, *converted* many of thoſe, who were gone thither in the *ſtate of Sin*. For, looking upon, as reduced to the Trial of ſome *puniſhment*, thoſe, whoſe *Beatitude* was (during their reſtraint in the *common priſon* of the Dead) deferred, and conceiving that their Condition was capable of being changed into better, they inferred, very ſuitably to theſe *Opinions*, that it was neceſſary *to implore the mercy of God*, and to demand, on their behalf, the forgiveneſs of their Sins, which for a time kept the *Gates of glory* ſhut againſt them, and expoſed them in ſome manner to the violences of *Evil ſpirits*, till ſuch time, as that, by their own *ſupplications*, and the *ſuffrages* of their *ſurviving* Friends, they might better their Condition.

We have already produced *Examples* of thoſe *Prayers*, and there is not any *Expreſſion* ſo ſtrong, or efficacious, which we finde not employed to make us comprehend, that heretofore the *ſurviving Faithfull* were of a Belief, that their *departed Brethren* were treated as *Malefactours*, and in a manner, *covered* with the *wrath* of God. But from the beginning of the *Third Age*, and afterwards, thoſe among the *Fathers*, who had more attentively conſidered the *Oracles* of *God*, affirming, That (a) *There is no condemnation for thoſe, who are in* Chriſt Jeſus; That (b) *No man is able to pluck them out of his hand*; That (c) *They are* (at the hour of death) *taken away from the evil to come*; That (d) *They depart out of the Body, to be with the Lord*; That (e) *Their iniquity ſhall be ſought for, and there ſhall be none*, becauſe God hath *pardoned them*; That, as ſoon as they are *dead in the Lord*, (f) *they reſt from their labours*, and (according to what we finde in expreſs Terms in the *Canon of the Maſs*) *ſleep a ſleep of Peace*, as being actually in *Peace*, and freed from *Sin*, which deprives a man of it, and (g) *makes a ſeparation between the Lord, and him, that commits it*: the *Fathers*, I ſay, not diſcontinuing (out of the reſpect they had for their *Anceſtours*) the *Prayers* inſerted by them, upon *prejudications* both ill-grounded, and extremely miſtaken, into the *Service* of the *Church*, do, by the formal Confeſſion of the inſufficiency of thoſe *Principles*, make a certain *diſclaim* of the *Prayers*, enough to juſtifie,

(a) Rom. viii. 1.
(b) Joan. x. 28.
(c) Eſa. lvii. 1.
(d) Phil. i. 23.
(e) Jer. l. 20.
(f) Apoc. xiv. 13.
(g) Eſa. lix. 2.

juſtifie, that (according to them) being taken *literally*, they are abſolutely *unprofitable*, as being deſtitute of *Truth*, and a maintainable Foundation.

Hence is it, that in the year 252. St. *Cyprian* tells us of the advantage, which accrews to the *Faithfull* at their death, (h) *Lucrum maximum jam nullis peccatis, & vitiis carnis, obnoxium fieri*, &c. *It is a very great gain not to be any longer ſubject to ſins, and the luſts of the fleſh.* St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, (i) about the year 350. Τῆς ἀφέσεως ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ μόνον τὸ προθεσμίαν ἐχέσης· *Remiſſion having its Ordinance onely in this life.* St. *Epiphanius*, in the year 375. in the nine and fiftieth *Hæreſie*, Οὔτε ποσισμὸς εὐσεβείας, οὔτε μετανοίας μετὰ θάνατον· *There is not any progreſs either of Piety, or Repentance, after death.* St. *Ambroſe*, (k) about the year 378. *Qui hìc non acceperit remiſſionem, illìc non erit*, &c. *He, who ſhall not have received remiſſion here, ſhall not be there*; that is, *in glory*. St. *Hierome*, (l) in the year 386. *Ubicunque tibi locum præparaveris, futurámque ſedem, ſive ad* Auſtrum, *ſive ad* Boream; *ibi, cùm mortuus fueris, permanebis*, &c. *Mortis tempeſtate ſubverſus, ubicunque ceciderit, ibi jugiter permanebis: ſive te rigidum, & trucem, ſive clementem, & miſericordem, ultimum invenerit tempus*, &c. *Lignum, quod in hac vita corruerit, & conciſione mortalitatis fuerit inciſum, aut peccavit, dum ſtaret, & in* Boreæ *parte poſteà ponctur, aut, ſi dignos* Auſtro *fructus attulit, in plaga jacebit Auſtrali*, &c. *Whereever thou ſhalt have provided a place for thy ſelf, and the ſeat thou ſhalt come into, whether it be towards the* South, *or towards the* North, *there ſhalt thou remain after thy death*, &c. *Being once overwhelmed by the tempeſt of death, in what place ſoever thou ſhalt fall, there ſhalt thou perpetually remain: whether thy laſt hour have found thee there harſh, and cruel, or mild, and mercifull*, &c. *The Tree, which ſhall be faln in this life, and hath been cut down by the ſtroak of Mortality, or hath ſinned, while it ſtood, ſhall afterwards be placed on the* North-*ſide*; *or if it hath brought forth Fruits worthy the* South, *he ſhall be diſpoſed into the* South-*Quarter*. St. *Chryſoſtome*, (m) in the year 396. Ἐπειδὰν ἀπελθῶμεν, ἐκεῖ κύριοι λοιπὸν μετανοίας ἐκ ἐσμεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἡμῖν ἀπονίψασθαι· *After we are departed, it is no longer in our power to repent, and to cleanſe our ſelves of the ſins, which we have committed.* St. *Auguſtine*, (n) in the year 420. *Qualis in die iſto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur*, &c. *Such, as every one dyes in this day, as ſuch ſhall he be judged in that day.* Again; (o) *Qualis exieris ex hac vita, talis redderis illi vitæ*, &c. *Such, as thou ſhalt depart this life, ſuch ſhalt thou be delivered up to the other.* Olympiodorus, (p) Ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τοιαύτῃ τόπῳ, εἴτε τῷ φωτὸς, εἴτε τῷ σκότους, εἴτε τῷ τῆς κακίας ἔργῳ, εἴτε τῆς ἀληθείας καταληφθῇ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ μένει τῷ βαθμῷ, καὶ τῇ τάξει· ἢ ἐν φωτὶ, μετὰ τῶν δικαίων, καὶ τοῦ παμβασιλέως Χριστοῦ· ἢ ἐν τῷ σκότει, μετὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, καὶ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος· *In what place ſoever a man, at his departure, hath been ſeized, whether it were of light, or of darkneſs, as alſo in what work, whether of iniquity, or of virtue, he ſhall remain in the ſame degree, and rank; either in Light, with the juſt, and* Chriſt *the King of all*; *or in Darkneſs, with the unjuſt, and the Prince of this World.*

(h) *De Mortalitate.*
(i) *Catech.* 18.
(k) *De bono Mortis.*
(l) In *Eccles.* cap. xi.
(m) *De Lazaro, Hom.* 2.
(n) *Epiſt.* 80.
(o) In *Pſalm.* xxxvi.
(p) In *Eccleſ.* xi.

For, if from the very hour of their departure the *Faithfull* are no longer *ſubject to any ſin*; if *repentance*, and *remiſſion* of ſin have place *onely in this life*; and, if *ſuch as men die, ſuch they ſhall riſe again*, and be judged at the *Laſt-day*, there neither is, nor can be any *pardon*, either to be asked, or to be obtained for them, after their death. Whereof the

Conſequence

Consequence is, that the *Prayers*, which are made for them, are (by their very Confession, who have most recommended them) *unreasonable*, in that they suppose what (according to their own *Principles*) neither *is*, nor *can* be, *viz.* that the *Faithfull departed in* Jesus Christ *are subject to sin:* besides, they are fruitless, in that they demand (according to the same *Principles*) an *effect*, which is already fully accomplished, and is to be unchangeably such to all Eternity.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Censures *pronounced by the* Doctours *of the Church of* Rome *against the* Fathers, *taken into Examination.*

BY those *Prayers* it was, and still is demanded, that God would *place* the *Departed* in the *Bosom of the Patriarchs*, in the *Society of the Saints*, in the *Region of the Godly, the Saints, and the Living*, in the *Pleasures of Paradise*, in a *place of Refreshment, Light, and Peace*; granting *them the passage from Death to Life*, the *participation of the redemption of God*, the *rest of Beatitude*, the *opening of the Gates of glory*, the *Happiness* and *Joy of an everlasting Light*, the *fulness of Glory*, &c. All these things, I say, are prayed for on the behalf of the *departed*; as if they were not in the enjoyment of any of them; or as if (it being granted they were) it were convenient to demand for them what they are already in possession of, as if they were absolutely deprived thereof. This kinde of *Office* is very consonant to the first *Hypothesis*, as well of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, as of those, who were of a perswasion, that all *Souls* were sent to *Hell*, and there confined till the *Resurrection* of their *Bodies*. Nor is it unsuitable to what is told us by several of the *Fathers* of later Times, who (continuing the *Forms* of their *Ancestours*) endeavoured to avoid the inconvenience of the Imagination, which their *Predecessours* had, as it were, from hand to hand, transmitted to them. Thence comes it, that *Stapleton* (measuring the more, and the less Antient by the same measure; never considering whether the later any way moderated what had been in high esteem among the former) makes no difficulty to entertain us with this disadvantageous Language; which equally charges them all: (a) *Tot illi, & tam celebres, antiqui Patres*, Tertullianus, & Irenæus, *&c. So many antient, and so eminent Fathers, as* Tertullian, Irenæus, Origen, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Ambrose, Clemens Romanus, Bernard, *were not of that Sentiment, which, at last, after so great Disquisition, was defined to be an* Article of Faith *in the* Councel *of* Florence *viz. That the Souls of the Just enjoy the Beatifical Vision before the day of Judgment; but delivered the contrary* Opinion.

(a) *Defensio Auctorit. Ecclesiast.* lib. 1, 2.

(b) *Sixtus Senensis* had put also into the same Predicament *Justine Martyr, Lactantius, Victorinus* of *Poictiers, Aretas*, and *Pope John the Two and Twentieth*. Nor do I deny, but that very ill *Consequences* may be drawn

(b) *Bibl.* lib. 6. *Not.* 345.

First, From what St. *Ambrose* hath written, in the *second Chapter* of

his *second* Book *Of Cain and Abel*. *Anima, post finem vitæ hujus, adhuc tamen futuri Judicii ambiguò suspenditur*, &c. *After this life ended, the soul is yet in suspense, through the uncertainty of the future Judgment*, &c. And elsewhere; (c) *Videntur, usque ad diem Judicii, per plurimum scilicet temporibus, debitâ sibi remuneratione fraudari*, &c. *Satis fuerat dixisse illis, quòd liberatæ animæ de corporibus ᾅδου peterent; id est, locum, qui non videtur, quem* Latinè *Infernum dicimus*, &c. *Expectant remunerationem debitam*, &c. *Mens souls, till the day of Judgment, that is to say, for a very long space of time, seem to be defrauded of the remuneration due to them*, &c. *It had been sufficient to tell them* (viz. *the Heathens*) *that the souls, freed from their bodies, go to ᾅδης, that is to say, to a place, not to be seen, which in* Latine *we call* Infernum, *Hell*, &c. *They expect the reward due to them.*

(c) *De bono mortis*, cap. 10.

Secondly, From what St. *Chrysostome* says in several places (making use of a *Figurative*, and *ambiguous* manner of *Expression*) when he conceives it enough to call the place, where the *souls* of the *Just* are disposed, *Abraham's Bosom*; and, in some other Places, seems to deny their *Beatitude*: writing in the nine and twentieth *Homily* upon the *first Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, Τῆς σαρκὸς χωρὶς, &c. *Without the flesh, the soul shall not receive those unspeakable goods; in like manner shall she not also be punished*, &c. *If the body be not raised again, the soul remains uncrowned, deprived of that Beatitude, which is in the Heavens*, &c. And again, (d) Ἐννοήσατε ἡλίκα καὶ ὑμεῖς, &c. *You also think what, and how great, a thing it is, that* Abraham, *and the Apostle* Paul *should sit down till such time, as thou shalt be accomplished, to the end, that then they might receive their reward: for if we also are not arrived, the* Saviour *hath foretold, that he would not give it*, &c. *What shall* Abel *do, who overcame first of all, and is sate down without being Crowned?*

(d) *Homil.* 28. upon the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews.*

Thirdly, From what is said by *Prudentius*: who, speaking of the *Martyrs* of *Saragossa*, seems to deny their Souls admission into Heaven; saying, *Sub Altari sita sempiterno turba*, &c. *The company seated under the Eternal Altar.* To which may be added; that St. *Augustine*, (e) not content to have said, *That, after this life ended, we shall not be there, where the* Saints *shall be*, as if he could not have designed by its *proper Name* the place of the Soul's habitation, is forced in several places to make use of the most general Term of all, *viz.* that of *Receptacles*: And to that, that of *Paulinus*, who, in his *Epitaph* upon (f) *Clarus*, as if he knew not where to assign him Entertainment, makes this *Discourse* to him,

(e) In *Psal.* 36. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. 12 cap. 9. *Enchirid.* cap. 108.

(f) *Epist.* ad *Severum.*

Sive Patrium sinibus recubas, Dominúve sub ara
Conderis, aut sacro pasceris in nemore,
Qualibet in regione Poli situs, aut Paradisi,
Clare, *sub æternâ pace quietus agis*, &c.

Whether in th' Patriarch's Bosom thou remain,
Or under the Lord's Altar art detain'd,
Or an Aboad i' th' sacred Grove hast gain'd,
What part, or place, of Paradise thou hast got,
Clarus, *eternal Peace, and Rest's thy Lot.*

But

But all this is not enough to induce me to subscribe to the disadvantageous Censure given by *Stapleton*; who, not making any distinction of either *Times*, or *Persons*, or *Expressions*, durst attribute to all *Antiquity*, what the *Author* of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing had perswaded those, who had first consulted it. Nor do I see, that from the places, above cited, it may rigorously be inferred, that the *Fathers*, out of whose *Writings* they are extracted, delayed the *Beatitude* of the *Saints*, till after the *Day of Judgment*. For, though the words of Saint *Ambrose* seem to bear, that they expect their Happiness with uncertainty, and doubtfully; yet he neither understood, nor could have understood it so; since that, in the second of the *places* objected to him, he writes, that the Soul of the *Faithfull* Person departed, *Non busto tenetur, sed quiete piâ fungitur*, &c. *is not detained upon the Funeral Pile*, where the Body had been consumed, *but enjoys a pious Rest*. His design then (as it was also St. *Chrysostom*'s, who means, by the *Bosom of the Fathers*, the *Kingdom of Heaven*) was to have it understood, that the supreme Happiness, and absolute accomplishment of the glory of the *Saints* departed, was to be a *Consequence* of the *Resurrection*, and *Last Judgment*, at which time the *souls* already in *Glory* shall receive their true *Crowns*, in the remuneration promised to compleat Persons, whereof they before made the principal part; and that, in expectation of the *Judgment*, which shall fully consummate their *Glory*, they remain in *suspense*, not as uncertain of the effect it shall produce; but as ignorant of the time, when it shall please God, that so admirable an *Event* shall come to pass: So that his particular Judgment reaches no further, then that the *souls*, *freed from their bodies*, *are transmitted to Hell*; but simply supposes, that, as to the *Heathen*, it was *enough to say so much*.

As for *Prudentius*, and *Paulinus*, their conception of the *Eternal Altar* is not after a *gross*, but after a *refined*, and *mystical* manner: *Prudentius* saying of the *blessed souls*, that they shall rest in the (g) *Bosom of the blessed Old man*, *where* Lazarus *is*, and in *Paradise*: And *Paulinus* expressly declaring of *Clarus*;

(g) *Gremio senis abdita Sancti Recubabit, ubi est* Eleazar, &c. *Patet, ecce! fidelibus ampla Via lucida jam Paradisi.*

Libera corporeo, mens, carcere, gaudet in Astris,
Pura probatorum sedem sortita piorum, &c.
——— *Spiritus æthere gaudet,*
Discipulúmque pari sociat super astra Magistro, &c.

Among the Just his Habitation is,
Of Body freed, possess'd of Heav'nly Bliss, &c.
——— *His soul to Heav'n is gone,*
The Scholar to the Master's equal grown.

So that, according to these two *Authours*, to rest under the *Eternal Altar*, in the *Bosom of* Abraham, in *Paradise*, in *Heaven*, above the *Stars*, is *one*, and the *same*, *thing*, as to the effect, and design (though by *divers expressions*) the Beatitude, and Glory of the *children of God*, as well in *general*, as in *particular*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Uniformity of the Sentiment of the Fathers, *and of the* Proteſtants.

I Add, that moſt of the *Fathers*, who lived after *Tertullian* (what *Expreſſions* ſoever they may make uſe of) were of a *Sentiment* conſonant to what is at the preſent held by the *Proteſtants*, and firmly maintained, that all the *Souls* of thoſe, of whoſe *Names* there was a *Commemoration* made in the *Service* of the *Church*, were, at the very hour of their death, conveyed to the enjoyment of their Reſt, and Glory. Hence was it, that St. *Cyprian*, even in the year 252. reſolutely pronounces, (a) *De iſtis mundi turbinibus extracti*, &c. *Having eſcaped the Tempeſts of this World, we make towards the ſecure Haven of an eternal Manſion*, &c. *We are not to put on Mourning-Garments here, when they there have already put on their White Robes*, &c. *It is not a departure, but a paſſage, and (the Temporal journey being at an end) a tranſportation towards the things, that are Eternal*, &c. *Let us embrace the day, which aſſigns to every one his own Manſion, which reſtores us, taken away hence, and diſingaged from the ſnares of this World, to* Paradiſe, *and the celeſtial Kingdom*, &c. Again: *Lucrum maximum*, &c. *exemptum preſſuris urgentibus, & venenatis Diaboli faucibus liberatum, ad lætitiam ſalutis æternæ*, Chriſto *vocante, proficiſci*, &c. *It is an exceeding great advantage*, &c. *to go* (Chriſt *calling us to the Joys of Eternal Salvation, after we are freed from thoſe preſſures, which lie heavy upon us, and delivered from the poiſonous jaws of the Devil.*

(a) *De Mortalitate.*

To the ſame effect *Origene*, (b) about fifteen years before, Ἡμεῖς, &c. *We hope to be above the Heavens, after the Combats, and Troubles, which we have run through here.*

(b) *Adverſus Celſum, lib. 6.*

St. *Baſil*, (c) in the following Age, about the year 370. Προκεῖται ἀνάπαυσις ἀιωνία τοῖς νομίμως τὸν ἐνταῦθα διαθήσασι βίον· *An eternal Reſt is propoſed to thoſe, who ſhall have lawfully maintained the Combat of the Life, which is here.*

(c) *In Pſal. cxiv.*

St. *Gregory Nazianzene*, in his tenth *Oration*, pronounced about the year 369. Πείθομαι σόφων λόγοις, &c. *I am perſwaded by the Diſcourſes of Wiſe men, that every Soul, which is good, and loved of God, after that, being diſengaged from the Body, to which ſhe was conjoyned, ſhe is retired hence; that, which clouded her, being, as it were, purged, or layed down, or I know not how, to expreſs it, immediately having a reſentment of, and in the contemplation of the happineſs ſhe is to be advanced to, is in the poſſeſſion of an admirable Pleaſure, and rejoyceth, and joyfully paſſeth towards her Lord, ſhunning, as a loathſom Priſon, this preſent Life.*

St. *Epiphanius*, (d) the moſt zealous Maintainer of *Prayer for the Dead*, ſpeaking, about the year 375. of the cloſure of this Life, and the conſequences of it, in relation to the *Faithfull*; Πεπλήρωται ὁ χρόνος, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτελέθη, τὸ σκάμμα, καὶ οἱ στέφανοι ἐδόθησαν· *The time is accompliſhed, the Combat*

(d) *Hæres. 59. 10.*

is

is at an end, the Lists are cleared, and the Crowns are bestowed. Again; Τὰ πάντα σαφῶς τετελέσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐνδημίαν· *All is manifestly accomplished after the departure hence.*

St. *Chrysostome*, (e) between the years 390. and 404. Οἱ μετ' ἀκριβείας, &c. *Those, who have carefully spent their Lives in the exercises of Virtue, after they shall have been transported out of the present life, shall truly be, as if they had obtained a dismission after the Combats, and as delivered out of Bonds: for there is for those, who live virtuously, a certain transportation from worse things to better, and from a temporal to a perpetual, and immortal life, and such as shall have no end.* Again, (f) Πρὸς Χριστὸν ἀπῆλθον, μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσὶ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον· *The Faithful depart to go with* Christ, *and are with the King, face to face.* Again, (g) Μετὰ τὸν θάνατον, τότε ὁ γάμος, τότε ὁ νυμφίος· *After Death is once come, then is the Wedding, then is the Spouse.* Again, (h) Θάρρει καταστρεφόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μόνον φθορᾶς σε ἀπαλλάττει, καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ παραπέμπει ταχέως· *Be of good courage, when thou art cut off* (by death) *for it exempts thee not onely from corruption, and trouble; but it also sends thee immediately to the Lord.* And elsewhere; (i) Ἔννοησον πρός τινα ἀπῆλθε, καὶ λάβε παραμυθίαν· ἔνθα Παῦλός ἐστιν, ἔνθα Πέτρος, ἔνθα τῶν ἁγίων ὁ χορὸς ἅπας· *Consider towards whom the departed Person is gone, and take comfort thence; there* Paul *is, there* Peter *is, there is the whole Quire of the Saints.* Again, (k) Εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν ἀπελθόντα, ὅτι τῶν πόνων ἀπήλλαξεν, ὅτι τῆς δειλίας ἐκβαλὼν ἔχει παρ' αὐτῷ· *We give thanks unto God, that he hath moreover crowned him, who is departed hence, that he hath exempted him from all troubles, that, delivering him out of all fear, he keeps him near himself.*

(e) *In* Gen. *Hom.* 36.
(f) *De deplor. peccati.*
(g) *In* Matth. *Hom.* 70.
(h) *In* 2 Corinth. *Hom.* 15.
(i) *Hom. in* 1 Thes. 4. 13.
(k) In Hebr. *Hom.* 4.

St. *Augustine*, giving an account of the common *Sentiment* of the *Churches* of *Africk*, about the year 400. *Moritur aliquis? Dicimus, Bonus homo, fidelis homo, in pace est cum Domino*, &c. *Does any one dy? We say, The Good man, The Faithfull man, is in Peace with the Lord.* Which shews, that the *Christians* of that *Time* were fully perswaded of what *Pope Pelagius the First*, about one hundred and fifty years after, caused to be inserted into the *Canon of the Mass*, viz. that *Those, who die in* Christ, *sleep in Peace.*

The *Questions* unjustly attributed to *Justine Martyr*; since the *Authour* was *contemporary* with St. *Augustine*: (l) Ἄγονται αἱ τῶν δικαίων ψυχαὶ εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον, ἔνθα σωτηρία τε, καὶ θέα ἀγγέλων· *The Souls of the Saints are conveyed to* Paradise, *there is the conversation, there the sight of the* Angels.

(l) *Quæst.*

St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* about the year, 420. (m) Δεῖν, οἶμαι, διακεῖσθαι, &c. *I conceive, it ought (and that very probably) to be held for certain, that the Souls of the Saints, leaving their earthly Bodies, are for the most part committed to the indulgence, and Philanthropie of God, as resigned into the hands of a most loving Father, and not (as some Unbelievers suspect, that they love to walk among dead men's Graves, expecting Sepulchral Libations, much less, that they go (as those of such, as have loved sin) to a place of unmeasurable Torment, that is, to Hell. They rather run to be received into the hands of the Father of all, and our Saviour* Jesus Christ, *who hath also* (n) *consecrated this way for us, for he* (o) *commended his Soul into the hands of his Father, that we also, taking Example thence, as in it, and by it, may entertain noble hopes, as being in that firm disposition, and belief: that, having undergone the death of the Flesh, we may be in the hands of God, and in a better condition, then when we were in the Flesh: Whence it also comes, that the wise* Paul *writes unto*

(m) *In* Joann. *lib.* 11. *pag.* 1067.
(n) Hebr. x. 20.
(o) Luke xxiii. 46.

(p) Phil. i. 23. *unto us*, (p) *that it is* far better to be diſſolved, and to be with *Chriſt*.

(q) *De vita contempl.* lib. 1. cap. 1. *Proſper*, (q) about the year 450. *Poſt hanc vitam ſuccedit pugnæ ſecura victoria; ut Milites Chriſti, laborioſâ jam peregrinatione transactâ, regnent felices in patria*, &c. *After this life ended, certain Victory is conſequent to the Combat; that the Souldiers of* Chriſt *(their laborious Pilgrimage being over) might reign happily in their Countrey*, &c.

(r) *De Eccl. dogm.* cap. 79. *Gennadius*, (r) about the year 490. *Exeuntes de corpore ad* Chriſtum *vadunt*, &c. *The Faithful, diſlodging out of the Body, go to* Chriſt.

(s) *In* Apoc. xiv. 13. *Andrew* of *Cæſarea*, (s) about the year 800. Ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς φωνή, &c. *The voice from Heaven does not beatifie all the Dead, but thoſe, who die in the Lord, thoſe, who are mortified to the World, and bear in their Bodies the mortification of the Lord* Jeſus, *and who ſuffer with* Chriſt; *for to thoſe the departure out of the body, is truly a releaſment from labours.*

To conclude, of the ſame *Sentiment* was *Aretas*, about the year 930. Ἅμα τῶν ἀφανισμῶν τῶν κόπων ἐπεισαχθήσεται ἡ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀνάδοσις· *Upon the vaniſhing away of Labours, ſhall be introduced the reward of Works.*

CHAP. XXXV.

The Sentiment of the Proteſtants *further proved by the Deſcription, which the* Fathers *made of* Abraham's *Boſom.*

FRom the *Harmony* of all the precedent *Teſtimonies*, it may juſtly be inferred, that, according to the conſtant *Doctrine* of the *Chriſtian Church*, from the year 250. thoſe, who *die in the Lord, are with him*, and that to them the time, which follows this life, is a time of *joy*, and *marriage*, which, from the *moment of their Death*, brings them into the company of the *Saints*, and *Angels*, in the *Paradiſe* of God, where they live, and are in peace, and are *crowned*, and *reign* with him. The ſame thing may be alſo deduced from the *Deſcription*, which the *Fathers* unanimouſly make of *Abraham's Boſom*, the place aſſigned by all *Chriſtian Antiquity* for the entertainment of the *Souls* of the *Faithful* after this Life.

(a) *Orat.* 10. For St. *Gregory Nazianzene* (a) places it in Heaven; ſaying to his Brother *Cæſarius*, who had dyed not long before, Σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἐφανὴς, &c. *Mayſt thou go to Heaven*, &c. *and reſt in the Boſom of* Abraham. *In like manner St.* Chryſoſtome, (b) Κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ ἀντὶ βασιλείας εἶπεν· *He named* Boſom *of* Abraham *for the* Kingdom. *St. Ambroſe* tells us, (c) that, *Sinus Patriarcharum receſſus quidam eſt requietis æternæ*, &c. *The Boſom of the* Patriarchs *is a certain retirement of Eternal Reſt.* St. *Auguſtine*, (d) *Sinus* Abrahæ *requies eſt Beatorum*, &c. *The Boſom of* Abraham *is the reſt of the Bleſſed.* Again, (e) *Non utique ſinus ille* Abrahæ, *id eſt, ſecreta cujuſdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars Inferorum eſſe credenda eſt*, &c. *ſatis apparet non eſſe quandam partem, & quaſi membrum Inferorum, tantæ illius felicitatis ſinum*, &c. *Certainly, the Boſom of* Abraham, *that is to ſay, the ſecret habitation of a certain reſt, is not to be thought any part of Hell*, &c. *It is ſufficiently mani-*

(b) *In* Matth. Hom. 17.

(c) *Orat. fun.* Valentin.

(d) *Quæſt. Evang.* lib. 2. qu. 38.

(e) *Epiſt.* 99.

feſt,

feſt, that the Boſom of ſo great a felicity is not any certain part, or, as it were, Quarter of Hell. And elſewhere; (f) *Poſt hanc vitam etiam Sinus ille* Abrahæ *Paradiſus dici poteſt; ubi jam nulla temptatio, ubi tanta requies poſt dolores omnes vitæ hujus*, &c. *After this Life, that Boſom of* Abraham *may be alſo called* Paradiſe; *where there is not any Temptation, and where, after all the afflictions of this life, there is ſo great reſt.* (f) De Gen. ad Litteram, lib. 2. cap. 3.

Dionyſius, the pretended *Areopagite*; (g) Κόλποι ἱεροὶ αἱ θειόταται καὶ μακαριώταται λήξεις· *The Boſom of the* Patriarchs *are moſt divine, and moſt bleſſed Habitations.* (g) Hierarch. Eccleſ. cap. 2.

Fulgentius; (h) Lazarus *in æterna ſenis* Abrahæ *quiete ſecurus*, &c. Lazarus *is in ſafety, in the eternal reſt of the Old man* Abraham. (h) Epiſt. ad Venant.

If therefore the *Boſom of* Abraham *be* a *Paradiſe*, a *Celeſtial habitation*, an *eternal Reſt*; a moſt *divine, and moſt bleſſed portion*, and all thoſe, who *die in the Lord*, go into it, when they die; it is impoſſible, but they ſhould, from that very minute, be in actual poſſeſſion of an incomparable *felicity*, and of a *reſt* ſo much the more certain, the more free it is from *temptation*.

Chap. XXXVI.

The ſame Sentiment confirmed by the Pomp and Ceremonies of the Antient Interments.

THe ſame *Conſequence* may alſo be drawn from the great *Solemnities* of the Antient *Funerals*, and the demeanours of *Chriſtians* preparing themſelves for them: which were not indeed without regret for the abſence of the *Departed Perſon*; but with joy alſo, and thanksgiving to *God* for the *Felicity*, whereto he had advanced him to all *Eternity*. For as St. *Cyprian* remonſtrated to the *Faithfull* of his Time, that they ſhould not put on *black Garments*, to expreſs their *Mourning* for thoſe, who had already put on their *White Robes* of *Glory*; ſo the *Fathers*, that came after, maintained, that men ſhould rejoyce, and not be diſconſolate for the retirement of thoſe, whom *God* was pleaſed to call out of the *Boſom* of his *Church*, to be gathered into his own. Thus St. *Chryſoſtome*, (a) Νῦν ὑμνῳδίαι &c. *There are now-a-days, in the Funeral Obſequies of deceaſed Perſons, ſinging of Hymns, Prayers, and Pſalms; all which declare, that there is pleaſure in it: for Pſalms are a ſign of mirth*; Is any one among you merry (*ſaith* (b) *Saint* James) Let him ſing Pſalms. *Becauſe we are full of Gladneſs; for that reaſon we ſing over the Dead ſuch Pſalms, as may excite us to take comfort for their departure; for* (*ſaith* David (c) *to us*) Return unto thy reſt, O my Soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. Again; (d) Ψαλμῳδία, καὶ εὐχαί, &c. *The ſinging of Pſalms, and Prayers, and the aſſembling of the* Fathers, *and the meeting of a great multitude of* Brethren, *are not to the end, that thou ſhouldeſt weep, and lament, and be diſconſolate; but that thou mighteſt give thanks to him, who hath taken the departed Perſon to himſelf.* And elſewhere; (e) Τί βέλονται αἱ λαμπάδες αἱ φαιδραί, &c. *What mean theſe joyfull Torches* at the Obſequies of the Dead? *Do we not convoy them, as Champions, that have gone through the Combat?*

(a) Homil. De Sancta Berenice.

(b) Jam. v. 13.

(c) Pſal. cxvi. 7.

(d) In Theſſ. Homil. 13.

(e) In Hebr. Homil. 4.

Combat? And what mean the Hymns? Do we not thereby glorifie God, and give him thanks, for that he is, at length, pleased to crown him, who is departed, that he hath exempted him from labours, and, having delivered him out of all fear, taken him to himself? Are not the Hymns appointed to signifie so much? Is not the singing of Psalms for the same end? All these things are done by persons, that rejoyce, for (*saith* (f) *Saint* James) Is any one merry? let him sing Psalms, *&c. Consider what thou singest at that time;* (g) Return unto thy rest, O my Soul; for the LORD hath dealt bountifully with thee: *and again,* (h) Thou art my refuge against the tribulation, that encompasseth me: *and again,* (i) I will not fear any evil; because thou art with me: *and again,* (k) Thou art my hiding-place, thou shalt preserve me from trouble: *consider what is the meaning of these Psalms.* Nay, after so many fair *Remonstrances*, this Great man threatens with Excommunication those, who being disconsolate, and thereby shewing, that they call in *Question* the crowning, and blessed State of their Brethren, whom God had called hence, do a signal injury, as well to their *Memory* in particular, as to the whole *Church* in general, which hath so ordered the *Solemnities* of *Funeral Obsequies*, that she would not have any thing therein, which should not in some manner express joy, and gladness.

(f) James v. 13.
(g) Psal. cxvi. 7.
(h) Psal.
(i) Psal.
(k) Psal. xxxii. 7.

The rest of the *Fathers* maintain his *Sentiment* with so much the greater *earnestness*, the more they think the *confirmation* of it derivable from the *common Practice* of the *Church*. Thus St. *Gregory Nazianzene*, speaking of the *Funeral Obsequies* of his Brother *Cæsarius*, after he had observed, that his *Mother* carried a great *Wax-candle* thereat, adds, that he was, Ὕμνοις ἐξ ὕμνων παραπεμπόμενον, &c. Ψαλμῳδίαις κοιμιζέσαις τὰς θρήνους, (l) *carried away with Hymns upon Hymns*, &c. *the singing of Psalms drowning the noise of the Lamentations*; whereas, in the *Funeral Solemnitie* of Saint *Basil*, the Resentment which the *Church* of *Cæsarea* had conceived of its own loss, Ψαλμῳδίας θρήνοις ὑπερνικώσας, made that (m) *the singing of Psalms was smothered by the Lamentations*. The same thing is observed by Saint *Gregory* of *Nyssa* to have happened at the Interment of the *Empress Flaccilla*, and her Grand-daughter *Pulcheria*, who had been attended with *publick mourning*, yet so, as that it came not into any one's Imagination, that their Condition deserved to be *deplored*, and *lamented*.

(l) Orat. 10.
(m) Orat. 20.

The Same St. *Gregory*, to comfort the People of *Antioch*, deprived of the presence of their beloved *Pastour*, the Great *Meletius*, speaks to those who accompanied his *Corps* into *Syria*, to give them an accompt of the *Solemnity* of his transportation thither, whereat the concourse of the *Populace*, and of the *Court*, the singing of *Psalms*, and the light of *Torches*, had, as it were, given an assurance of his *Beatitude*; saying to them, Εἴπατε τῷ ἐκεῖ λαῷ, &c. *Speak to the People, which is there* (*viz.* at *Antioch*) *relate unto them good News, tell them a Miracle beyond Belief, how that an infinite number of people crowded together, like the Sea, seemed, as it were, by reason of the Throng, to make but one, and the same, Body, like Water, floating about the Tabernacle* (of the departed Person;) *how that there reached, as far as Eye could possibly perceive, Chanels of Fire, gliding on each side, by reason of the uninterrupted course of the almost contiguous Torches; tell them of the readiness of all the people, and of the Association* (of *Meletius*) *with the Apostles in the same Tabernacle; how the Napkins, that were about his face,*

were

were ſnatched away to ſerve for Preſervatives to the Faithfull; *that the* King, *putting on a ſad Countenance, by reaſon of the affliction, and riſing from his Throne, be added to the Relation, and that the whole City met together at the* Obſequies *of the* Saint. (*n*) Wherefore comfort one another with theſe Words, *&c.* (*n*) 1 Theſſ. iv. 18.

Saint *Hierome* repreſents ſomething of the like Nature at the *Interment* of *Paula*; ſaying, (o) *Exhinc non ululatus*, &c. *Aſſoon as ſhe had given up the* Ghoſt, *there was no more Bewailing, nor Lamentation heard, as is wont among the men of this World; but the noiſe of ſwarms of* Pſalms *reſounding in ſeveral Languages: and being transported by the Hands of* Biſhops; *and ſome among the* Prieſts *putting their Shoulders to the Bier; whileſt others carried Torches, and Wax-Candles before; and others brought up the Quires of thoſe, that ſung* Pſalms, *ſhe was carried into the midſt of the Church* called) *the* Grot of our Saviour, *a multitude of people, out of the Cities of* Palæſtina, *meeting at her Funeral* Obſequies. He ſays as much of thoſe of *Fabiola*, dead three years before; writing to *Oceanus*, *Nec dum ſpiritum*, &c. *She had not yet given up the Ghoſt, and recommended to* Chriſt *the ſpirit, ſhe ought him; but Fame, the flying Meſſenger, publiſhing beforehand the great Lamentation there ſhould be, brought together all the People of the City to her Funeral; the* Pſalms *reſounded, and the cry of* Halleluiah, *Ecchoing, ſmote the gilt Roofs of the Temples*, &c. *Nor is it any wonder, that men ſhould rejoyce for her ſalvation, for whoſe converſion the Angels were* (p) *rejoycing in Heaven.* (o) *Epiſt.* 27. (p) Luke xv. 7.

Euſebius aſſures us, (*q*) that threeſcore and four years before, the ſame Honour had been done to *Conſtantine the Great*; ſaying of thoſe of his *Court*, Φῶτα τ' ἐφάψαντες· κύκλῳ ἐπὶ σκεύων χρυσῶν θαυμαστὸν θέαμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρεῖχον· *Lighting Lamps all about, in Veſſels of Gold, they preſented an admirable ſpectacle to the Beholders.* And this is enough to juſtifie, that the *Antient Church* exerciſed, in reſpect of all thoſe, who died in the *faith*, the ſame *Offices*, whereby ſhe celebrated the *Memory* of the greateſt *Martyrs*, and *Confeſſours*. For what a ſtrange *Solemnity* was that of the Transportation of the *Reliques* of the Prophet *Samuel* from *Palæſtine* to *Conſtantinople?* (r) *Omnes Epiſcopi*, &c. *All the Biſhops* (ſaith St. *Hierome*) *carried them in Silk, and in a Veſſel of Gold*, &c. *the People of all Churches met them, and* (*as if they had ſeen the* Prophet *preſent, and alive*) *received them with ſo great joy, that ſwarms of people joyned together from* Paleſtine *even to* Chalcedon, *and with one voice celebrated the praiſes of* Chriſt, *&c. Nay, though there be no* Reliques *of* Martyrs, *yet when the* Goſpel *is to be read, the Luminaries are lighted through all the Churches of the* Eaſt, *even though the Sun be up: which certainly is not done to chaſe away the Darkneſs; but for a ſign, and demonſtration of Joy.* Whence it alſo came, that when the *Body* of St. *Chryſoſtome* was to be brought, from *Comana*, to *Conſtantinople*, it was received with the ſame *Solemnity*; People going in Multitudes to meet it, with *lighted Torches* in the day-time. Πισὸς ὅμιλος, &c. *The Aſſembly of the Faithfull* (ſays (f) *Theodoret*) *making uſe of the Sea*, (*by the convenience of Boats*) *as they would have done of the Continent, covered with Lights the entrance of the* Boſporus *towards* Propontis. (q) *De Vita Conſtantini*, lib. 4. cap. 66. (r) Advers. *Vigilant.* (f) Lib. 5. cap. 36.

Thus have we ſeen there were *Aſſemblies* of the *Clergie*, and of the *People*, the *ſinging* of *Halleluiahs*, and *Pſalms*, and *Lights* employed at the *Interments* of all the *Faithfull*, without exception; ſo as that there could

not be obſerved at the *Funerals* of the leſs conſiderable, and leſs eminent for Piety, and thoſe of the moſt celebrious *Martyrs*, and *Confeſſours*, any other difference, then that of *more*, and *leſs*, which never were able to change the *nature* of the thing in it ſelf, nor hinder, but that it remained in ſuch manner common among all, that the *Offices* exerciſed in thoſe *Solemnities* have been (all together as well, as ſome one in particular) ſo many Diſcoveries of the joy of the ſurviving; Firſt, for the *Victory*, obtained by the Departed over ſin, and the world; Secondly, for the *Happineſs*, whereto the *Church* thought them actually advanced. And thence alſo it follows; That, in the *Office of the dead*, ſhe ſung, not the *Libera*, as is done at this day, but *Pſalms* of *Inſtruction*, and *Thanksgiving* to God, as for inſtance, the three and twentieth, and the two and thirtieth, and the one hundred and ſixteenth, according to the *Hebrews*, particularly alleged by St. *Chryſoſtome*; or haply ſuch other, as the *Friends* of the *Deceaſed* made choice of for their *conſolation*, as the one hundred and firſt, which *Euodius* appointed to be ſung at the *departure* of St. *Monica*, the Mother of St. *Auguſtine*, as that *Holy man* relates in his *Confeſſions*; (t) ſaying, (t) *Cohibito à fletu illo puero, Pſalterium aperuit* Euodius, *&c. The Body being quieted*, Euodius *opened the* Pſalter, *and began to recite this Pſalm*, (u) I will ſing unto thee, O LORD, Mercy, and Judgment: *to which all the Houſe anſwered. And when the people heard what had happened, many* Friers, *and* Religious Women *came thither to us; and particularly they, whoſe Office it was, taking care for the Burial. I, the whileſt, when conveniently I could, did entertain thoſe (who thought it not fit to leave me) with ſomething pertinent to the occaſion.*

(t) *Confeſſ.* lib. 9. cap. 12.

(u) Pſal. ci.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A particular conſideration of the Sentiment of St. Auguſtine, *and his* Prayers *for his Mother.*

THE particular *Relation* of all theſe *proceedings* concerning *departed perſons*, and their *Interments* irrefutably proves; That neither St. *Auguſtine*, nor his Company, nor thoſe of *Oſtia*, who came to viſit him in the time of his Affliction, were any way doubtfull of her felicity, who was then newly departed this life; ſince that, inſtead of imagining her detained in any place of Torment, and, upon that accompt, of ſtanding in need of their *Tears*, and the aſſiſtance of their *Prayers*, neceſſary (according to the *preſuppoſitions* at preſent) for her deliverance, they had their thoughts unanimouſly inclined to *Exerciſes*, which preſuppoſed no ſuch thing; as the *ſinging* of the one hundred and firſt Pſalm, whence there cannot be any thing inferred, relating to the *ſtate of the dead*, in as much as it contains onely a *Proteſtation to glorifie God in living well*; and, afterwards, to *familiar Diſcourſe*, ſuch as was ſuitable to the time, and occaſion. Beſides, St. *Auguſtine*, in the precedent Words, had given an equally-evident Teſtimony of his intention; when, after he had made a

deſcription

deſcription of the grief, which had lain ſo heavy on him, during the *Agony* of his *Mother*, he had added, (a) *Tum, ubi efflavit extremum ſpiritum, puer* Adeodatus *exclamavit in planctum, atque ab omnibus nobis coërcitus tacuit*, &c. *At the Inſtant of her giving up the Ghoſt, the Boy* Adeodatus *brake forth into a loud lamentation; but, reprehended by us all, he held his peace.* I will not argue, whether St. *Monica* was reduced to the ſuffering of ſome *Torment*, but onely, if her *Beatitude* was (in any manner conceiveable) delayed, what could be more juſt, then the Lamentation of little *Adeodatus*, or more unjuſt, and inhumane, then the check given by all the company, to make him forbear lamenting what was truly to be lamented? And what leſs could be expected of a *Son*, who was, and would be thought *good-natured*, then to be guilty of ſuch a *flintineſs*, as not to afford ſo much as a *Tear* for ſo *good a Mother*; a Mother ſo much the more deſerving his compaſſion, the further ſhe was (if the Maintainers of *Purgatory* may be believed) from the attainment of her happineſs?

(a) *Confeſs.* lib. 9. cap. 12.

I will not deny, but St. *Auguſtine* was overcome with an exceſſive Grief upon her Departure; but I maintain, from his own *Teſtimony*, that his affliction was for *himſelf*, and not properly for *her*. For, after he had ſaid, that he ſilenced his Son *Adeodatus*, who broke forth into *Lamentations*, he expreſſes what his own diſpoſitions were in theſe Terms: (b) *Hoc modo meum quiddam puerile*, &c. *Nay, there did alſo ſlip from my ſelf ſome ſhew of childiſhneſs that way; but I repreſſed it by the diſcretion of a man, and held my peace. Nor did we think fit to ſolemnize that* Funeral *with weeping and howling Complaints; becauſe ſuch demonſtrations of ſorrow are wont to deplore the misfortune, or, as it were, utter deſtruction of thoſe, who dy miſerably: whereas ſhe neither died miſerably, nor indeed died at all, as we were aſſured, both by her true faith, and exemplar Life, and by other certain Reaſons. What was then the cauſe, why inwardly this Green Wound did ſo extremely grieve me; but onely the ſudden breaking off of that Cuſtom, which I had to live in her moſt ſweet, and moſt dear converſation*, &c? *Becauſe therefore I was deprived of ſo great a comfort, my Soul was wounded, and my life was, as it were, torn in pieces, which, till then, had conſiſted of mine, and hers*, &c. *And, becauſe I was very much troubled, that theſe humane reſpects had ſuch power over me; which yet cannot but ſometime happen, according to the courſe of nature, and our condition, I bewailed my former Grief, and was afflicted with a double ſorrow*, &c.

(b) *Ibid.*

He reſented then, it ſeems (by his own confeſſion) two different Afflictions: one, the *Principal*, occaſioned by the regret of his *loſs*; the other *acceſſary*, ariſing from the regret he conceived to ſee himſelf ſubject to that humane Infirmity of bewailing a dead perſon; and *all the day* (as he ſays) *he could think of nothing elſe, though he endeavoured, as much as lay in his power, to conceal it*. After the *Solemnity* was over, he went to the *Bath*; hoping to rid himſelf of his Grief by diverſion: but he returned alſo thence as much afflicted, as before; the *ſmart* of his Wound admitting no remiſſion, till he had ſlept. And then, having with a greater ſettledneſs of Spirit, called to minde the whole *Life* of his *Mother*, and being expoſed to the ſight of none, but *God* onely, he gave way to thoſe *Tears*, which he had all day, with much violence to himſelf, kept

in; saying, *Libuit flere in conspectu tuo de illa, & pro illa; de me, & pro me: & dimisi lachrymas, quas continebam, ut effluerent quantum vellent*, &c. *I took pleasure to weep in thy sight concerning her, and for her; and concerning my self, and for my self: and to those Tears, which I had formerly repressed, I gave the liberty to run their full Carriere*, &c.

It seems, with some Pretense concludible from the foregoing words, that he was troubled about the Condition his *Mother* might be in; but there are *Two* things oblige us to believe the contrary.

The *First* is, That, if he had been instructed in the Belief of *Purgatory*, taught by the *Church* of *Rome*, he could not, without a kinde of injury to *Piety*, and *Charity*, have delayed, till he had slept, the contribution of his *Lamentations*, and *Tears*, for the ease, and relief of a Person so dear; and spent the whole Day in *Discourses*, and *Divertisements*, which he thought might have disburthened him of his Grief, but proved *ineffectual*.

The *Second*, That, considering with himself, that his action might be thought *ridiculous*, and *unreasonable*, he accuses it, upon that very accompt, that he thinks himself obliged to excuse it; saying, *Legat, qui volet*, &c. *Let him read it, who will, and interpret it, as pleaseth him; and, if he think it a sin in me, to have bewailed my Mother for a small part of an hour (that Mother, I say, who was dead to my eyes, and had wept for me so many years, that before thine eyes I might live) let him not deride me, but rather (if he be full of Charity) let him weep for my Sins to Thee, who art the Father of all the Brethren of thy* Christ *our Lord*, &c. If the *Opinion* of *Purgatory* had been, at that Time, crept into the *Church*; who could, with any Justice, either have accused him of having done amiss in deploring, with unfeigned sorrow, and tears, the hard Condition of his *Mother*, confined (whether for a short, or a long time, it matters not) in a place of *Torments*? or excuse him, that he had not,

First, Bethought him, assoon as ever the Breath was out of her Body, to assist her with his *Suffrages*, and quitted all other kinde of *Discourse*.

Secondly, That (when it came into his minde to discharge that sad Duty) he had bestowed but a *small part of an hour* in the Exercise of an *Office*, then which there could not be any of greater Concernment to her, to whom he ought his *Life*, and (under *God*) his *Conversion*? Would the *Church* of *Rome*, which approves of the Reiteration of the *Service of the Dead* for hundreds of years for the same Person, think it *rational* at the present, that any one of her children should promise himself the deliverance of his Friends in the turning of a man's Hand, and at so easie a rate, as a *short Prayer*, or the weeping of a *quarter* of an *hour* amounts to?

Thirdly, That he had not been able to forbear spending some part of that little time, which he had designed for his *Tears*, in fruitless bewailings of his own loss; expressing the resentment he had conceived thereof by these words, *I took a pleasure to weep concerning my self, and for my self*; as if it had been seasonable, even at the very Time, that he was (as is pretended) to represent to himself the extraordinaty *Exigences* of his *Mother*, to look another way, and make any reflection on his own concernments?

Fourthly, That he did not (for ought appears to us) engage himself,

to

to any kinde of continuance, of either his *Devotions*, or his *Tears*, which he had kept in from the beginning, with a certain violence; as conceiving an indignation, that the *frailty* of *Nature* tempted him to shed them? Is it suitable to the *Maxims* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and the *Practice* of those of her *Communion* for some *Ages* past; that a Childe, not without some trouble induced, either to bewail the misery of his *Father*, or to beg his deliverance out of it, shunning the performance of his *Duty*, assoon as he were obliged, should forbear applying any remedy thereto? Yet is this the manner of proceeding, which, it seems, may be objected to St. *Augustine*. He had stay'd till the Night after his *Mother*'s Death, e're he beset himself, either to do his *Devotions*, or *Weep* on her behalf; he spent in that *Exercise* but a *small part of an hour*, and never (that we could hear of) offered to reiterate it that Night, or the next Day, or the days ensuing, but absolutely gave over, as if he had, with one word speaking, discharged all his *Duty*. And to represent his Action more truly, and naturally, I have used several Expressions, attributing to him, either *Vows*, or *Devotions*, or *Tears*; in as much as these words, *I took a pleasure to weep concerning her, and for her*, do not necessarily signifie, *I took a pleasure to pray for her*; but may bear this sence, *I have wept for her sake*, and deplored *for her*: not onely that she is Dead, but that she was forced to submit to the necessity of Dying, e're she had come near *Old Age*, *viz.* in her fifty sixth year: *Secondly*, That she died out of her *Country*; and, *Thirdly*, Without any hope of being disposed into the *Sepulchre* she had prepared for her self at *Tagaste*. For, as all these Accidents were prejudicial to him, so might they well occasion *Tears*, yet he, that shed them, not be engaged to pray for her; and, according to the *Rule* of *Contraries*, I see no more Reason to conclude, *He wept for his Mother*, therefore, *He prayed for her*, then that, when we read, that St. *Chrysostome* advises in several places to *mourn* for the *Catechumens*, who died in their Ignorance, any one should thence think to conclude, that he (contrary to the intention of the *Church*) ordered, that men should expiate their *Crimes* by *Tears*, and *Prayers*, that is to say, vainly attempt what is impossible.

'Tis true, that most *Divines*, as well *Antient*, as *Modern*, acknowledg that *David* wept for his Son *Absalon*, and that so much the more bitterly, in as much as his affliction was (in his judgment, at least) beyond all consolation; since that unhappy Parricide, pursued by the Wrath of *God*, and taken away by a violent Death, suitable to his *Crime*, was not capable of any assistance, either by his Prayers, or otherwise. But in regard St. *Augustine* (c) affirms of himself, that, at the hour of his *Mother*'s Burial, the accustomed *Service* of the *Church* of his Time was celebrated, and, that he *prayed* to *God*, I am willing to grant, that he renewed his Supplications the Night following; and that, when he says, *He had wept for her*, his meaning was to have it understood, that *he had prayed for her weeping*. So that, without debating the matter of *Fact*, and presupposing it such, as it may be pretended, it shall be my Business to observe;

(c) *Nec in eis precibus, quas tibi fudimus, cum offerretur pro ea sacrificium precii nostri, jam juxta sepulchrum posito cadavere, priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet, nec in aliis precibus ego flevi.*

First, That he neither thought, there should be any great accompt made of that kinde of *Office*, since he conceived he had discharged his

Duty

Duty in the performance thereof; though he had ſpent in it but a *ſmall part of an hour*; nor that there was any great neceſſity of it, ſince he continued it not; nor that it was well-grounded, ſince he conceived there might be Sin in it, in as much as (according to the true *Belief* of the *Church* of *Rome*) he engaged himſelf to demand a thing already done; praying for her, whom he eſteemed (as advanced to Glory) not to ſtand in need thereof. To give this laſt *Conſideration* its full Weight, and to raiſe it to an higher Pitch of *Evidence*, I am onely to produce what he adds immediately after, faſtening his *Diſcourſe* to the Time, when he Writ his *Confeſſions*. (d) *Ego autem*, &c. *But (now my heart being recovered of that Wound, for which it might be blamed of a carnal affection) I pour out to thee, O our God, in the behalf of that thy Servant, a kinde of Tears far different; which flow from a contrite Spirit, out of a conſideration of the danger of every ſoul, that dies in* Adam. Where I intreat the *Reader* to note, that he attributes to an Heart *wounded with carnal affection*, and ſuch, as was *worthy blame*, the *Tears* he had ſhed *for his Mother*, the night after her *Deceaſe*; and that, making it his Buſineſs to give us a *Relation* of it, he was obliged to change his former Diſpoſition, and all this no leſs, then nine years after that *Accident*; in as much as his *Mother* died at *Oſtia* on the fourth of *May*, 389. and was *interred* the ſame Day.

(d) *Aug. Confeſſ.* lib. 9. cap. 13.

Secondly, That the Night between the Fourth, and the Fifth, he wept *concerning her*, and *for her*.

Thirdly, That in the year 389. (according to the *Obſervation* we have of his own, in his *Retractations*) he writ his *Confeſſions*, which he there acknowledges compoſed after his *Queſtions* dedicated to *Simplicianus*, already *Arch-Biſhop* of *Milan*; and who, (according to the Antient Order of *Ordinations*) could not, before *Sunday*, *April* the twelfth, the day of *Quaſi-modo*, have taken the place of St. *Ambroſe*; who departed this World on *Eaſter-Eve*, *April* the fourth, 397.

And whereas, after he had dried up his firſt *Tears*, and *recovered of the Wound of his Heart*, whereof he had been his own accuſer, in the beginning of the tenth year after his *Mother*'s Death, he thought good to open *another* Source of *Tears*; propoſing to himſelf, with a compaſſionate Spirit, his deceaſed *Mother* expoſed to ſome danger; and withall, that it were neither juſt, nor becoming the reſpect we ow his *Bleſſed Memory*, uncircumſpectly to impute to him what the *Poët* ſaid of *Perſons in Love*, that *ſibi ſomnia fingunt*; as if this *Great Man*, merely to *exerciſe* his *Wit*, coud have taken pleaſure in imagining *Accidents* without any occaſion, and feigning (eſpecially ſpeaking to God) what was not; Let us ſee how far his *Diſcourſe* may agree with his own *Principles*, and forbearing to interpoſe our Judgment in what concerns his manner of proceeding) be content to receive it from himſelf, and abſolutely to ſubmit to his own *Rules*.

In the *firſt* place, it is manifeſt, he admitted but two *Receptacles* for the *Souls*, that had left their *Bodies*; for thus he determines, in the tenth *Treatiſe* upon the *Firſt Epiſtle* according to St. *John*; *Ille, qui vixit, & mortuus eſt, rapitur ad alia loca anima ipſius; corpus ipſius ponitur in terra: an fiant illa verba, an non fiant, non ad eam pertinet; tamen aliud agit, aliud patitur; aut in ſinu* Abrahæ *gaudet, aut in igne æterno aquæ modicum deſiderat,*

rat, &c. *He, who hath been alive, is also dead, his Soul is carried away into other places, his Body is put into the Earth; whether those words* (which he recommended, expiring) *come, or come not, to pass, does not concern him at all; yet he does, or endures something, he either rejoyceth in* Abraham's *Bosom, or he begs a drop of Water in everlasting Fire.* Now, as, according to this *Doctrine*, the two Conditions of *eternal misery*, and *felicity*, *Abraham's Bosom*, and *everlasting Fire*, are immediately opposite; so is it necessary, that whoever departs this life, must immediately enter either into the *Joy*, which is *unspeakable*, and *glorious*, which shall never be *taken* away from him, or into a *Misery* incapable of Comfort, and such, as shall never end.

Secondly, It is no less certain from the *Testimony* of St. *Augustine* formerly alledged, that *Abraham's Bosom is the rest of the Blessed, where there is no place for Temptation.*

Thirdly, It is not possible, he should have thought his *Mother*, after her Departure, any where, but in *Abraham's Bosom*; since he thought *it not fit to celebrate her* Funeral *with Tears*; that he was of this *Opinion*, that she *could not die miserably*, or, rather, that she *could not die at all*: that he acknowledged, that (e) *being quickened, and renewed in* Christ, *she had so lived, as that the Name of God had been praised both in her Belief, and Life*; that he thought himself obliged *to give God Thanks with Joy for her good actions*; that he numbered her *among the Children of God, and Inhabitants of the Heavenly* Jerusalem, who have the privilege to *answer the Accuser, that their Debts are discharged*, and who have *done works of Mercy*, and have *freely from their hearts forgiven their Debtours.*

(e) *Illa in* Christo *vivificata*, &c. *Sic vixit, ut laudetur nomen Tuum in fide, moribúsque ejus*, &c. *Sepositis ejus bonis actibus, pro quibus tibi, gaudens, gratias ago*, &c. *Scio misericorditer operatam, & ex corde dimisisse debita debitoribus suis*, &c.

All this (which cannot any way be contradicted) presuppos'd, I ask, what *Consideration of danger* could prevail upon the Spirit of Saint *Augustine* to make him *shed Tears* for a *Mother*, whom he thought so *dead in Adam*, as that she rested in the *Lord*; since that, if he conceived he ought to say, she was *dead in Adam*, in regard of the dissolution of her Body, he was withall as much obliged to confess, that she was also *dead in the Lord*, in as much, as she had ended her Life in the Faith of his *Name*; and that the *dissolution* of her *Body* (in some manner, changing its *Nature*) was become to her an happy passage to the true Life of her *Spirit*, which he acknowledged had been before *quickened in* Christ, *and by him discharged of all Sins?* For, what danger can there be for *those, who, dying in the Lord*, do (according to the *saying* of the *Holy Spirit*) thenceforth (f) *rest from their labours*; Are not (g) *the Gifts, and Calling of God without repentance?* And, as it is not possible (h) *to separate from the love of God those, whom he hath loved in* Jesus Christ; so is it also true, that (i) *None can pluck them out of his hand, nor lay any thing to their charge, nor condemn them*; and consequently; that *There is no condemnation for them*, that (k) *They shall not see death*; and that (l) *They are already passed from Death to Life.* Saint *Augustine* confesses it, and proclaims it, saying, in the fourty eighth *Treatise* upon St. *John*, *Quid potest Lupus?* &c. *What can the Wolf do? What can the Thief, and Robber, do? They destroy onely those, that are predestinated to Death*, &c. *Of those Sheep* (such as was, according to his own *description*, his good *Mother*, St. *Monica*) *neither shall they be the prey of the Wolf, nor shall the Thief take them away, nor the Robber*

(f) Apoc. xiv. 13.
(g) Rom. xi. 29.
(h) Rom. viii. 32, 33, 38, 39.
(i) John x. 28.
(k) Joh. viii. 5.
(l) John v. 24.

kill

kill any of them; he, who knows what they coſt him, is ſecure as to their Number.

I moſt willingly acknowledg, that the enſuing *Conſiderations* of St. *Auguſtine* are moſt juſt, and well-grounded; *Non audeo dicere*, &c. *I dare not affirm, that from the time, that thou didſt regenerate her by Baptiſm, there iſſued no word out of her mouth againſt thy Commandment; and it is ſaid by thy Son, who is Truth it ſelf, that*, If any one call his Brother *Fool*, he ſhall be guilty of Hell-fire; *nay, wo be even to thoſe, who lead commendable lives, if thou examine them without Mercy.* For, ſince St. *John* proteſts of himſelf, (m) and all the *Faithfull*, (m) *If we ſay, that we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us, and we make God a Lyar*; ſince the *Prophet* (to whoſe *Oracle* St. *Auguſtine* expreſly refers himſelf) cryes out, (n) *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant; for in thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified*; ſince *Job*, a man (according to the judgment of *God* himſelf) *upright, and juſt, fearing God, and ſhunning evil*, ſince *Job*, I ſay, being come to himſelf, found himſelf obliged to make this humble Confeſsion (o) *I have uttered that I underſtood not*, &c. *wherefore I abhor my ſelf, that I ſpoke in that manner, and repent in Duſt, and Aſhes*; who would be ſo far out of himſelf as to deny, either of St. *Monica*, or any other of the Bleſſed *Saints*, that he ever ſinned in *ſpeaking againſt the Commandment of God, ſince his Baptiſm*, or imagine, that his Life in the *profeſſion* of *Chriſtianity* hath been ſo perfect, as might ſtand to the *diſquiſition of a judgment without mercy?*

(m) 1 Joh. 1. 8, 10.

(n) Pſal. cxliii. 2.

(o) Job xlii. 3, 6.

But, allowing all the pious, and neceſſary *Conſiderations* made by St. *Auguſtine* upon the courſe of his *Mother*'s Life, I am ſtill to ſeek, and cannot finde the reaſon of the *Conſequence*, he would have drawn thence, to think himſelf obliged, as one *ſhaken* by the fear of ſome imminent danger, to pray for her, who (by his own *confeſſion*) had obtained a *diſcharge* for all her ſins, and (as St. *Cyprian* ſaid of all the *Faithfull*) *delivered out of the Tempeſts of this world, had reached the Haven of eternal ſafety.* Nay, what ſin ſoever ſhe might be ſuppoſed to have committed after her *Baptiſm*, having ſeriouſly repented of it, and deplored her condition with a faithfull recourſe to the (p) *good Ointment of* Chriſt, (q) *whoſe Blood* (as St. *John* declares) *cleanſeth us from all Sin*, her (r) *Conſcience being purged by that precious Blood, and fully purified from dead Works*, is ſo abſolutely diſcharged in the ſight of God, as St. *Auguſtine* himſelf, expounding the Words of St. *John*, acknowledges; ſaying, (s) *Magnam ſecuritatem dedit Deus*, &c. *God hath given us a great aſſurance, with good reaſon is it, that we celebrate the* Paſch; *ſince the Blood of our* Lord, *whereby we are cleanſed* from all ſin *hath been ſhed* (for us) *let us fear nothing: The* Devil *kept the Writing of Slavery againſt us*; *but it hath been cancelled by the Blood of* Chriſt, &c. *If, through the infirmity of Life, ſin hath crept unawares upon thee, diſcover it immediately, be offended at it immediately, condemn it immediately, and, when thou ſhalt have condemned it, thou wilt come confidently before the Judg: there thou haſt an* Advocate, *be not afraid to loſe the Cauſe of thy Confeſſion.*

(p) Cant. i. 3. (q) 1 Jo. i. 7. (r) Hebr. ix. 14.

(s) In *Joan.* Tract. 1.

Since then St. *Monica* expired, (t) *recommending her Soul to her faithfull Creatour*, and imploring his Mercy through the eternal Merit of that *bleſſed Blood*, the (v) *pure Oblation* whereof had already waſhed off her

(t) 1 Pet. iv. 19.

(v) Hebr. x. 14, 19, 20.

Original

Original Sin, and *consecrated her for ever*, nothing could hinder her from going with a *joyfull Heart, and certainty of Faith*, towards the *Holy Places*, into which that *truly-divine blood* had purchased her the *Privilege* to enter. Nor indeed could St. *Augustine*, who had not (when she dislodged out of the Body, to be with *Christ*) any just cause of fear, conceive (nine years after her admittance to the fruition of her happiness) any necessity of requiring on her Behalf; that *God would forgive her Sins*, that *he would not enter into Judgment with her*, that *he would glorify his Mercy above his Judgment*, and, in a word, do what was already done. And indeed he immediately acknowledges as much; ingenuously saying, *Et, credo, jam feceris, quod te rogo; sed voluntaria oris mei approba, Domine*, &c. *And I believe, thou hast already done what I intreat thee to do; but yet approve, O Lord, this Prayer, which so willingly I make.*

Thus we see (by his own Confession) what *Office* St. *Augustine* undertook to render his *Mother*; amounting to no more, then a *demand*, purely *arbitrary* of what had been accomplished before, and which, for that reason, was not to be demanded. But what moved him, after so long time, to make such earnest, and particular *requests* for his *Mother*, who had always, from her Infancy, been an *Example* of a rare, and constant Virtue; and who had been enflamed with so great Zeal for Piety, that she had *gained to the Lord* her whole *House*; not to say ought of his *Father*, who had been a man of a turbulent Humour, and so little inclined to *Godliness*, that he could not be won to embrace *Christianity*, till towards his last days? Not to make any mention of him, I say; but onely *occasionally*, and *by the way*, with this little *Expression*, which shews, that he thought him in Happiness, *May she be in peace with her Husband*; was *Patricius* more assured in the Possession of Peace, and did he stand less in need of the *Suffrages* of his Son; then *Monica*, who had ever excelled him in good Endowments, and had been the Instrument of his *Conversion* to God? I answer, that St. *Augustine*, who hath given such a particular accompt of the different *Dispositions* of his *Parents*, could not have fallen into so great an Errour, as to imagine his *Prayers* more necessary for his *Mother*, then for his *Father*; who, having been less recommendable, should seem to stand in greatest need thereof; and that he was induced to make particular *Addresses* for his *Mother*, was not (as might be imagined) out of any compliance with the general *Custom* of the *Church* of his Time, which (being of equal Obligation towards all) would as well have obliged him to speak of his *Father*, as to make mention of his *Mother*; but in obedience to the command, which his *Mother* had, expiring, lay'd upon him, and the desire he had to submit to her *last Will*, whereof he would rather be an *Executour*, then a *Censour*. This desire, I say, prevailing with him, above all other *Considerations*, he not onely thought it a kinde of *pleasure to weep for her*, the night after her Departure, but nine years after, engaging himself to Write the *History* thereof, and to give an accompt of her *last Words*. Which the more fully to satisfy, he gave way to a tenderness so great, as if he represented her to himself in some danger, that he might accordingly address to *God* the same *Supplications*, as might be made for those, who were still engaged in the *Combats* of this Life; though he confessed withall, they

had already been accompliſhed. Then calling to minde the *laſt Command* he had received from her, that was long before dead (not queſtioning, whether it were then ſeaſonable to do what he did) he conformed himſelf thereto, as before, and at laſt required his *Readers* to undertake (in what *time*, or *place* ſoever) the *execution* thereof. With a deſign therefore to give an accompt of his *Prayer*, *viz.* that the *Lord* would vouchſafe to *accept the voluntary Words*, or *Offerings*, *of his mouth*; he adds, *Namque illa, imminente die*, &c. *For ſhe, when the day of her Death drew near, deſired not, that her Body might be ſumptuouſly adorned, or enbalmed with Spices, and Odours; nor deſired ſhe any curious, or choice Monument, or cared ſhe to be conveyed into her Native Countrey. Theſe things ſhe recommended not to us; but onely deſired to be remembred at thy Altar*, &c. *Let nothing ſeparate her from thy Protection; Let not the* Lion, *and* Dragon, *either by force, or fraud interpoſe himſelf between thee, and her. For ſhe will not anſwer, that ſhe hath no Sin, leſt ſhe be convinced, and overcome by that* crafty Accuſer; *but ſhe will anſwer, that her ſins are forgiven by him, to whom no Creature can repay what he lai'd out for us, whileſt himſelf owed nothing. Let her therefore reſt in peace with her Husband*, &c. *And inſpire, O* Lord, *my God, inſpire thy ſervants, my Brethren; thy Children, my Lords (whom with Heart and Tongue, and Pen I ſerve, that whoſoever reads theſe* Confeſsions, *may, at thy Altar, remember thy ſervant* Monica, *with* Patricius *her Husband, through whom thou broughteſt me into the world, though in what ſort I know not. Let them with a Pious Affection remember thoſe, who were my* Parents *in this tranſitory life, and who were my* Brethren *in reſpect of thee, who art our common* Father *in the* Catholick Church *our* Mother, *and who are to be my* Fellow-Citizens *in the eternal* Jeruſalem; *for which the Pilgrimage of thy People doth groan from their Birth unto her Death; that what ſhe made her laſt deſire to me, may be more abundantly performed to her, through the Prayers of many, as well by means of theſe my* Confeſsions, *as particular* Prayers.

I have hitherto alledged the Words of St. *Auguſtine*, which juſtify, in the *firſt* Place, That the onely *Motive*, which had in the year 398. prevailed with him to make *Prayers* for his *Mother*, Dead nine years before, and from that time (according to his own *Preſuppoſitions*) in *Happineſs*, was onely the *Injunction* ſhe had, at her Death, lai'd upon him to remember her.

Secondly, That theſe *Prayers* (by his own Confeſſion) neither were, nor could be of any neceſsity, or benefit to her; for whom they were, or might be made: ſince ſhe had reaſon to *anſwer the Accuſer*, *That her Debts were diſcharged*, and accordingly ſhe had nothing to fear, as to the *Conſequences* thereof. For, who can be *ſeparated from the Protection of God*, but by *Sin*, which alone (according to the Saying of the *Prophet Eſay*) does properly make a *ſeparation between man, and his God*; cauſing him to *hide his face*, and *not to hear*, that he might *protect*? But can *Sin* (which hath no longer being, aſſoon as it is once expiated, and diſcharged) any way prejudice him, who hath been once delivered from it? Or, is any man able to conceive, that what is *not*, *is*, or may *be* cauſe of any thing: ſince that to be *Cauſe* does not onely imply *Being*; but, in ſome manner, both *Being*, and *Activity*? Who is ſo much liable to the *interpoſition of the Lion, and Dragon*, to endure the open *Ravage* of his Violences, and the

the ſecret miſchief of his *Ambuſhes*, as he, who (like an *undiſcharged Debtour*) is dragged before the dreadfull *Tribunal* of *God*'s avenging Juſtice? Can *Debts* (of what nature ſoever they are) be *Legally* exacted of thoſe, who are (by the *Acquittance* of the *Creditour*) abſolutely *diſcharged?* Are they, in *fine*, to fear any Unhappineſs, whoſe (x) *Sins our Lord bore in his own Body upon the Tree*, and (y) *blotted out the Hand-writing that was againſt them?*

(x) 1 Pet. ii. 24.
(y) Coloſ. ii. 14.

Thirdly, That the *Church* of *Rome* (in whoſe *Communion* there is not any one, that prays for St. *Monica*, whom the ſaid *Church* hath taken out of their Rank, for whoſe benefit ſhe deſigns her *Suffrages*, to raiſe her into the *Sphear* of (z) *Glorious Spirits*, whoſe *Interceſsion* ſhe begs; however ſhe may make a great ſtir about the *Example* of St. *Auguſtine*) does not onely not ſatisfy the Intreaty of that *Great man* any more, then the *Proteſtants*, whom ſhe accuſes, as *deſertours of the antient Tradition:* but conceives it neither juſt, nor rational, to ſatisfy it. And, as ſhe does not think her ſelf guilty of any breach of *Duty* in forbearing to *pray* for St. *Monica*; becauſe ſhe accompts her to be in *Bliſs*, and (as ſuch) not in a capacity to receive the aſſiſtance of the *Living* in their *Prayers*; nor that they ſhould (according to the deſire of St. *Auguſtine*) expect *inſpirations from God*, ſuch as might incline them to demand things already done, and undertake what ſhe conceives neither *rational*, nor *feaſable*: ſo the *Proteſtants* (who in this particular are the more willing to follow his *Sentiment*, the more conſonant they finde it to the *Word of God*, and to *Reaſon*) cannot (whatever the *Church* of *Rome* may ſay to inſinuate the contrary) be perſwaded, they err in not-acknowledging any *Object* of *Religious Adoration* (however it may be conceived) other then [a] *God alone, Father, Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt, bleſſed for ever*, according as the *Church* of *Rome*, her ſelf, expreſſes it in the *firſt* of her *Commandments*, [b] *One onely God ſhalt thou adore*: nor any *Advocate* properly ſo called, other then him, who is propoſed to all *Chriſtians* by St. *John*, as a [c] *propitiation for the ſins of all the World*. For, as they have learn'd of St. *Paul*, that [d] *there is one Mediatour between God and men, the Man* Chriſt Jeſus, *who gave himſelf a ranſom for all*: whence *Avitus, Arch-Biſhop* of *Vienna* inferred, [e] That if our *Saviour* was not, according to his *Humane Nature*, taken into the Unity of Perſon, *paſſed into the Nature of Divinity, he could not onely not have cancelled, by any Interceſſion, the Obligation of mankinde, but alſo had himſelf born the Forfeiture of his Father*'s *Hand-writing againſt us*. They religiouſly ſtand to the *Proteſtation* made by the *Primitive Chriſtians* concerning their *Martyrs*, viz. [f] *We adore him, who is the Son of God, but we love* (according as it is required of us) *the Martyrs, as Diſciples, and Imitatours of our Lord, and Saviour:* and to that of St. *Auguſtine*, [g] *We honour the Martyrs by a Worſhip of Dilection, and Society; by which the Holy men of God are in this life alſo honoured.* Whence they conclude, That (according to the common *Sentiment* of the pureſt part of *Antiquity*) there cannot be done to the *Citizens* of the *Jeruſalem*, that is on high, any Honour, but what may be called a *civil Honour*, or *of Society*, Whether they are actually received into that bleſſed Habitation, or are in their way thereto; that they have been, and ever ſhall be, entertained there, immediately upon their departure out of this

(z) See the *Martyrologies* of *May* 4.
(a) Rom. ix. 6.
(b) Deut. vi. 13. Mat. iv. 10.
(c) 1 Joh. ii. 2.
(d) 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.
(e) *Epiſt.* 2.
(f) Apud *Euſebium*, lib. 4. cap. 15.
(g) Advers. *Fauſt.* lib. 20. cap. 21.

World, and that the honourable *Solemnities*, which accompany their Bodies, when they are depoſited in the Earth, never had any *Ceremony*, which ſerved not to demonſtrate the aſſurance, and joy, which the *ſurviving* had conceived of their happy Condition.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Sentiment of the Proteſtants *confirmed by the* Eloges *antiently beſtowed on the Faithfull departed.*

THe ſame thing may be ſaid of the *Eloges*, wherewith the worthy *Perſons* of *Antiquity* have honoured the Memory of thoſe, for whom the *Cuſtom* would have *Prayers* made. *Euſebius*, [a] ſpeaking of the Death of *Helene*, who died on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, about the year 330. ſaith, Ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττονα λῆξιν ἐχωρεῖτο, &c. *She was called to a better Lot*, &c. *So that thoſe, who had a right Sentiment, juſtly conceived, that that thrice-happy* (Lady) *ſhould not die*; (*but to ſay the Truth*) *expect the Exchange, and Tranſlation of a Terreſtrial life into a Celeſtial. Her Soul therefore returned to the Principle thereof, being received into an incorruptible, and Angelical Eſſence near her Saviour.* And of *Conſtantine*, who (preparing himſelf for Death) proteſted of himſelf, that [b] he was *making haſte, and that he would no longer delay his departure towards his God*, he affirms, that on *Sunday, May* 22.th 337. being *Whitſunday*, [c] Πρὸς τὸ ἀυλὸν Θεὸν ἀναλαμβάνετο, &c. *He was gathered to God, leaving to Mortals what was of the ſame Nature with them*; *and, as for himſelf, uniting to God whatever his Soul had, that was Intellectual, and beloved of God.* Then, repreſenting the common Belief of all the Subjects of the *Empire* concerning his *Beatitude*, he adds, Οὐρανῷ μὲν σχῆμα διαζωσάντες, &c. *Having framed a Figure of Heaven, in a draught, in colours, they painted him above the Celeſtial Vaults reſting in an heavenly Manſion*, &c. [d] Νομίσμασι ἐχαράττοντο, &c. *They graved his* Effigies *upon* Medals, *having on one ſide the Pourtraiture of the Bleſſed* (Emperour) *with his Head veiled, and on the* Reverſe, *the ſame, mounted on a Chariot, drawn by four Horſes, as if he drove it, raiſed into the Seat by an hand reached forth to him from heaven on the right ſide*: which *Deſcription* might as well relate to the carrying up of *Elias*, rather then to the *Apotheoſes* of the *Heathens*; which *Conſtantine*, upon his embracing of *Chriſtian Religion*, had abſolutely renounced.

(a) *De vita*, lib. 3. cap. 45.

(b) Σπεύδειν μηδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἄυπε Θεὸν πορείαν.

(c) Cap. 64.

(d) Cap. 73.

Saint *Athanaſius*, who obſerves, that St. *Anthony* had ſeen the *Monk Ammonius* ἀναχώμενον, πολλήν τε τῶν ἁπάντων γενομένην χαράν, *raiſed from the Earth, and the great joy of thoſe, that came to meet him*; affirms, that on the ſeventeenth of *January* 358. Ὡσπερ φίλους ὁρῶν τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπ' ἀυτὸν, καὶ δι' ἀυτὸς πείχαεις γενόμενος ἐξέλιπε· *As having ſeen friends coming towards him, and filled with joy becauſe of them, he fainted.* The ſame St. *Athanaſius* (making a *Relation* of the wicked attempt of *Magnentius* upon the *Life* of *Conſtans*, who was murthered on the eighteenth of *January*, 350. and numbring that *Prince* among the *Martyrs*) hath theſe remarkable Words, (e) Τῷ μὲν ἓν μαρτυρίῳ τοῦτο γέγονε εἰς μαρτύριον, *That to the Bleſſed* (Man) *proved the occaſion of his Martyrdom.*

(e) *Apol. ad Conſtant.*

Saint

St. *Gregory Nazianzene* represents in Celestial Glory *Constantius*; who, after he had, through misapprehension, persecuted the *Orthodox*, died on the third of *November*, 361. (f) Εἰ πολὺ κρείττονα γινώσκω τῆς ἡμετέρας μέμψεως, &c. *I know, that he is above our Reprehension; having obtained a place with God, and poßession of the Inheritance of the Glory, which is there, and transported to such a distance from us, as the Translation from one Kingdom to another amounts unto.* The same St. *Gregory* saies of his *Brother*, *Cæsarius*, who died on the 25.th of *February*, about the year 369. (g) Τῆς νεοκτίστου ψυχῆς, &c. *He receives the Rewards of his new-created Soul, which the Spirit had reformed by Water.* And of his *Sister*, *Gorgonia*, who died not long after, *viz.* on the ninth of *December*, 372. (h) Μακρῷ τιμιώτερα τὰ παρόντα σοι, &c. *The things, which are now present to thee, are much more precious, then those, which are seens The noise of those, which make a Feast, the Quires of the Angels, the Order of Heaven, the contemplation of Glory, and, more then all this, the Irradiation of the* Trinity, *which is above all things, and of all things the most pure, and most perfect.* And of St. *Athanasius*, who died *May* the second, 371. (i) *That thou wouldest be pleased to look on us from on high.* Of *Gregory*, his *Father*, who died the year following, Γνώρισον ἡμῖν ποῦ ποτε εἰ δόξης, καὶ τὸ πεὶ σε φῶς· *Make known unto us in what place of Glory thou art, and the light, which encompasseth thee.* Of his dear Friend, St. *Basil*, who died *January* the first, 378. Νῦν ὁ μέν ἐστιν ἐν ἀγγέλοις, *He is now in Heaven.*

(f) *Orat.* 3.

(g) *Orat.* 10.

(h) *Orat.* 11.

(i) *Orat.* 21. Αὐτὸς ἄνωθεν ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύοις.

St. *Gregory Nyßenus*, of St. *Ephraim*, who died on the 28th of the same Moneth of *January*, Εἰς τὸν ἀκοίμητον λιμένα τῆς αἰωνίου βασιλείας ἐξέπνευσε, &c. *He expired in the quiet Haven of the Eternal Kingdom, and is kindly received into it. But where otherwise may it be conjectured, that his Soul hath been depoßited, if not (as indeed it is manifest) in the Celestial Tabernacles, where are the Batallions of* Angels, *a Populace of* Patriarchs, *Quires of* Prophets, *the Thrones of the* Apostles, *the Joy of the* Martyrs, *the Exultation of* Saints, *the Splendour of the* Doctours, *the Assembly of the First-born, the perfect Noise of those, that are a Feasting? To those good things, in which the Angels desire to rest themselves, that they may see them, into that sacred place, the most blessed in all kinds, and most holy soul of our Blessed, and worthy-to-be-celebrated* Father *is passed.* Of the great *Meletius*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Antioch*, who died on the twelfth of *February*, 381. before he could have enjoyed the *Communion* of *Rome*; Οὐκέτι δι' ἐσόπτρου καὶ αἰνίγματος, &c. *No longer, as through a Glass, and obscurely; but face to face, he prays to God.* Of *Pulcheria*, *Daughter* to the *Emperour* THEODOSIUS; Ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς βασιλείαν μετέστη· *She was transferred from one Kingdom to another.* Of *Flavilla*, first-*Wife* to the same *Prince*, who died in the year 385. Ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸ διαγωγὸν ἔχει· *Her conversation is in the Royal Palaces of Heaven.*

St. *Ambrose*, of his *Brother*, *Satyrus*; who dyed *September* the seventeenth, 383. *De istius Beatitudine dubitare nequaquam debemus*, &c. *We ought not to doubt of his Beatitude.* Of the *Emperour* VALENTINIAN *the Second*, two Moneths after his *Assassination*, which happened on *Saturday*, *Whitsun-Eve*, *May* the fifteenth, 382. before that *Prince* had received *Baptism*; *Ille etiam talis, ut ei nihil timeatis*, &c. *He is now in such a condition, that you need not fear what may happen to him, as before*, &c. *I ask, whether there be any Sentiment after death, or not? If there be, he lives; or rather, because he lives, he is already in poßession of Eternal Life*, &c. *That*

he

he was ſo ſoon ſnatched from us, we are to grieve; that he is paſsed into a better Eſtate, it ſhould be our comfort, &c. *Thou lookeſt on us, Holy Soul, from an high place, as caſting thy ſight on things, that are below*, &c. *Now, borrowing light from the Sun of Righteouſneſs, thou enjoyeſt a clear day*, &c. *His going hence was moſt noble, as a Flight into Heaven*, &c. *What thou haſt ſown upon Earth, reap it there*, &c. *The ſtain of Sin being done off, he, whom his Faith waſhed, his Prayer conſecrated, is gone up cleanſed into Heaven*, &c. *joyned with his Brother* (Gratian) *he enjoyes the pleaſures of eternal Life*, &c. Of the *Emperour* THEODOSIUS, who dyed *January* the ſeventeenth, 395. *Regnum non depoſuit, ſed mutavit*, &c. *He hath not layd by, but exchanged the Royal Dignity: being admitted, by the Prerogative of Piety, into the Tabernacles of* Chriſt, *into that* Jeruſalem, *which is above; where being now placed, he ſaith*, (k) As we have heard, ſo have we ſeen in the City of the LORD of Hoſts, &c. *Having gone through a doubtfull combat*, Theodoſius, *of famous Memory, does now enjoy perpetual Light, and a Tranquility of long continuance, and hath the ſelf-ſatisfaction of what he did in his Body, in the Fruits of divine remuneration*, &c. *He hath deſerved admittance into the Society of the Saints*, &c. *His abode is in light*, &c. *He is over-joyed to be in the Aſſemblies of the Saints*, &c. *There he now embraces* Gratian, &c. *Who enjoyes the reſt of his Soul*, &c. *Being pious, he hath paſſed from the obſcurity of this World to eternal Light*, &c. *Now does he know, that he reigns; ſince that he is in the Kingdom of the Lord* Jeſus, *and conſiders his Temple*, &c. Conſtantinople, *thou art evidently happy, who receiveſt a Gueſt of Paradiſe, and ſhalt entertain in the narrow Inn of a Sepulchre, an Inhabitant of that City, which is on high*, &c. And of *Aſcholius, Arch-Biſhop* of *Theſſalonica*, who dyed about the year 385. *Eſt Superorum incola, poſſeſſor civitatis æternæ, illius* Hieruſalem, *quæ in cælo eſt, videt illis facie ad faciem*, &c. *He is an Inhabitant of the places which are above, a Poſſeſſour of the Eternal City, of that* Jeruſalem, *which is in Heaven, there he ſees face to face.*

(k) Pſal. xlviii. 8.

(l) *Epiſt.* 25. St. *Hierome*, of *Blæſilla*, who died in the year 382. (l) *Poſtquam, ſarcinâ carnis abjectâ*, &c. *Having layd down its burthen of Fleſh, the Soul is fled back to her Authour; after a long Pilgrimage, ſhe is aſcended into her antient poſſeſſion*, &c. *Me-thought, then* (when her Coffin was making ready) *ſhe cryed from Heaven, I know not thoſe Garments, that Covering is not mine*, &c. Blæſilla *now followeth* Jeſus, *ſhe is now in the ſociety of the holy Angels*, &c. *She is paſſed from Darkneſs to Light*, &c. *She lives with* Chriſt *in the Heavens*, &c.

(m) *Epiſt.* 24. Of *Lea*, who died *March* the two and twentieth, 384. (m) *Univerſorum gaudiis proſequenda*, &c. *She is to be attended with the joy of all, who, having trod* Satan *under foot, hath received the Crown of Security*, &c. *For a ſhort trouble, ſhe now enjoyes eternal Beatitude; ſhe is received into the Quires of Angels, ſhe is cheriſhed in the Boſom of* Abraham, &c. *She follows* Chriſt, *and ſaith*, (n) All the things, which we have heard of, the ſame we have alſo ſeen in the City of our God, &c. Of *Nepotianus*, a *Prieſt* of *Altinum*, who died in the year 397. (o) *Scimus* Nepotianum *noſtrum eſſe cum* Chriſto, *& Sanctorum mixtum Choris*, &c. *Corpus terra ſuſcepit, anima* Chriſto *reddita eſt*, &c. *We know that our* (Friend) Nepotianus *is with* Chriſt, *and among the Quires of the Saints*, &c. *The Earth received his Body, his Soul was reſtored to* Chriſt, *&c.* And of *Paulina*, the *Wife* of *Pammachius*, departed this life in the year 393. (p) *Illa* (Blæſilla) *cum ſorore*

(n) Pſal. xlviii. 8.

(o) *Epiſt.* 3.

(p) *Epiſt.* 26.

Paulina

Paulina *dulci ſomno fruitur; tu, duarum medius, leviùs ad* Chriſtum *ſubvolabis*, &c. Blæſilla, *with her Siſter* Paulina, *reſts in a quiet ſleep; thou, being between both, ſhalt have a more eaſie flight to* Chriſt, &c. Of *Paula*, the *Mother* of *Blæſilla*, and *Paulina*, departed in *Beth-lehem*, on the twenty eighth of *January*, 404. (q) *Fides, & opera tua,* Chriſto *te ſociant; præſens quod poſtulas, facilius impetrabis*, &c. *Thy Faith, and Works aſſociate thee to* Chriſt; *being preſent* (O *Paula*) *thou ſhalt more eaſily obtain what thou deſireſt*, &c. (q) *Epiſt.* 27.

Aſpices anguſtum præcisâ rupe Sepulchrum?
Hoſpitium Paulæ *cœleſtia regna tenentis*, &c.

Seeſt thou a Rock t' a narrow Coffin hewn?
'Tis Paula's *Manſion, who to Heav'n is flown.*

Of *Lucinus*, departed about the year 410. [r] *Obſecro te*, &c. *I beſeech thee*, Theodorus, *that thou wouldeſt bewail thy* Lucinius *as a Brother; yet ſo, as to rejoyce withall, that he reigns with* Chriſt, &c. *Confident, and Conquerour, he looks from on high*, &c. Of *Fabiola*, departed in the year 401. (ſ) *Depoſitâ tandem ſarcinâ, levior volavit ad Cœlum*, &c. *Having lay'd down her burthen, ſhe is fled with more eaſe towards heaven.* (r) *Epiſt.* 29. (ſ) *Epiſt.* 30.

Saint *Chryſoſtome* of *Berenice*, and *Prosdoce*, who were drowned during the *Perſecution*; Ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν μετὰ τῶν Χριστοῦ στρατιωτῶν λοιπὸν τοῦ οὐρανίου Ἀγγέλου. *Moreover, theſe were with the Souldiers of* Chriſt, *the heavenly Angels.* Of *Pelagia*, who had caſt her ſelf down Headlong; Ἀνέδραμεν οὐκ εἰς ὄρεις κορυφὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀύλὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καμυφήν, &c. *She ran, not towards the top of a mountain, but towards the higheſt heaven*, &c. *The threatning of the Judg*, &c. *preſſed her to flie with greater haſte towards heaven*, &c. *She went out of her Chamber, out of the Woman's Cloſet, into another Chamber, that is to ſay, heaven*, &c. Which is as much, as he could have ſaid, and what he had ſaid in ſubſtance, of the greateſt *Martyrs*, St. *Ignatius* of *Antioch*, St. *Romanus*, St. *Julian*, St. *Juventinus*, St. *Maximus*, and others; whoſe *Elogies* he writ.

The ſame St. *Chryſoſtome* ſays alſo of *Philogonius*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Antioch*, deceaſed the twentieth of *December*, about the year 322. Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβὰς ἐδέν, &c. *Aſcending into heaven, he hath no need of the Praiſes of men; ſince he is gone to a greater, and more happy portion*, &c. *He is transferred to the Society of Angels*, &c. Of *Euſtathius*, who had held the ſame *See*, and died about the year 359. upon the ſixteenth of *July*, Πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν μετασὰς, ὃν πρὸς ποθέμενον ἀπελθὼν Ἰησοῦν. *Transferred to heaven, he is gone towards* Jeſus, *whom he had deſired*; and almoſt in the ſame Terms of *Meletius*, his *Ordinary*, Πρὸς ποθέμενον ἀπεδήμησεν Ἰησοῦν. *He is gone towards* Jeſus, *whom he had deſired.*

St. *Auguſtine*, of *Verecundus*, who had entertained him, and all his *Company*, at his Countrey-Houſe, [t] *Retribues illi, Domine, in reſurrectione Juſtorum; quia jam ipſam ſortem retribuiſti ei*, &c. *O Lord, thou ſhalt reward him in the Reſurrection of the Juſt; becauſe thou haſt already caſt that Lot upon him.* And of *Nebridius*, who was come out of *Africk* into *Italy*, to live with him; *Nunc ille vivit in ſinu* Abrahæ, *&c. Now he lives in* Abraham's *Boſom* (*whatſoever it be, that is underſtood by that* Boſom,) *There my* Nebridius *lives, that dear Friend of mine, and thy adopted Son, O Lord, who* (t) *Confeſs. lib. 9. cap. 3.*

who had once been a Bond-ſlave, but was after freed. There he liveth; for what other place can be fit for ſuch a Soul? In that place he liveth, whereof he was wont to ask me, miſerable, and unexperienced man, ſo many Queſtions. Now he no longer lates his Ear to my Mouth: but applies his ſpiritual mouth to thy Spring, and drinks Wisdom after the rate of his greedy Thirſt, happy to all Eternity.

Paulinus, of *Ruſina*, the *Wife* of *Alethius*: *Habes jam in* Chriſto *magnum tui pignus*, &c. *Thou haſt already in* Chriſt *a great pledge of thy ſelf, an earneſt Suffrage, thy Wife, who prepares as much favour for thee in the Heavenly Places, as thou furniſheſt her with abundance from thoſe upon Earth*, &c. *She abounds, by the ſupplies of thy Wealth, being clad in a Golden Veſture, and cloathed all over with variety*, viz. *precious light*, &c.

Paulinus, the *African*, of St. *Ambroſe*; *Ubi corpus Domini accepit*, &c. *After he had received the* (u) *Body of our* Lord, *he gave up the Ghoſt, taking along with him a good proviſion, that his Soul, being more refreſhed by the ſtrength of that Viand, ſhould be now rejoycing in the Society of Angels, and* Elias, *whoſe Life he lived here.*

(u) The Sacrament of his Body.

Sulpicius Severus, of St. *Martin*, who died on *Sunday, November* the eleventh, 400. *Spiritum cœlo reddidit*, &c. *He reſigned his Spirit to Heaven*, &c. *There was an holy rejoycing at his Glory*, &c. *The Heavenly Company, ſinging Hymns, accompanies the Body of the Bleſſed man to the place of his Enterment*, &c. Martin *hath the Acclamations of divine Pſalms*; Martin *is honoured with Eccleſiaſtical Hymns*, &c. Martin *is entertained with joy in* Abraham's *Boſom*; Martin, *who had been here poor, and beggarly, enters Rich into Heaven*, &c. And, it is to be noted, by the way, that that *Great Man*, a little before he *gave up the Ghoſt*, had anſwered thoſe, who would have had him to lie on his ſide, *Sinite me, Fratres, cœlum potius reſpicere, quàm terram, ut ſuo jam itinere, iturus ad Dominum, Spiritus dirigatur. Suffer me, Brethren, rather to look up towards Heaven, then down upon the ground; that my Spirit, which is now taking its journey to God, may be directed in its way.*

Palladius writes of St. *Chryſoſtome*, who dyed *November* the ſeventh, 407. Πρὸς Χριστὸν διαπεράσας, *Paſſing hence to* Chriſt, &c.

Ennodius, Biſhop of *Pavia*, of *Epiphanius*, his *Prædeceſſour*, deceaſed *January* the twenty firſt, 496. *Cùm beatiſſimus cerneret Pontifex*, &c. *The bleſſed Prelate, ſeeing*, &c. *that he was ready to fly to the pure brightneſs of Heaven*, &c. *aſſured of his perfection, he added*, My heart is confirmed in the *Lord*, &c. *So, as that heavenly Soul, reſounding with Hymns, and Songs, even at the point of Death, returned to her Lord*, &c. *He, whoſe departure we bewail upon Earth, is in poſſeſſion of the high places with God*, &c. And of *Anthony*, the *Hermit* of *Valtelina*, afterwards a *Monk* in the *Monaſtery* of *Lerina*, deceaſed *December* the twenty eighth, 488. *Mundi iſtius ſarcinam deponens*, &c. *Laying down the burthen of this World, and having overcome the Ambuſhes laid by the craft of the old Serpent, he hath exchanged our day, and the light of this preſent World, for that, which is perpetual.*

If the *Harmony* of all theſe *Teſtimonies*, which have been produced, ſuffice not to ſatisfie, and perſwade the *moſt-prepoſſeſſed* Spirits, that the moſt eminent, and beſt-informed *Antiquity* (reforming the *Opinion*, which the *Sibylline* Writing, falſly ſo called, had introduced among *Chriſtians* hath unanimouſly

unanimouſly embraced, and conſtantly taught the *Proteſtants* the *Sentiment*, which they, with one accord, follow, concerning the *State* of the *Faithfull* departed in *Jeſus Chriſt*; it were no hard matter for them to make a more ample Production of *Inſtances*; ſince that, in a manner, all we have left, of the *Lives* of *Perſons*, who have made *profeſſion* of *Piety*, aſſures us, that all, without any diſtinction, *Martyrs*, *Confeſſours*, *Prelates*, *Religious Perſons*, *Laicks*, &c. even to the *Catechumens*, whom an invincible neceſſity deprived of the *Baptiſm*, they had earneſtly deſired, were, upon their diſſolution tranſlated to Heaven, where they have been, and ſtill are in *Reſt*, *Happineſs*, and *Glory*, expecting the *Reſurrection* of the *Bodies*, they have depoſited in Earth. And as we might juſtly rely on the grave *Remonſtrance*, which Saint *Hierome* made above one thouſand, two hundred, and ſeventy years ago, even in *Rome* it ſelf, to *Paula*, exceſſively lamenting the death of her *Daughter Blæſilla*; ſpeaking of himſelf, and of all *Chriſtians* in general; [x] *Nos, quorum exitum Angelorum turba comitatur, quibus obviam* Chriſtus *occurrit, gravamur magis, ſi diutiùs in iſto mortis Tabernaculo habitamus*, &c. *In* Jeſu *mortem gaudia proſequuntur*, &c. *We, whoſe Departure the Aſſemblies of Angels accompany, whom* Chriſt *comes to meet, are more grieved, that we dwell any longer in this Tabernacle of Death*, &c. *Joys attend the death, which is in* Jeſus, &c. So might we, with good reaſon, ſummon thoſe, who hold the contrary, to let us know, what they have of greater Conſequence, then the unanimous Conſent of *Euſebius*'s, *Athanaſius*'s, *Gregory*'s, *Ambroſe*'s, *Hierome*'s, *Chryſoſtome*'s, &c. and might induce them not to embrace it, and force us to change our *Opinion*.

(x) *Epiſt.* 25.

Chap. XXXIX.

The ſame Sentiment further confirmed from Sepulchral Inſcriptions.

BUt though we ſhould be willing (out of a Deſign to gratify our *Adverſaries*) not to bring into any accompt at all the Depoſitions of all theſe *Great Perſons*, and make a voluntary loſs of their *Writings*, and *Judgments*, yet would the *Epigrams*, and *Inſcriptions* of *antient Monuments*, which *Rome*, and her *Correſpondents*, preſerve for us, be enough to keep us from falling into ſo great a weakneſs, as the renouncing of our preſent *Opinion*, concerning the *State* of the *Faithfull* departed. Nay, though all the *Doctours* of the *Church* were ſilent, and their *Teſtimonies* caſt out of all reſpect, the *Stones* (as long as they ſhall remain) will not ceaſe publiſhing, and that very loudly, the truth of the perſwaſion maintained by us. Let us then conſult thoſe half-conſumed *Epitaphs*, [a] which the Providence of God hath made to triumph over ſo many ruins, and make our advantage of the hardneſs of *Marbles*, which have hitherto ſtood out againſt the injury of Times, to confound the inſenſibility of thoſe, who ſeem deſirous injuriouſly to ſmother a moſt evi-

(a) See the *Book*, entituled *Roma Subterranea*.

dent Truth. Let us propoſe it to their own Conſciences, whether it be not a very ſtrong preſumption againſt them, that not any one of thoſe *Antient Inſcriptions*, whereof they are the Preſervers, and Admirers, can, without violence, be applied to their Sentiment, and that all of them preſuppoſe ours, which yet they charge (I know not upon what accompt) with *Novelty*. Which to make ſo much the more manifeſt, I ſhall begin with the moſt ſimple, which I ſhall reduce into *Claſſes*, alledging of every one ſome *Inſtance*; then conclude with thoſe, which, being of greater length, make a clearer diſcovery of the Deſign of their *Authours*. The *Book*, entituled *Roma Subterranea*, in as much as it contains a *Deſcription* of the *Vaults*, and *Cemiteries*, digged under ground in, and about, that *City*, furniſhes us with about ninety Examples of *Epitaphs*, which ſay ſimply, *In Pace*, &c. *In Peace*, as that of *Proclus*, Interred under the eighth *Conſulſhip* of *Honorius*, that is to ſay, in the year 409. that of *Hilara*, deceaſed under the *Conſulſhip* of *Opilio*, that is to ſay, in the year 453. thoſe of *Creſcentina*, *Honoratus*, *Pelagia*, *Ulpius Feſtus*, *Quartina*, &c.

Others had τόπος ἀναπαύσεως, *a Place of Reſt*. As that of *Ammonius*, and of *Eutyches*; *Locus* Gerontı *Presbyteri*, &c. *The Place of* Gerontius *the Prieſt*, deceaſed the ſeventeenth of *June*, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Avitus*; that is to ſay, in the year 456. *Hîc habet ſedem* Leo *Presbyter*, &c. *The Prieſt* Leo *hath his Seat here*.

Others, which in ſome ſort favour of the Style of the *Heavens*. As *Domus æterna Ex. & Tyres in Pace*, &c. *The eternal houſe of Ex. and Tyre in peace*: and that of *Valeriana* in like manner.

Others had onely this word *Quieſcit*, &c. *He reſts*. As that of *Victoria*, that of *Pancratius* the *Biſhop*, deceaſed in the year 493. and that of *Alix*, the Daughter of *Pipin*, Interred at St. *Arnoul-de-Mets*.

Or *Requieſcit*, which ſignifies the ſame thing. As that of *Gordianus*, Interred the ninth of *September*, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Symmachus*; that is to ſay, in the year 485. That of *Æmiliana*, Interred the eleventh of *October*, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Probinus*, *viz*, in the year 489. That of *Pelagius the Firſt*, deceaſed the fourth of *March*, 558. That of *Auguſtine*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, deceaſed the twenty fifth of *May*, 604. That of *Boniface the Fourth*, deceaſed the eighth of *May*, 614. That of *Theodore*, who died in the year 619. That of *Theobald*, *Biſhop* of *Oſtia*. That of *Roderick* laſt King of the *Weſt-Goths*, in *Spain*, who died on *Sunday* the eleventh of *November*, 714. That of *Alcuin*, deceaſed the nineteenth of *May* 804. That of [b] *Bernard* King of *Italy*, deceaſed *April* the 17th. 871. and Interred at *Milan*, that of the *Abbot Vintila*, deceaſed at *Leon*, the three and twentieth of *December*, in the year 928.

(b) *Baronius ad ann. D. 817. Paragr. 8.*

Others, *Quievit*, &c. *He is at reſt*. As that of *Suſanna*, deceaſed the ſeven and twentieth of *July*, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Cæſarius*, and *Atticus*, in the year 397. Or *Requievit*: as that of *Leo* the *Neophyte*, deceaſed the four and twentieth of *June*, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Philippus*, and *Sallea*, in the year 348. and that of *Leontius*, the *Spanyard*, deceaſed the four and twentieth of *June*, 510.

Others, *Depoſitus*, &c. *He is left as a Pledge*, &c. As thoſe of *Macedonia*, and *Fortunula*.

Others,

Others, *Quiescet in pace*, &c. *He shall rest in Peace.* As that of *Marinus*, deceased the thirtieth of *November*, under the *Consulship* of *Arbæthio*, and *Lollianus*, in the year 355. Others, *Requiescet in pace*; which signifies the same thing: as that of *Felix*. Others, *Requievit in pace*, &c. *He is at rest in peace:* as that of *Litorius*, deceased at *Talabriga*, or *Talavera della Reina*, the four and twentieth of *June*, in the year of the *Æra* 548, or 510 of *Christ*. That of *Primus*, deceased at *Evora*, the thirteenth of *March*, according to the *Æra* 582. or 544 of *Christ*. That of *Paulina*, deceased the eighteenth of *November*, under the *Consulship* of *Datianus*, and *Cerealis*, in the year 318. That of *Andrew* of *Cajeta*, deceased the nineteenth of *October*, 585. That of *Ermengarda*, deceased the twentieth of *March*, 852.

Others, *Quiescit in pace*, &c. *He rests in peace.* As those of *Donatus*, *Principalis*, *Januarius*, *Gabinia*, *Cutinus*, *Jobinus*; and that of *Celerinus*, deceased under the seventh *Consulship* of *Valentinian* with *Avienus*, in the year 450. That of *Paulus*, deceased the twelfth of *March*, in the year of the *Æra* 582. which comes to the year of our *Saviour* 544. The *Acrostick* of the *Epitaph* of *Florentinus*, Abbot of *Sainte Croix d'Arles*, deceased the twelfth of *April*, 553.

Others, *Requiescit in pace*; which is the same: as that of *Tarreses*, under the fourth *Consulship* of *Theodosius*, in the year 411. That of *Prætextatus*, the eleventh of *October*, under the *Consulship* of *Festus*, in the year 472. That of *Paula*, under the *Consulship* of *Venantius*, in the year 508. That of *Processus*, the twenty fifth of *May*, under the *Consulship* of *Probus*, in the year 513. That of *Petronius*, under the *Consulship* of *Probinus*, in the year 489. That of *Sabinus*, under the *Consulship* of *Symmachus*, and *Boëthius*, in the year 522. That of *Romulus*, the twelfth of *September*, under the *Consulship* of *Lampadius*, and *Oreste*, in the year 530. That of *Thaumasta*, *December* the twelfth, *Indict.* 11. two years after, *viz.* 532. That of *Dausdet*, the seventeenth of *April*, after the *Consulship* of *Paulinus*, in the year 535. That of *Fausta*, Wife of *Cassius*, Bishop of *Narni*, deceased the thirtieth of *June*, 558. That of *Concordia*, deceased the thirteenth of *September*, *Indiction* 4. in the fourth year of *Mauricius*; that is to say, in the year 586.

Others, *Depositus in pace: He is deposited*, or, *Left as a Pledge in peace.* As that of *Susanna*, under the *Consulship* of *Bassus*, and *Philippus*, in the year 408. That of *Albina*, deceased the thirteenth of *October*, under the *Consulship* of *Taurus*, and *Felix*, in the year 428. That of *Timothea*, the first of *November*, under the *Consulship* of *Avitus*, in the year 456. That of *Petronia*, *October* the fifth, under the *Consulship* of *Festus*, in the year 472. That of *Exuperantia*, under the *Consulate* of *Festus* the Younger, in the year 490. That of *Boëtius*, *October* 25th. 557. Those of *Simplicius*, *Venerianus*, *Paulus*, *Innocentius*, *Viventius*, *Honorius*, *Quintianus*, *Alypia*, *Abundantius*, &c. Others, *Positus in pace*; *Lay'd in peace:* as that of *Bonifacius*.

Others, *Defunctus in pace*, &c. *He is deceased in peace:* as those of *Ilara*, and *Antiochianus*.

Others, *Decessit in pace*, &c. *He is departed in peace:* as those of *Doxius*, and *Victorius*.

Others, *Dormit in pace*, &c. *He sleepeth in peace:* as that of *Felici-*

tas, and her Son; thoſe of *Sabbatius*, *Heraclius*, *Reſpectus*.

Others, *Requieſcit in ſomno pacis*, &c. *He reſteth in the ſleep of Peace*: as that of *Mala*, deceaſed *June* the tenth, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Ætius*, in the year 432.

Others, Κεῖται ἐν εἰρήνῃ· *Jacet in pace*, &c. *He is layed in peace*: as that of *Matrona*, deceaſed *May* the fourteenth, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Herculanus*, in the year 452. That of *Hygeia*, &c.

Others, *Requieſcit in Domino*, &c. *He reſteth in the Lord*: as that of *Gerontius* the *Prieſt*, deceaſed under the *Conſulſhip* of *Avitus*, and cited by *Cardinal Baronius*, under the year 456. §. 1.

Others, *Receſſit in pace*, &c. *He is retired in peace*: as that of *Alexandria*; deceaſed the twenty third of *December*, in the year of the *Æra* 503. concurrent with the year of our *Lord* 465. That of *Paula*, deceaſed *January* the ſeventeenth, in the year of the *Æra* 582. concurrent with the year of our *Lord* 544. and that of *Gregory*, deceaſed the fourth of *February* following. That of *Julian*, Biſhop of *Euora*, deceaſed the firſt of *December*, in the year of the *Æra* 604. or the 566 of our *Saviour*.

Others, *Requievit in pace Domini*, &c. *He is at reſt in the peace of the Lord*: as that of *Severus* the *Prieſt* of *Badajox*, deceaſed *October* the twenty ſecond, in the year of the *Æra* 622. or 584 of *Chriſt*. And that of a certain Inhabitant of *Elvas*, deceaſed *February* the eighteenth, in the year of the *Æra* 582. or of *Chriſt* 544.

Others, *Quietem accepit in Deo Patre noſtro, & Chriſto ejus*, &c. *He hath taken his reſt in God our Father, and his Chriſt*: as that of *Florentinus*, cited by *Laſius* upon the *Dialogues* of *Severus Sulpicius*.

Others, *Requieſcit, depoſita in pace*, &c. *She reſts, laid up as a pledge in peace*: as that of *Dativa*, and *Baſilia*.

Others, Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προάγει· *He goes before in peace*: as that of *Receptus*.

Others, *Bene requieſcit in pace*, &c. *He reſts well in peace*: as that of *Pelagius*, and another *Anonymous* one, to the ſame ſence, *Bene requieſcit*.

Come we now to others, expreſſing ſomewhat of a more particular form, and humour; as, *Locus Sallii Pontii Jovini in Chriſto*, &c. *The place of Sallius Pontius Jovinus in* Chriſt. *Hîc pax quieſcit Caucaridis*, &c. *Here reſteth the peace of Caucaris*. And this other, *Expectat refrigeria*, He looks for refreſhments, &c. Again, *Spiritus in bono*: *The ſpirit is in the enjoyment of good*. *Redempta Polyxene*: *Polyxena redeemed*. Λέων νικῶν πάκς· Leo *victorious in peace*. Ἐνθάδε Παυλῖνα κεῖται μαχάρων ἐν χώρῳ· *Here lieth* Paulina, *in the place of the Bleſſed*, &c. *Deo ſemper unite* Luci *cum pace*: Lucius, *who art ever united to God with peace*.

There are ſome alſo, which contain *Wiſhes*: as, for inſtance, *Optatus in pace requieſcat*; *May* Optatus *reſt in peace*. *Refrigerii tibi donum potitus*, &c. *May the favour of refreſhment be communicated to thee*, &c. *Regina, vivas in Domino* Jeſu, &c. Regina, *mayeſt thou live in the Lord* Jeſus.

Nay there were ſome contained *Imprecations*. Among others this, *Malè pereat, inſepultus jaceat, non reſurgat, cum* Juda *partem habeat; ſi quis ſepulchrum hoc violaverit*, &c. *May he come to an ill-end, may he lie unburied, may he never riſe again, may he have his portion with* Judas; *whoever ſhall violate this Sepulchre*.

But

But, from these *Wishes*, cannot rationally be inferred either the delay, or total privation of their Felicity, on whose behalf they were conceived; and the refreshment, in expectation whereof the *Antients* thought them to be, did not signifie their consolation in, or after the *Pains* of *Purgatory*, which the present *Church* of *Rome* imagines; as if he, who said of his Friend, *Expectat refrigeria*, &c. *He expects refreshments*, had meant, that he was in hopes to obtain some diminution, or, haply, the absolute cessation of the Torments he endured, with some allusion to those, who, feeling the excessive Heat of Fire, wish, and hope for the respirations of a cooling, and temperate Air. On the contrary, (according to the *Romane Liturgy*, which indefinitely, and without any exception, demands, for the *Faithfull* departed, *locum refrigerii*, &c. *a place of refreshment*; expressly alluding to the *Words* of St. *Peter*, who called the Last day, (c) *The times of refreshing*, and *of the restitution of all things*:) on the contrary, I say, the Person, so wishing, considered his Friend, as aspiring to the plenary enjoyment of that happy State, whereof he expected the absolute accomplishment on the day of the *general Resurrection*, at the end of the World; though he were already, by way of advance, possessed of the Earnest thereof, according to the *Saying* of the *Author* of the *Book* of *Wisdom*, who affirms, that, (d) *Though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest*: where the *Latine Version* hath it, *in refrigerio*, &c. *in a place of refreshment*. Which shews, that the *Interpreter* had found in his *Copy*, not ἀναπαύσει, (as the *Text* hath it) but ἀναψύξει, or ἀναψυχῇ· so that, in the *Discourses* of the *Antients*, the begging of refreshments for their departed Friends could not signifie any other thing, then what is expressed in the *Liturgy* attributed to Saint *James*, in these words, Αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ ἀνάπαυσον ἐν χώρῳ ζώντων, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τῶν παραδείσου, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακὼβ, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν· ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη, καὶ στεναγμός· *Do thou cause them to rest there*, (e) *in the Land of the living*, *in* (f) *thy Kingdom*, *in the* (g) *Delights of Paradise*, *in the* (h) *Bosoms of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *our Holy Fathers*, (i) *where trouble, and sorrow, and Lamentation have no place*. Which indeed is no more, then is required in the *Liturgy*, which goes under the name of Saint *Mark*, and more at large in that, which is attributed to Saint *Clement*, and those of Saint *Basil*, and Saint *Chrysostome*; all which concur in the demand of the Celestial Beatitude, which they design by the several *Expressions* used in the *Scripture* to represent it, and suppose, that God hath communicated it ἐκεῖ, even *there*, where the departed Person, whose *Memory* is celebrated, hath been already placed. And in this sence is it confirmed by *Tertullian*, the most antient of the *Latines*; who, speaking of *Prayer for the dead*, does, in the fourth Chapter *De testimonio animæ*, call eternal Beatitude a *refreshment*; and saith, *Affirmamus expectare diem judicii, próque meritis, aut cruciatui destinari, aut refrigerio, utrique sempiterno*, &c. *We affirm, that the Soul expects the day of Judgement, and that, according to her Works, she is destined either to Torment, or to Refreshment; both which are eternal*. Which had made so deep an Impression upon some mens spirits; that, about the year 960. *Hildegarius*, Bishop of *Limoges*, *Founder* of the *Abbey* of St. *Peter*, protested, that the *Motive* of his Founding it was, *Ut pius, & clementissimus Deus, in Die Judicii, refrigerium præstare dignetur*,

(c) Act. iii. 19, 21.
(d) Sap. iv. 7.
(e) Psa. cxvi. 9.
(f) Luc. xxiii. 42.
(g) Ezek. xxviii. 13.
(h) Luc. xvi. 22, 23.
(i) Is. xxxv. 10. li. 11.

tur, &c. *That God, out of his compaſſion, and clemency, would be pleaſed to give* (to his own Soul, and thoſe of his Friends) *refreſhment, at the day of Judgment.*

Some conceive, that the *Epitaphs*, which run thus, *In pace*, &c. *Quieſcit in pace*, &c. *Depoſitus in pace*, &c. *Dormit in pace*, &c. do not ſignifie, that the Departed Perſon is in abſolute poſſeſſion of that ſovereign *Peace*, which is that of God; but ſimply, that he departed in the *Peace of the Church*. For my part, I am willing to believe, that thoſe, who gave order for ſuch *Inſcriptions*, intended thereby to comprehend the *Peace of the Church*, remembring, that, as to be grafted into the Body of the *viſible Church* is naturally an *external* mark of the *Believer*'s admiſſion into the *ſociety of the Saints*, whoſe Names are written in Heaven; ſo the participation of her Peace is many times a *Pledge* of the Peace of God. But it is impoſſible, it ſhould be the intention of the *Authours* of thoſe antient *Epitaphs*, to ſpeak of the *Peace of the Church*; and to inſinuate, that the *Faithfull* departed were not (when God called them out of this world) *excommunicated*. And that for theſe reaſons:

Firſt, Theſe very *Forms* are indifferently uſed upon the *Tombs* of *Martyrs*, little *Children*, and Perſons *newly-baptized*: who, every one knows, could not have deſerved the *Cenſures* of the *Church*; but were, without diſpute, paſſed from the troubles of this life into the reſt of Heaven, which onely may be denoted by the name of *Peace*, inſcribed upon their *Monuments*.

Secondly, It may be ſaid, that neither being poſſeſſed of the *Peace of the Church* is an infallible aſſurance of the participation of that of God, out of which are excluded *Hypocrites*, whom the *Church* muſt of neceſſity entertain in her *Communion*, as not knowing their *interiour*; nor does the privation of the *Church*'s peace neceſſarily infer the denyal of that of God; it being poſſible, that many *good* people (through *Errour* in matter of Fact) may be treated in the ſociety of the *Faithfull* otherwiſe, then they ſhould; as, for Example, a *Meletius*, whom the *Church* of *Rome* never honoured with her *Communion*, though now ſhe acknowledges, by the Celebration ſhe *annually* makes of his *Memory*, that he was moſt worthy of it, and a Perſon precious in the ſight of God. Whence it follows; that the *Faithfull* departed ſhould not carry hence with them a truly perſwaſive Teſtimony of the Piety, in which they ended their dayes; if the ſurviving, ſaying onely *They died in Peace*, thought it enough to attribute to them an advantage, many times common to thoſe, who have, through their own fault, been deprived of the *Grace* of God to their Dying-day.

Thirdly, Becauſe the *Antients* have, by ſeveral *Forms*, expreſſed their Sentiment, and declared, that, when they aſſigned *Peace* to their *deceaſed Brethren*, they *ſpecifically* limited themſelves to the *peace of God*; which onely is able to make them happy. Thus (not to mention the *Inſcription* of the *Tombs* of *Severus* of *Badajox*, and the *Inhabitant* of *Elvas*, which hath expreſly *Pacem Domini*, *The peace of the Lord*) the *Epitaph* of *Junius Baſſus*, cited by *Cardinal Baronius*, ſays, that *Neophytus ſit ad Deum VIII. Calend. Septemb. Euſebio & Hypatio Coſs.* &c. *Being newly-converted to the Faith, he went to God on the eighth of the Calends of* September,

tember, Eusebius *and* Hypatius *being Consuls:* that is to say, *August* the twenty fifth, 359. That of *Eusebia, Copied* by *Father Sirmond*, in his *Notes* upon *Sidonius*, runs thus, Ἐνθάδε κεῖται Εὐσεβία ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὖσα, &c. ὑπατείᾳ Ὀνωρίου τὸ ἡ· καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τὸ ά. *Here lieth* Eusebia, *who is in peace*, &c. *under the eighth Consulship of* Honorius, *and the first of* Constantine, *in the year* 409. That of *Gaudentia*, thus; *Gabina Gaudentia*, &c. *perpetuâ quiescit in pace*, &c. Gabina Gaudentia *resteth in perpetual peace*. That of *Timothea*, thus; *Timothea in pace D. Kal. Nov. Conf. D. N. Aviti*, &c. Timothea *hath been deposited in the peace of the Lord*, Nov. 1. Avitus *our Lord being Consul, in the year* 456. That of *Marius*, thus; *Satis vixit; dum vitam pro* Christo *cum signo consumpsit, in pace tandem quievit*, &c. *He hath lived long enough; since he hath spent his life for* Christ, *with the Sign* (of Faith) *and is at length deposed in peace*. That of *Placidus*, thus; *Tandem in Cœlo quiescit: He is at length rested in Heaven*. To the same sense was that of *Alexander the Martyr*, burnt at *Rome* on the tenth of *July*, for the Testimony of *Christ*. "*Alexander* "mortuus non est; sed vivit super Astra, & corpus in hoc Tumulo "quiescit. Vitam explevit cum *Antonino Imp.* qui ubi multum beneficii "antevenire prævideret, pro gratia odium reddit; genua enim flectens, "vero Deo sacrificaturus, ad supplicia ducitur. O tempora infausta, "quibus inter sacra, & vota, nè in cavernis quidem salvari possimus! "Quid miserius vita; sed quid miserius in Morte, cùm ab Amicis, & "Parentibus, sepeliri nequeamus. Tandem in Cœlo corruscat; pa-"rùm vixit, iv. x. tem..... Alexander *is not dead; but lives above the Stars, and his Body rests in this Tomb. He ended his life with the Emperour* Antoninus; *who, foreseeing that much good was to happen to him, returns him Hatred instead of Favour. For, when he had bent his Knees, to sacrifice to the true God, he is led to punishment. O unhappy times, wherein, among sacred Exercises, and Devotions, we cannot be safe, not even in Caverns! What more miserable, then Life? but is there any thing more miserable in Death, then that we cannot be buried by our Friends, and Kindred? At length he shines in heaven; he hath lived but a short time*, &c. That of *Mala*; *Requiescit in somno pacis*, &c. *accepta apud Deum*, &c. *She rests in a sleep of peace*, &c. *received near God*. That of *Marius Innocentius*; *In pace Dei dormit*, &c. *He sleeps in the Peace of the Lord*. That of *Paulina*; Κεῖται μακάρων ἐνὶ χώρῳ· *She lies in the place of the Blessed*. That of *Florentius*; *Requiem accepit in Deo Patre nostro, &* Christo *ejus*, &c. *He is at rest in God our Father, and his* Christ. That of *Lucius*; *Deo Sancto unite cum pace*, &c. *Thou united to the Holy God with peace*. That of *Leo*; Νίκων· *He is Victorious*. That of *Receptus*; Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προάγει· *He goes before in peace*. That of *Jovinus*; *Locus* Sallii Pontii Jovini *in* Christo, *&c. The place of* Sallius Pontius Jovinus *in* Christ.

Having thus heard the Judgment of Pious *Antiquity* concerning the *State* of the *Faithfull* departed, and learn'd of it, that they *go to God*, that they *are*, and *go before, in peace*; that they *are*, and *sleep, in the peace of the Lord*; that they are *received to the Lord*, and *united* to him *with peace*; that they are *in the place of the Blessed*; that they *rest in eternal peace*, and in *heaven*, as *Conquerours*; which is confirmed by the Figures of *Crowns, Palms*, and the *Dove* bringing to *Noë* the *Olive-branch*, the *Symbol* of the

the *peace of God*, graved upon moſt of the *antient Tombs*; who can, without renouncing common ſence, and oppoſing the Teſtimony of his own eys, which read theſe words, and ſee theſe *Symbolical Pourtraitures* upon the *Monuments*, where words are wanting, imagine, that the *Epitaphs*, whereby the *Deceaſed* are ſaid to be *in peace*, &c. *in peace*, ſignifie onely, that they died not under *Excommunication*; and not, that they are (as *Combatants* retired out of the Field) happy, and triumphant in *Celeſtial Glory?*

CHAP. XL.

The ſame deduced from larger Epitaphs.

WE have not any *Epitaph* in *Verſe* of more Antient *Date*, then the *Papacy* of *Damaſus*; by whoſe Hand, the firſt we have were written; but we may confidently affirm, that even thoſe, and almoſt all, that have been compoſed from the year 384. in which that *Prelate* ended his Life, to the year 900. conſtantly preſuppoſe the *Beatitude*, and *Glory* of thoſe, to whoſe *Memory* they were Dedicated. Thus that of *Irene*, *Siſter* to the ſaid *Pope*;

"Quum ſibi eam raperet melior tunc Regia Cœli,
"Non timui mortem, Cœlos quòd libera adiret;
"Sed dolui (fateor) conſortia perdere vitæ, *&c.*
Now, that t' a better place ſhe's ſnatch'd, her death
I grieve not, ſince to heav'n ſhe's freely gone;
But that I've loſt her converſation,
Is my regret.——

That of *Projecta*, deceaſed the thirtieth of *December*, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Merobaudes*, and *Saturninus*, in the year 383.

—— "Ex oculis *Flori* Genitoris abivit,
"Ætheream cupiens Cœli conſcendere lucem, *&c.*
—— *She vaniſh'd from her Father's ſight,*
Greedy to go to heav'ns æthereal Light.

That of *Tigris*, *Deacon* of the *Romane* Church;

—— "Quæris Plebs ſancta redemptum
"Levitam? ſubitò rapuit ſibi Regia Cœli, *&c.*
"Nunc Paradiſus habet, ſumpſit qui ex hoſte Trophæa, *&c.*
—— *Do you the redeemed Levite ſeek?*
Heav'n's Court hath ſnatch'd him hence. ——
Who Tropheys from the Enemy did wreſt,
Of heav'n is now poſſeſt.

A manner of ſpeaking uſed by *Pope Damaſus* in the *Epitaph* of his *ſiſter Irene*, and of the *Saints*, *Martyrs*; of whom he ſays,

"Sublimes animas rapuit ſibi Regia Cœli, *&c.*
"*To heav'n's Court high ſouls are carried hence.*

And

And the concluſion of the whole *Epigram* is,

He, who took Tropheys from the Enemy,
In Paradiſe enjoyes felicity.

That of *Tigris*, the *Prieſt:*

" Sedibus in propriis mens pura, & membra, quieſcunt:
" Iſta jacent Tumulo; gaudet at illa Polo, *&c.*
" Promeruit ſuperas lætior ire domos, *&c.*

His Minde, and Members, ſev'ral ſeats contain:
In Heaven that; theſe in the Grave remain.

That of *Marcellina, Siſter* of St. *Ambroſe*:

——" Te pia Virgo, ſupernum
" Accipit Imperium, placidæq; ad munera vitæ,
" Æternum *Chriſtus* pretium tibi deſtinat Aulæ, *&c.*
——" Te, Virgo, tuus transvexit ad æthera Sponſus, *&c.*

To bleſſed Life, and a Supernal Throne,
The juſt reward of thy Devotion,
Does Chriſt *receive thee, Virgin*, &c.
Virgin, to Heaven thy Spouſe does thee tranſport.

That of *Probus, Præfect* of the *Prætorium;*

" Eximii reſolutus in ætheris æquore, tutum
" Curris iter, —*&c.*
" Nunc propior *Chriſto*, Sanctorum ſede potitus,
" Luce nova frueris, Lux tibi *Chriſtus* adeſt, *&c.*
——" Renovatus habes perpetuam requiem,
" Candida fuſcatus nullâ velamina culpâ,
" Et novus inſuetis incola luminibus, *&c.*
" Vivit in æternum Paradiſi ſede Beatus,
" Qui nova decedens muneris ætherii
" Veſtimenta tulit; quo demigrante, *Belial*
" Ceſſit, & ingemuit hìc nihil eſſe ſuum, *&c.*
" Dilectæ gremio raptus in aſtra *Probæ*, &c.
" Vivit, & aſtra tenet,——*&c.*

Diſolv'd thou ſafely runſt, th' etherial Plain.
Near Chriſt *thou of a bleſsed Seat poſſeſt;*
Chriſt *being thy light, thou a new light enjoy'ſt*, &c.
Thou now renew'd perpetuall reſt doſt gain,
Thy ſnowy Robes of guilt admit no ſtain,
And of an unaccuſtom'd place thou art
A new Inhabitant——&c.
He ever-happy lives in Paradiſe,
Who carries hence Robes firſt, had from the Skies:
At his departure Belial *complies,*
And grieves to find in him there's nothing his, &c.
In his lov'd Proba's *Boſom hee's receiv'd*, &c.
Poſſeſt of Heaven he lives.——

That of *Pope* SIRICIUS, deceaſed the 22th. of *February*, in the year 398.

" Nunc requiem ſentit, cœleſtia regna potitus, *&c.*
" *Now, got to Heav'n, he does his reſt enjoy.*

That of *Celsus*, a young Lad, a *Spaniard*, deceased about the year 394. and celebrated by *Paulinus*, since Bishop of *Nola*:

" Lætor obîsse brevi functum mortalia sæc'lo,
" Ut citò divinas perfrueretur opes, *&c.*
——" Placidam Deus æthere *Christus*
" Arcessens merito sumpsit honore animam, *&c.*
" Spiritus Angelico vectus abit gremio, *&c.*
——" Superno in lumine *Celsum*
" Credite vivorum lacte, favísque, frui, *&c.*
Glad, that he's soon discharged hence, I am,
That sooner he Riches divine might claim, &c.
Christ *hath his peacefull Soul to Heav'n receiv'd,*
With it's deserved honour.——
To Angels Bosoms his spirit is convey'd, &c.
Celsus *in light above, doubt not (though dead)*
With living Milk, and Honey-combs, is fed.

That of *Clarus*, deceased the 8th of *November*, about the year 402.

" Libera corpóreo mens carcere gaudet in astris,
" Pura, probatorum sedem sortita piorum, *&c.*
——" Spiritus æthere gaudet,
" Discipulúmque pari sociat super astra Magistrō, *&c.*
" Emeritus superis Spiritus involitas:
" Sive Patrum finibus recubas, Domnive sub ara
" Conderis, aut sacro pascéris in nemore;
" Qualibet in regione Poli situs, aut Paradisi,
" *Clare*, sub æterna pace quietus agis, *&c.*
Among the Just his habitation is,
Of Body free'd, possess'd of Heav'nly bliss, &c.
——*His Soul to Heav'n is flown,*
The Scholar to the Master equal grown, &c.
Thou a discharged Spirit to Heav'n fly'st,
And whether thou i'th' Patriarch's *Bosom ly'st:*
Or under the Lord's *Altar art detain'd,*
Or an aboad i'th' Sacred Grove hast gain'd;
What part, or place of Paradise *thou'st got,*
Eternal Peace, and Rest, is Clarus *lot.*

That of *Paula*, deceased in the year 404.

" Aspicis angustum præcisa rupe Sepulchrum,
" Hospitium *Paulæ*, cœlestia regna tenentis, *&c.*
Seest thou a Rock into a Coffin hewn,
'Tis Paula's *Mansion, who to Heav'n is flown.*

That of *Concordius* of *Arles*, deceased about the same time.

" Integer, atque pius, vitáque, & corpore purus,
" Æterno, hîc positus, vivit *Concordius* ævo, *&c.*
" Hunc citò, sideream raptum Omnipotentis in Aulam,
" Et Mater blanda, & Fratres in funere quærunt, *&c.*
Here, Pious, Good, of Life, and Body pure,
Concordius *of Eternity lies sure,* &c.
Him, snatch'd to the Almighty's starry Hall,
A Mother kind, and Brethren, do bewail.

That

That of *Pope* BONIFACE *the First*, deceaſed the 25th of *October*, 423.

"——— Membráque clauſit,
"Certus, in adventu glorificanda Dei, *&c.*
"Quis te, Sancte Parens, cum *Chriſto* neſciat eſſe? *&c.*
———*His Members he did lay,*
Aſsur'd of Glory on the laſt great day, &c.
Who doubts thy being with Chriſt, *Great Man?*——

That of *Pope* CELESTINE, gathered to the reſt of the LORD, *April* the 6th, 432.

——"Vitam migravit in illam,
"Debita quæ Sanctis æternos reddit honores, *&c.*
———"Mens, neſcia mortis,
"Vivit, & aſpectu fruitur bene conſcia *Chriſti*, &c.
———*Be to that life is gone,*
Where bleſſed Saints eternal Honours crown, &c.
———*The Mind, immortal, lives*
And, guiltleſs, Chriſt *contemplates*———

That of St. *Hilary* of *Arles*, departed this world to a better Life, *May* the 5th, 449.

"Hîc carnis ſpolium liquit, ad aſtra volans, *&c.*
——"Nec mirum poſt mortem tua limina, *Chriſte*,
"Angelicásque domos intravit, & aurea regna,
"Divitias, *Paradiſe*, tuas, fragrantia ſemper
"Gramina, nitentes divinis floribus hortos,
"Subjectásque videt nubes, & ſidera cœli, *&c.*
To Heav'n flown, his Fleſhy Robe lies here, &c.
—Nor is it much, if, after Death,
To Angels Manſions he, admittance hath,
And of the Golden Kingdoms is poſſeſt,
And with thy Wealth, O Paradiſe, *is bleſt,*
Where ever-fragrant Verdures he may tread,
And Gardens with divinest Flow'rs o'erſpread,
And Clouds, and Stars beneath him, &c.———

That of the *Abbot* ABRAHAM, deceaſed the 15th of *June*, about the year 480. in *Auvergne*:

"Jam te circumſtant *Paradiſi* millia ſacri;
"*Abraham* jam te, comperegrinus, habet;
"Jam patriam ingrederis, ſede, qua decidit *Adam*;
"Jam potes ad fontem fluminis ire tui, *&c.*
Thouſands of Paradiſe *now round thee are*;
With Abraham, *thy Fellow-traveller,*
Thou art, poſſeſſed of that, whence Adam *fell*;
Thou mayſt of thine own Streams go to the Well.

That, which *Ennodius* the *Deacon*, and afterwards *Biſhop* of *Pavia*, made in Honour of *Bonus*:

"Exemplum terris linquens, ad ſidera raptus, *&c.*
———*The World he leaves,*
Taught by's Example; *him the Sky receives.*

That of *Abundantius*, compoſed by the ſame *Ennodius*:

——" Non ſentit damna Sepulchri, *&c.*

——" *Feels not the Loſſes of the Grave.*

That of *Ruſtica*, writ by the ſame Hand:

" Purior æthereas graderis ſine carne per arces, *&c.*

Disrob'd of fleſh, thou walk'ſt th' ethereal Tow'rs.

That of *Meliſſa*, due to the ſame *Authour*:

" De vita ad vitam tranſitus iſte placet, *&c.*

From life to life to paſs is my delight.

That, whereby he celebrated the *Memory* of *Victor*, *Biſhop* of *Novara*:

" Spiritus ætherea congaudet lucidus arce, *&c.*

His lightſom Soul ſports in the Starry Vault.

That, which he hath left in Honour of *Euphemia*:

——" Mens niveis quàm bene juncta choris? *&c.*

How well her minde ſuits with the ſnowy Quires
Of Bleſſed Spirits?——

That of *Atolus* of *Rheims*, Contemporary with Saint *Remy*:

" Proprium cenſum cœlum transvexit in altum,

" In quo ſuſcepit, quod miſerendo dedit, *&c.*

——" Prærutilum detinet ipſe Polum.

Heav'ns Treaſure he to Heav'n ha's reaſſign'd,
Where what he here in pity gave does finde, &c.
——*Of Heaven he's poſſeſt.*

That of the *Conſul* BOETHIUS, Beheaded in the year 524. by the command of *Thierry*, *King* of the *Oſtrogoths*:

——" Probitas me vexit ad auras, *&c.*

"Ecce! *Boethus* adeſt in cœlo magnus——*&c.*

——*My piety to Heaven me brought*, &c.
Behold, in Heav'n the great Boethius *is*, &c.

That of *Petronius*:

" Corpus humo, animam *Chriſto*, *Petroni*, dediſti:
" Nam juſtæ mentes foventur lucè celeſti,
" Sidereásque colunt ſedes, mundóque fruuntur, *&c.*

——*Thy Body earth does finde*,
Thy Soul, Petronius, *th' haſt to* Chriſt *aſſign'd*:
Juſt minds celeſtial Light ſurrounds, the Sky
Their Seats they, onely, what is pure, enjoy.

That of *Liberius*, *Præfect* of that Part of the *Gauls* now called *Languedoc*, under *Theodorick*, *King* of the *Oſtrogoths*:

——" Cùm membra recedunt,
" Neſcit fama mori, lucida vita manet, *&c.*

——*Thy Limbs may rot*,
Thy Fame remains, a brighter Life's thy lot.

That of *Pope* FELIX *the Fourth*, deceaſed *February* the 29th 528.

" Certa fides juſtis cœleſtia regna patere,

" Antiſtes *Felix* quæ modo lætus habet, *&c.*

Felix *in Heaven hath felicity*;
Whoſe Courts unto the Juſt ev'r openly.

That

That of *Florentinus*, *Abbot* of *Saint Croix d' Arles*, deceaſed *April* the 25th, *Indict.* 1. in the 12th year after the *Conſulſhip* of *Baſilius*; that is to ſay in the year 553.

" Fulgida regna petens, cœleſti ſorte vocatus,
" Lucis & æternæ penetrans faſtigia lætus,
" Optimus, atque pius, nunc *Florentinus* in iſto
" Reſplendet Tumulo, *&c.*
—" Hinc celſa Poli capiens jam præmia felix,
" Sanctorum ſocius fruitur cum laude coronam, *&c.*
Good Florentinus, *fam'd for Piety,*
Call'd hence by a celeſtial Lot, does by,
Joyfull, to th' Palace of eternal Light,
Shining ev'n in his Tomb———
Heav'n's high rewards he, happy, does obtain,
And with the Saints an equal Crown does gain.

That of *Pope* PELAGIUS *the Firſt*, deceaſed *March* the 2d, 559.

" Vivit in arce Poli, cœleſti luce beatus, *&c.*
———*In th' Starry Tow'rs,*
Bleſt with celeſtial light, he ſpends his hours.

That of St. *Germain* of *Paris*, deceaſed the 28th of *March*, 576.

" Carne tenet Tumulum, mentis honore Polum, *&c.*
" Jure triumphali conſidet arce Poli, *&c.*
The Tomb with Fleſh he fills, the Heav'n his Mind
Adorns, &c.
He ſits in Heav'n by a Triumphal right.

That of *Chlodobert*, the Son of King *Chilpericus*, and *Fredegonda*:

" Non fleat ullus amor, quem modo cingit honor, *&c.*
" Perpetui regni ſe favet arce frui, *&c.*
Whom Honour now ſurrounds, no Love bewail, &c.
He Joyes, poſſeſs'd of the eternal Throne.

That of *Dagobert*, Brother of *Chlodobert*:

" Rapte Polis, *&c.* Lux tenet alta Throno, *&c.*
To Heav'n ſnatch'd, &c. *an Heav'nly light detains*
Him on the Throne.———

That of *Andrew* of *Caieta*, deceaſed in the year 585.

" Pande tuas, *Paradiſe*, fores, ſedémque beatam,
" *Andreæ* meritum ſuſcipe Pontificis, *&c.*
" Quæ meditata fides, & credita ſemper, inhæſit;
" Hæc te uſque ad cœlos, & ſuper aſtra, tulit, *&c.*
For Andrew's *Merit open'd Heav'n prepare*
A bleſſed Seat———
The conſtant Faith, which ever was in thee,
Hath rais'd thee above Heav'n's ſublimity.

That of *Gregory*, *Biſhop* of *Langres*, deceaſed *January* the 4th, about the year 540.

———" Poſt Tumulos implet honore Polos, *&c.*
" Nunc ſuper Aſtra manet, *&c.*
Death once o'recome, he fills the Heav'n with praiſe, &c.
His Manſion is above the Stars.———

That

That of *Tetricus*, Son and Succeſſour of *Gregory*, deceaſed about the year 570.

——" Dignus in Aſtris
" Mentis honore nites. ——
—— *Thou, by an exc'llent mind.*
Among the Stars to ſhine a place doſt finde.

That of *Evemerus*, Biſhop of *Nantes*, deceaſed about the year 550.

" Æternum locum, miſſus ad Aſtra, tenet, &c.
" Felix ille abiit, &c.
Sent to the Skies, his everlaſting Seat, &c.
Bleſt man, he's gone ——

That of the two *Ruricius's*, Biſhops of *Limoges*, Grand-father, & Grand-childe; the former deceaſed about the year 500; the later, about the year 550.

" Inter *Apoſtolicos* credimus eſſe Choros, &c.
Among th' Apoſtles we believe they are.

That of *Chronopius*, Biſhops of *Perigueux*, deceaſed about the year 540.

—— " Tua Cœlis ſtat ſine labe domus, &c.
" Nunc tibi, pro meritis, eſt ſine fine dies, &c.
Thy Houſe in Heaven ſtands, &c.
For thy good Works an endleſs day 's thy lot.

That of *Chalacterius*, or *Cales*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, deceaſed the eighth of *October*, about the year 570.

" Abreptus terris, juſtus ad Aſtra redis, &c.
" Ad *Paradiſiacas* Epulas te cive reducto,
" Unde gemit mundus, gaudet honore Polus, &c.
Snatch'd from the Earth, thou doſt to Heav'n retire, &c.
While thou at heav'nly Feaſts art entertain'd,
The Earth bewails what Heaven hence ha's gain'd.

Where, by *what makes the Earth bewail*, muſt needs be underſtood the *Tranſlation* of that *Prelate* into Glory.

That of *Eſocius*, Biſhop of *Limoges*, deceaſed about the year 580.

" Non decet hunc igitur vacuis deflere lamentis;
" Poſt tenebras mundi, quem tenet aula Poli, &c.
Who this world darkneſs left to heav'n's Court's gone,
Needs not our fruitleſs Lamentation.

That of *Victorinus*, Abbot of *Agaunum*, or St. *Maurice de Chablais*, Contemporary with *Eſocius*:

" Nunc fruitur vultu, quem cupiebat amor, &c.
The Face, which was the Object of his Love,
H'as now the Bliſs to ſee ——

That of *Hilarius* the *Prieſt*,

" Corpore qui terras, & tenet Aſtra Fide, &c.
Whoſe Body Earth, whoſe Faith the Skie contains.

That of *Servilio*:

—— " Cœlis gaudia vera tenet, &c.
" Raptus ab Orbe quidem, lætus ad Aſtra redit, &c.
He's fill'd in Heav'n with certain Joys ——
Snatch'd hence, he, joyfull, to the Stars returns.

That

That of *Præsidius:*

" Inter Angelicos fulget honore Choros, *&c.*
'Mong Quires of Angels he in honour shines, &c.

That of *Ægidius:*

" Nulli flendus erit, quem *Paradisus* habet, *&c.*
Whom Heav'n enjoys, no man needs lament, &c.

That of *Basilius:*

" Patriam Cœli, dulcis Amice, tenes, *&c.*
Of heav'n thy Country, Friend, thou art possess'd.

That of *Avolus:*

" Gaudia Lucis habet. ———
" Felix, post Tumulos, possidet ille Polos, *&c.*
" Luce perenè fruens, felix cui mortua mors est, *&c.*
H' enjoys the Joys of Light. ———
To Heav'n after death he, blessed, is transferr'd, &c.
——— *How happy he,*
Who, blest with light, o're Death hath Victory.

That of *Euphrasia*, the Wife of *Namatius*, Bishop of *Vienna*, deceased the seventeenth of *November*, about the year 560.

" Inclyta Sydereo radias *Euphrasia* regno;
" Nec mihi flenda manes, nec tibi læta places:
" Terræ terra dedit; sed Spiritus Astra recepit:
" Pars jacet hæc Tumulo; pars tenet illa Polum, *&c.*
Thou now, Euphrasia, *shin'st in Heaven bright;*
My grief no longer, nor thy own delight:
Earth went to Earth; the Stars her spirit have:
This part's in Heav'n; th' other in the Grave.

That of *Vilithura*, the Wife of *Dagulph:*

—— " Quæ larga dedit hæc, modò plena metit, *&c.*
What freely given was she fully reaps.

That of Queen *Theodechilda*, the Daughter of *Thierry*, King of *Mets*, Son to the Great *Clodoveus:*

" Felix, cui meritis stat sine fine dies, *&c.*
Happy, whose Works eternal day attends.

That of *Geleswentha*, second Wife of *King* Chilpericus *the First:*

" Non hanc flere decet, quam *Paradisus* habet, *&c.*
'Twere ill the Blest in heaven to lament, &c.

That of *Eoladius* of *Nevers*, deceased about the year 570.

" Adventum gaudens sustinet hic Domini, *&c.*
He, glad, expects the coming of the Lord.

That of *Pope* Gregory *the First*, deceased the 4th. of *March*, 604.

" Spiritus Astra petit, *&c.* ———
" Mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes, *&c.*
His spirit to Heaven flies, &c.
Thou of thy Works hast now thy endless Meed.

That of *Vincent, Abbot* of *Leon*, deceased the eleventh of *March*, according to the *Julian Period* 668. or 630 after *Christ*, " Sua sacra tenet anima cœleste; *His sacred Soul is in an heavenly Mansion*, &c.

" Raptus

(a) *Leg.* oras.

" Raptus ad ætherias ſubitò pervenit ad (*a*) auras, *&c.*
Snatch'd hence, thou ſoon t' th' heav'nly parts art fled.

That of *Pope Boniface the Fifth*, deceaſed the 25th. of *October*, 625.

" Ad magni culmen honoris abit, *&c.*
He's gone of honour to th' accompliſhment.——

That of *Pope Honorius*, deceaſed the twelfth of *October*, 638.

" Æternæ luis, (*Chriſto* dignante) perennes,
" Cum Patribus ſanctis, poſſide, jámque domos.
Thou, who to th' holy Sires haſt ta'ne thy flight,
Enjoy (*through* Chriſt) *th' eternal Seats of Light.*

That of *Pope Benedict* II. deceaſed the ſeventh of *May*, 685.

" Percipe ſalvati præmia celſa gregis *&c.*
The high rewards of thoſe are ſav'd receive.

That of *Ceadwalla*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, deceaſed the twentieth of *April*, 689. *Indict.* 2.

——— " Mente ſuperna tenet.
" Commutâſſe magis ſceptrorum Inſignia credas,
" Quem regnum *Chriſti* promeruiſſe vides, *&c.*
——— *His ſpirit in heaven ſoars.*
Who to Chriſt's *Throne is raiſed, may be ſaid,*
But an exchange of Scepters to have made.

That of *Theodore* of *Canterbury*, deceaſed the 19th. of *September*, 690.

" Alma novæ ſcandens felix conſortia vitæ,
" Civibus Angelicis junctus in arce Poli, *&c.*
Advanc'd to a ſociety of Bliß.
With Angel-Citizens h' in heaven is.

That of *Wilfrid*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *York*, deceaſed *October* the 12th. 709.

———Gaudens cœleſtia regna petivit, *&c.*
Rejoycing he to heav'n's gone. ———

That of *Bede*, ſirnamed *Venerable*, deceaſed *May* 26th. being *Aſcenſion-Day*; which argues his death to have happened in the year 735.

" *Juni* ſeptenis viduatus carne Kalendis,
" *Angligena* Angelicam commeruit Patriam, *&c.*
May's *twenty ſixth, of fleſh uncloathed*, Bede
'Mongſt Angels went to have a heav'nly meed.

That of *Richard*, King of *England*, deceaſed *February* the 7th. 750.

——" Regnum tenet ipſe Polorum, *&c.*
Of heav'n's Kingdom he's poſſeſs'd.———

That of *Fulrad*, *Abbot* of St. *Denys*, deceaſed in the year, 784.

" Credimus idcirco Cœlo ſocietur ut illis, *&c.*
——— *In heav'n we*
Believe him bleſt with (b) *their ſociety.*

(b) The Fathers.

That of *Meginarius*, his *Succeſſour*:

" Poſt mortem meliùs vivit in arce Poli, *&c.*
Death paſt, he lives in heav'n a better life.

That of *Arichis*, *Duke* of *Beneventum*, deceaſed the ſix and twentieth of *Auguſt*, 787.

——" Te pro meritis nunc *Paradiſus* habet, *&c.*
For thy good Works heaven is thy reward.

That

That of *Tilpin, Arch-Biſhop* of *Rheims*, deceaſed the ſecond of *September*, 789.

"Mortua quando fuit, mors ſibi vita manet, *&c.*
When Death is dead, Life his Portion is.

That of *Pope* Adrian *the Firſt* deceaſed, the 26th of *December*, 795.

——— "Mors janua vitæ,
"Sed melioris, erat———
Death was the entrance of a better Life.

That of *Peter*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, deceaſed about the ſame time;

"Admiſtus gaudet cætibus Angelicis, *&c.*
—— "Retinent te gaudia Cœli, *&c.*
Rejoycing among Angels, he ———
Heav'n's joys thy entertainment are.

That of *Hildegard*, firſt Wife of *Charle-maign*, deceaſed in the year 783. *April* the thirtieth.

"Pro dignis factis ſacra regna tenes ———
Thy worthy acts the ſacred Kingdom gain'd.

That of *Faſtrada*, ſecond Wife of the ſame *Prince*, deceaſed in the year 794.

"Modò Cœleſti nobilior Thalamo, *&c.*
A heav'nly bed makes her more Noble.——

That of Count *Gerald*, deceaſed in the year 799.

"Sideribus animam dedit ——
He rendred his Soul to heaven ——

That of *Hildegard*, Daughter by his firſt Wife:

"Tu nimium felix, gaudia longa petis, *&c.*
Thou, ever-happy, to long Joys doſt go.

That of *Charle-maign* himſelf, deceaſed on *Saturday*, the eighth of *January*, 814.

———"Meruit fervida fæc'li
"Ætherei, *&c.* ——
"Æquora tranſire, & placidum conſcendere portum, *&c.*

That of *Adelhard, Abbot* of St. *Peter* of *Corbie*, deceaſed the ſecond of *January*, 822.

——— "*Paradiſi* jure colonis, *&c.*
Inhabitant of Pardiſe ———

That of *Ermengard*, Wife to the *Emperour Lotharius*, deceaſed the twentieth of *March*, being *Good-Friday*, in the year 852.

"Linquens regna ſoli, penetravit regna Polorum,
"Cum *Chriſto*, & ſanctis, gaudia vera tenens, *&c.*
Leaving Earth's Crowns, to thoſe of Heav'n ſhe's gone,
With Chriſt, *and's Saints in exultation.*

That of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, who died on *Sunday*, the twentieth of *June*, 840.

"In pacis metas colligit hunc pietas, *&c.*
Him Piety brings into the land of Peace.

That of *Dreux*, Biſhop of *Mets*, deceaſed the eighth of *November*, 857.

"Spiritus in requie, lætus, ovat *Abrahæ*, &c.
The joyfull ſpirit exults in Abra'm's *Reſt.*

That of the *Emperour* Lewis *the Second*, deceaſed the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, 875.

——— "Gaudet
"Spiritus in Cœlis, Corporis extat honos, *&c.*
——— *The Body's honour is*
Apparent, but the ſpirit's in heave'nly bliß.

That of the *Emperour Carolus Calvus*, deceaſed the ſixth of *October*, 877.

——— "Spiritum reddidit ille Deo, *&c.*
—— *He to God his Spirit return'd.*

That of *Anſegiſus*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Sens*, deceaſed the twenty fifth of *November*, 883.

——— "Spiritus Aſtra tenet, *&c.*
—— "*Of heav'n his Spirit's poſſeſt.*

That of *John Scotus*, dead the ſame year:

—— "*Chriſti* conſcendere regnum
"Quo meruit, ſancti regnat per ſæcula cuncti, *&c.*
He to aſcend Chriſt's *Kingdom did obtain.*
Where all the Saints eternally do reign.

That of *Pope* John *the Eighth*, deceaſed the fifteenth of *December*, the year before:

"Et nunc cœlicolas cernit ſuper Aſtra Phalanges, *&c.*
——— *Above the Skies*
Now he the heav'nly Batallions ſpyes.

That of *Ermengard*, Daughter of *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, deceaſed the three and twentieth of *December*, about the ſame time:

"Bis denos octo vitæ compleverat annos,
"Migrans ad ſponſum Virgo beata ſuum, *&c.*
Twice eighteen years this Maid had liv'd compleat,
When happy ſhe went hence her Spouſe to meet.

That of *Bruno*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Cullen*, deceaſed the eleventh of *October*, 969.

"Jam frueris Domino ———
Thou now enjoy'ſt the Lord.

That of *Notger*, *Abbot* of St. *Gal*, deceaſed the ſixth of *April*, 981.

"Idibus octonis hic carne ſolutus *Aprilis*,
"Cœlis invehitur, —— *&c.*
Having lai'd down his fleſhy burthen, on
The ſixth of April, *he to heav'n is gone.*

That of *Gonzales*, cited by *Prudentio de Sandoval*, Biſhop of *Pampeluna*, to the year of the *Julian Period* 1030. or of *Chriſt* 992.

"A qui repoſa y en la gloria goza, *&c.*
Here reſts, and glorious happineſs enjoys.

That of *Donna Sancia:*

"Dio fin glorioſo a eſta vida,
"Par a gozar de la æterna, *&c.*
That ſhe might gain eternal life in Bliß,
She gave a glorious Period unto this.

That of *Sancia*, *Counteſs* of *Caſtile:*

"Bis

"Bis vinctum *Comitem* è carcere adduxit,
"Cœlicas sedes, beata, quæ possidet, &c.
She out of Prison twice her Count *reliev'd,*
To heav'nly Seats who, happy, now's receiv'd.

That of *Count Fernand*, of *Gonzalva*:

"Belliger invictus ductus ad Astra fuit, &c.
To heav'n th'undaunted Souldier was convey'd.

And *Sebastian* of *Salamanca*, speaking of *Ordonio the First*, places him in Heaven; saying, *Felix stat in Cœlo*, &c. *Lætatur cum sanctis Angelis in Cœlestibus regnis*, &c. *He is happy in heaven*, &c. *He rejoyces with the Angels in the Kingdom of heaven.*

I acknowledg, that the *Opinion* of *Purgatory* crept in among the *Latines*, about the end of the *sixth Age*, having, by little and little, gained credit, many were easily induced to compose *Epitaphs* containing certain *Wishes*, and *Prayers*, for the *Dead*. Yet did not their scrupulous manner of proceeding hinder any, that would, from attributing to them the possession of Celestial glory, immediately upon their departure out of this life. Thus the *Epitaph* of *Pope* Stephen *the Sixth*, deceased the one and twentieth of *May*, 891. hath these express Terms;

"Æthera scandit spiritus almus ovans, &c.
His milde Spirit ascends heaven triumphing.

That of the Kings, *Conrade the First*, *Otho the First* and *Second*, and *Zwentibold*, of *Adalberon* Bishop of *Mets*, of *Count Hugh*, and his Wife, of the *Counteß Eve* and her Sons, of *Arnoul*, and *Rembal*, of *Oudri Arch-Bishop* of *Rheims*, of *Beatrix*, and *Warin*, *Abbot* of Saint *Arnoul de Mets*, express that their Souls

——"In Cœlis æternâ pace fruuntur, &c.
——*In heaven enjoy eternal Peace.*

That of *Reynold*, *Abbot* of S. *Cyprian* in *Poictiers*, deceas'd in the year 1100.

——"*Rainaldi* pars promptior Astra petivit, &c.
Reynold's *more willing part to heav'n is gone.*

That of the *Nun Benedicta*:

——"Spiritus Astra tenet, &c.
——*Of heav'n her Spirit's possest.*

That of *Ranulphus* the *Priest*, her Contemporary:

"Protinus ad Superos, carne solutus, abis, &c.
"Spiritus, ecce! tuus gaudens super Astra perennat, &c.
Flesh once lay'd by, to heav'n thou streight dost go, &c.
Thy Spirit above eternal Joy attends. Again;
"Dans animam Cœlo, reddidit ossa solo, &c.
To heav'n thy soul, to earth thy bones return.

That of *King* Philip *the First*, deceased in the year 1108.

"*Augusti* ternis conscendit in æth'ra *Kalendis*, &c.
He on the (a) *third of the* Calends
Of August, *unto heav'n ascends.*

(a) That is, on the thirtieth day of *July*.

That of *Reynold de Martigni*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Rheims*, deceased in the year 1137.

"Hunc duodena dies *Februi* præeundo *Kalendas*,
"Destituit mundo, substituítque Polo, &c.

On (b) January's *one and twentieth day,*
He left the world, and went to heav'n to ſtay.

(b) That is the ſame with the twelfth day before the *Kalends* of *February.*

That of *Gerald*, firſt *Abbot* of *Selue-Majour* in *Bourdelois*, deceaſed in the year 1094. the ſixth of *April.*

"En! felix anima Cœli lætatur in Aulâ, *&c.*
"Cœlorum civis dormîit in Domino, *&c.*
——— "Liber Cœlos ſpiritus obtinuit, *&c.*
"Spiritus *Abbatis* vindicat Aſtra ſibi, *&c.*
——— "Spiritus alta tenet, *&c.*
His bliſsfull ſoul in Heav'n rejoycing is, &c.
Heav'n's Citizen reſts in the Lord, &c.
His unconfin'd ſpirit in Heav'n is fix'd, &c.
The Abbot's *ſoul does challenge heav'n,* — &c.
——— *His ſpirit is on high.*

That of *Berenger, Arch-Deacon* of St. *Maurice*'s of *Angers*, deceaſed the ſixth of *January*, 1088.

"In *Jano* patuit tibi Janua vitæ, *&c.*
"*In* Janus *Moneth, Life's Gate receiv'd thee.*

And again;

——— "Cœlos animâ, corpore ditat humum, *&c.*
His Body Earth, his Soul does Heav'n enrich.

That of the *Empreſs Agnes*, deceaſed the 14th of *December*, 1077. "Die XIV. Menſis *Decembris*, animam, bonis operibus fœcundam, *Lateranis*, Salvatori ſuo, atque omnium bonorum Authori reddidit: & "hìc, quintâ die Menſis *Januarii*, expectans ſpem Beatæ Reſurrectionis, "& adventum Magni Dei, membra carnis commendavit in pace, Amen. *Upon the fourteenth of* December, *at* Lateran, *ſhe returned to her Saviour, and God the Authour of all good things, her ſoul, fruitfull in good Works: and, on the fifth of* January, *ſhe recommended to this place her fleſhly Members, expecting the hope of a bleſſed Reſurrection, and the coming of the Great God, Amen.*

That of *Bruno*, firſt *General* of the *Carthuſians*, deceaſed the ſixth of *October*, 1101.

"Oſſa manent Tumulo, Spiritus Aſtra petit, *&c.*
Earth hath his bones, to heav'n his ſpirit flies.

That of *Geoffrey*, Biſhop of *Amiens*, deceaſed the eighth of *November*, 1118.

——— "Hìc jacet. Aſtra petens, *&c.*
Here, going to Heav'n, he lies.

That of *Peter* of *Placentia, Cardinal*;

"Terra ſuum Corpus, Animámque recepit *Olympus.*
The Earth his body, Heav'n his ſoul receiv'd.

That of *Burchard, Arch-Biſhop* of *Vienna*, deceaſed about the year 1035. *Auguſt* the twenty ninth.

"Cum quo perpetuò pace viget placidâ, *&c.*
——— "Sanctus Spiritus Aſtra petit, *&c.*
"Curribus ignicomis ad Superos gereris, — *&c.*
(c) The *Lord.*
With (c) *him he lives in undiſturbed peace,* &c.
His Holy Spirit to Heav'n flies, — &c.

In

In fiery Chariots to Heav'n thou 'rt convey'd.

That of *Alberic, Arch-bishop* of *Bourges*, deceased in the year, 1140.

—— "Modò major in arce Polorum, *&c.*

—— *In Heav'n he greater is.*

That of *Peter Leo*, in the year 1144.

"*Junius* in Mundo fulgebat, Sole secundo,

"Separat hunc nobis cùm Polus, atque Lapis, *&c.*

June's *second day shone bright, when joyless we*
Lost him between Earth, and Felicity.

That of *Peter*, Bishop of *Poictiers*, deceased in the year 1115. unjustly reduced by *Cardinal Baronius*, to the year 1130.

"Nunc dives, liber, stabilis, sua præmia, *Christum*,

"Astra, petit, sequitur, possidet, iste *Petrus*, &c.

"Promovit, privavit eum, profugúmque recepit,

"*Papa, Comes, Christus*, ordine, sede, Polo, *&c.*

This Peter, *rich, freed, firm, rewards*, Christ, *Heav'n,*
Now seeks, pursues, possesses, freely giv'n, &c.
A Pope, Count, Christ, *him rais'd, depriv'd, with love*
Receiv'd, to Prelacy, of 's See, above.

That of *Thomas, Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, Assassinated the nine and twentieth of *July*, 1170.

—— "Ab Orbe

"Pellitur, & fructus incipit esse Poli, *&c.*

Forc'd hence, in Heav'n he begins to grow.

That of *Stephen*, Bishop of *Meaux*, deceased the 12th of *January*, 1187.

—— "Liber vivit, terrâ divisus, & Astris;

"Quæ dederat Cœlum, Terráque, solvit eis, *&c.*

He freely lives, 'twixt Heav'n, and Earth, bestow'd;
And pay'd what unto Heaven, and Earth, he ow'd.

That of *Robert, Arch-bishop* of *Vienna*, deceased in the year 1195. *June* the seven and twentieth.

"*Junius* æthereis mensis te reddidit oris, *&c.*

Thee to thy Heav'nly Countrey June *hath brought.*

That of *Mauricius*, Bishop of *Paris*, deceased the eleventh of *September*, 1196.

"Migrat *Parisii* Pater ad patriam *Paradisi*,

"*Mauricius*, &c.

Father of Paris, Mauricius, *is hence*
To Paradise *transferr'd*——

That of *Humbert, Arch-bishop* of *Vienna*, deceased the twentieth of *November*, 1125.

—— "Spiritus æth'ra

"Præsulis *Umberti* petit, *&c.*

The Prelat Umbert's *Soul to Heav'n is gone.*

That of *Raoul*, Bishop of *Arras*, deceased in the year 1220.

—— "Cœli Civis, meritorum pondere vivis, *&c.*

The weight of thy Good Works do thee sustain,
Thou Citizen of Heav'n.——

That of *Peter* of *Doway, Arch-bishop* of *Sens*, deceased the twelfth of *June*, 1222.

—"Qui

"Qui Spei certæ ſuberat, modò cernit apertè, *&c.*
Who, what he ſurely hop'd, now clearly ſees.

That of *Hervey*, Biſhop of *Troyes*, deceaſed *July* the ſecond, 1223.

—— "Reddo Polo Spiritum, & oſſa Solo, *&c.*
My ſoul to heav'n, my bones to earth I leave.

That of *Bernard* of *Suilli*, Biſhop of *Auxerre*, deceaſed the ſixth of *January*, 1246.

—— "Meruit *Chriſto* ſe reddere Mundum, *&c.*
He, undefil'd, returns to Chriſt. ——

That of *Philip*, *Arch-biſhop* of *Bourges*, deceaſed the ſixth of *January*, 1260.

—— "Sacratâ ſede ſedentis
"*Philippi Bituris* oſſa beata jacent, *&c.*
Of Philip, *Prelate of the ſacred See,*
The bleſſed Bones at reſt in Bourges *be.*

That of *Reinold* of *Corbeil*, Biſhop of *Paris*, deceaſed the ſeventh of *June*, 1268.

"Fatali ad Superos ſorte vocatus, obit, *&c.*
Call'd by the fatal Lot to heav'n, he goes.

That of *Guermond de la Boiſſiere*, Biſhop of *Noyon*, deceaſed in the year 1272.

—— "Cum *Chriſto* ſcandit in Aſtra, *&c.*
—— *With* Chriſt *he heav'n aſcends.*

That of *William de Chanac*, Biſhop of *Paris*, deceaſed the third of *May*, 1348.

—— "Transivit ad atria lucis, *&c.*
He to the Courts of Light is gone. ——

That of *William de Boiſratier*, *Arch-biſhop* of *Bourges*, deceaſed the nineteenth of *July*, 1421.

"Carne ſubactus, homo ſidera mente rapit, *&c.*
Who, weak in Fleſh, in Spirit the Stars tranſcends.

That of *John Des Charliers*, ſirnamed *Gerſon*, *Chancellour* of the *Univerſity* of *Paris*, deceaſed the twelfth of *July*, 1424.

—— "Petit Superos —— *&c.*
He goes to them above. ——

That of *Peter de Fontenay*, Biſhop of *Nevers*, deceaſed the third of *June*, 1499.

—— "Pius æthereo ſpiritus axe viget, *&c.*
His pious Soul lives in the Skies. ——

That of *Peter Carré*, deceaſed after the year 1509. *January* the fifth:

"Mens fruitur Cœlis —— *&c.*
His minde does heav'n enjoy.

It would have been no hard matter to have produced many *Epitaphs* more to the ſame Effect; but the precedent may ſuffice, to force the moſt prepoſſeſſed with their own Apprehenſions, to acknowledg, that even thoſe, who lived ſince the *Opinion* of *Purgatory* became more common, have, upon occaſions, by their uſing the Expreſſion of the more *Antient*, diſcovered, that they followed their Sentiment, and were fully perſwaded, that as to thoſe, who died in the *Profeſſion* of *Chriſtianity*, and

and had not lead a wicked Life without Repentance, their *Glory*, and *Felicity*, was not any way retarded; but that, immediately upon their departure, they are *aſcended to heaven, above the Stars, above the Skies*, in the *Courts of Light and Glory*, in *Abraham*'s *Boſom*, in *Eternal Peace*, in *Paradiſe*, &c. which is as much, as could be ſaid of the *Patriarchs*, *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, *Evangeliſts*, *Martyrs*, and the moſt eminent *Confeſſours*. So that, as to this particular, there is no *Diſtinction* to be made of either *Eccleſiaſticks*, or *Laicks*; *Males*, or *Females*; *Kings*, *Princes*, *Lords*, or *private Perſons*. Which *Conſideration* ſhould, me thinks, have ſome influence on their ſpirits, who, prepoſſeſſed with the contrary *Sentiment*, and carried away with the Torrent of the common Errour, imagine, that an immediate admiſſion to Beatitude is to be reſtrained onely to thoſe Perſons, whoſe *Names* (by reaſon of the great reputation of their *Sanctity*) are put into the *Martyrologies* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and whoſe Spirits are by thoſe of her *Communion* invocated, as *Patrons* of the Living. For the *Epitaphs* of the Prefect *Probus*, of the Conſul *Boëthius*, of Queen *Geleſventha*, of the Kings *Ceadwalla*, *Zuentibold*, *Conrad*, *Otho*, Father and Son, and *Philip the Firſt*, who never paſſed in their time for *Saints*, and ſuch as were Exemplary for *Mortification*, and *extraordinary Piety*, juſtifie, that the conceptions, according to which, ſome at preſent would have *Chriſtian* People directed, either were not then framed, or ſeemed not ſuch, as deſerved great credit. Upon which accompt it is, I ſhould wiſh, that the maintainers of the *Opinion* now in *vogue* would vouchſafe to take the buſineſs earneſtly into their thoughts, and afford us but *one* Example, ſufficient to ſatisfie us, that, during the firſt *ſix Centuries* of *Chriſtianity*, any one had embraced it with ſo much reſolution, as that he durſt expreſs his perſwaſion in the *Inſcription* of the *Tombs* of his *deceaſed Friends*. For though we are not to live by *Examples*, but by *Laws*; nor obliged abſolutely to depend on the Authority, and Actions, of any man whatſoever: yet had we ſuch, as were *Antient*, we neither might, nor would refuſe to entertain them with the eſteem due thereto; though it were onely to divert us from ſpeaking ſo disadvantageouſly in reſpect of thoſe, who follow them, that we equally deny them both *Truth*, and *Antiquity*: not ſeeing any reaſon inducing us to grant, that the *firſt Ages* were imbued with a Belief, whereof there appears not any *Track* in the *Monuments* they have left us; as alſo ſuppoſing (as there ſeems reaſon to do) that it is impoſſible, to perſwade men, guided by common ſenſe, that the *Chriſtians* of *Antiquity* ſhould conſpire in the ſame imaginations with thoſe, who live in the *Communion* of the *Modern Church* of *Rome*, and not any one among them (upon any occaſion whatſoever) vouchſafe to make the leaſt discovery of what he thought.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Prayers *contained in the* Epitaphs *of the* Faithfull, *whom the Surviving presuppoſed already received into Glory.*

ALthough the *Prayer*, which is dayly made at the *Celebration* of the *Maſs for the Faithfull departed*, cannot any way be accommodated to the *Opinion* of *Purgatory*, which the preſent *Church* of *Rome* numbers among the *Articles* of her *Faith*; Though there be not any ground to attribute to the *State* of the *Souls*, which they pretend confined in a place of extreme *Torment*, the Name of *Sleep*; much leſs to attribute to the conflict of thoſe Souls, condemned by the abſolute rigour of Heaven's Juſtice, to the incomprehenſible ſufferance of that *Torment*, which is inflicted on them by way of Puniſhment for the ſins they have committed, meriting, and incurring by thoſe Transgreſſions the diſpleaſure of the *God of Glory*, the Title of *Sleeping a Sleep of Peace*; Though the dolefull reſenting ſo great Pain, as that of an *Infernal Fire*, cannot, in thoſe, that are to endure it, conſiſt with any kinde of *Sleeping*, nor ſuffer them to be *in Peace*, while they are overwhelmed by the wrath of the *Living God*, and by the weight of his Hand, into which, St. *Paul* tells us, (a) *it is a fearfull thing to fall*; In a word, though from all what hath been hitherto repreſented, it neceſſarily reſults; that (according to the conſtant Belief of *Antiquity* for *ſix Ages*) the eternal Glory, and Felicity, of the *Faithfull* (b) *dying in the Lord*, is not at all deferred after the moment of their departure: Yet, ſince the *Chriſtians*, who now live in the *Communion* of the *Church* of *Rome*, might think, that the *Prayers*, which are found in certain *Epitaphs*, expreſs ſomething not diſſonant from the Sentiment ſhe maintains, it lyes upon us, in order to their undeceiving,

(a) Heb. x. 31.

(b) Apoc. xiv. 13.

Firſt, To make a report of the ſaid *Epitaphs*;

Secondly, To make it appear, that there neither follows, nor can follow any thing from them; in as much as thoſe very *Epitaphs* expreſly preſuppoſed the admiſſion of thoſe, to whoſe *Memory* they were dedicated, into Life, and celeſtial Glory. And

Thirdly, To make enquiry into the *Motives*, which might have induced the *Authours* of thoſe *Epitaphs* to inſert into them *Prayers* for their *departed Friends*, and to place their *Tombs* near thoſe of the *Martyrs*, who had ſealed with their Blood the Truth of *Chriſtianity*.

The moſt *antient Epitaph* we finde, containing a mixture of *Wiſhes*, and *Prayers*, is that, which St. *Gregory Nazianzene* writ in Honour of St. *Baſil*, deceaſed the twelfth of *January*, in the year 378. where we read theſe Words, concerning that Great *Prelate* gathered to his *Fathers*, Θεὸς δὲ οἱ ὄλβια δοίη *God give him Happineſs*: as if he had not been in the actual poſſeſſion thereof; and as if St. *Gregory* had not expreſly required of him before, that he would *appear for the World*, and *offer gifts to God*; and that in conſequence *of his being in Heaven, as he had deſired.*

Again

Again; *That he had quitted his* Episcopal See, *as* Christ *would have it, that he might become one among the Inhabitants of Heaven.* It seems then he believed him *in Heaven,* and possessed of the Glory, and Happiness of Heaven, *as soon* as he had, at his departure out of this World, *quitted* his *Episcopal See;* and yet he desires, that *God would give him Happiness*; meaning, that he would confirm, and improve the *gift* he had already made him: which hath nothing common with the *Hypotheses,* maintained at this day by the *Church* of *Rome.*

In the year 395. deceased the *Prefect* PROBUS, and his *Epitaph,* which loudly published, that *he was in the Plains of Heaven, seated among the Saints, possessed of perpetual Rest, that he lived crowned with bliss in the Everlasting Mansions of Paradise,* concludes with this *Prayer,*

"Hunc tu, *Christe,* Choris jungas Cœlestibus, oro;
"Te canat, & placidum jugiter aspiciat:
"Quique tuo semper dilectus pendet ab ore,
"Auxilium soboli, conjugióque, ferat.
Joyn'd with Celestial Quires, O Christ, *may he*
Thy praises sing, thy constant favour see:
Who, ever-lov'd, did ev'r on thee depend,
May he to's Race, and Widow, some help lend.

Shall we say, he was in Heaven, and yet not *joyned with the Celestial Quires?* That he was in any danger *to see his* Saviour *incensed,* and that he could be possessed of *Paradise* without *Happiness?* If not, it must needs be, that the *Authour* of his *Epitaph* prayed, that he might enjoy it without any diminution, and be eternally in the Favour, and Peace of his *Saviour,* in the Society of the rest of the Blessed Saints; which hath nothing common with what is now desired by the *Church* of *Rome.*

We have such another Desire made in the *Epitaph* of *Pope* BENEDICT.

"Hìc *Benedictus* adest meritò sub rupe Sepulchri;
"Quem tenet Angelicus Chorus in arce Poli:
"Aurea sæc'la cui pateant sine fine per ævum,
"Sorte beatificâ scandat ut ætheria, *&c.*
Here Benedict, *justly, beneath this Stone*
Is plac'd; whom Angels in the Heav'ns enthrone:
To whom be golden Ages without end,
That he the Skies may, ever-bless'd, ascend.

For, who sees not, that he, who is *enthroned by Angels in Heaven,* must, of necessity, be *there;* and stood not in need of *ascending* thither; nor that any *golden Ages* should be desired for him? But in as much, as he was to ascend thither in his Body after the *general Resurrection,* the *Authour* of the *Epitaph* makes a *Wish* to that purpose, and requires, that the Happiness, which he was then possessed of, as to his Spirit, might be ever continued to him, that he might be eternally filled with Joy, as well in *body,* as *soul:* thereby discovering, that he reflected not, in the least, on the *Purgatory* held by the *Church* of *Rome;* which none of her Followers ever yet placed in Heaven; or any way thought on the delay of *Benedict*'s Felicity, whom he esteemed already received into the Society of the *Angels.*

The ſame accompt is to be given of the *Epitaph* of *Marinian, Arch-Biſhop* of *Ravenna*, deceaſed in the year 601. where we finde theſe words:

"Ipſius in locis ſit tibi certa quies, *&c.*
Mayſt thou with God aſſured reſt obtain.

As alſo of that of *Venerable Bede*, deceaſed in the year 735.

"Dona, *Chriſte*, animam in Cœlis gaudere per ævum, *&c.*
"Dáque illum Sophiæ inebriari fonte. ——
Chriſt, *grant his ſoul in heav'n eternal joy*, &c.
And him inebriate with Wiſdom's ſpring:

For it does not thence follow, either that he was, at the hour of his death deprived of the *Joy of Heaven*; or that *Wiſdom* had not filled him with the Effects of her Virtue; or, laſtly, that thoſe, who are once entred into the *Joy of Heaven*, could ever forfeit it, or be deprived of the communication of eternal Wiſdom; but that the Surviving thought they might rationally demand for their *deceaſed Friends* the perpetuity of their Happineſs, though they certainly knew it could never be taken from them.

That of *Pope* ADRIAN *the Firſt*, writ either by *Charle-maign*, or, in his Name, by *Alcuin*, notwithſtanding he had preſuppoſed, that his Death was the *entrance of a better Life*, yet forbore not to make theſe *Wiſhes* for him;

"Cum *Chriſto* teneas regna beata Poli, *&c.*
"Quíque legis Verſus devoto pectore ſupplex,
"*Amborum mitis* dic *miſerere Deus:*
"Hæc tua nunc requies teneat, chariſſime, membra;
"Cum ſanctis Anima gaudeat alma Dei.
"Ultima quippe tuas donec Tuba clamet in aures,
Principe cum Petro *Surge videre Deum;*
"Auditurus eris vocem (ſcio) Judicis almam,
Intra nunc Domini gaudia magna tui.
"Tum memor eſto tui Nati —— *&c.*
Mayſt thou with Chriſt *a bleſſed Seat obtain*, &c.
Who humbly readſt this Verſe with pious heart,
May God his mercy, ſay, to (c) *both impart:*
May here the precious body finde it's Reſt;
May the fair ſoul rejoyce among the bleſt.
Since, when the lateſt Trump ſhall ſummon thee,
God, and the great Saint Peter *for to ſee;*
I know thou'lt hear the Judge's gentle voyce,
Of thy Lord enter into the great Joys.
Remember then thy Son. ——

(c) *Adrian, and Charles.*

Now, as the demand he made for *Adrian*, that he might *obtain a bleſſed ſeat with* Chriſt *in Heaven*, did not ſignify, that he was not yet admitted into the Poſſeſſion of that *better Life*, whereof his *death* was the *entrance*: ſo the *Invitation* to implore for him the *Mercy of God* was no argument, that he had not obtained it; ſince that even then he exhorted his Soul to *rejoyce with the Saints of God*, and ſhewed, that he thought it not tormented in a Fire, ſuch as were likely to deprive it of all Joy; but that it was in Bliſs, reigning in the Company of the *Saints*, of the *Apoſtle*

Saint

St. *Peter*, and our *Saviours* a felicity, whereto nothing could be added by desire, but the perpetuity of it: which yet is so much the more certain, inasmuch, as it is grounded on the unchangeable counsel of (d) *God*, *whose Gifts, and Calling, are without repentance.* (d) Rom. xi. 29.

That of *Charle-maign*, of whom the *Authour*, viz. *Agobard, Arch-Bishop* of *Lions*, said; That he had *been admitted to the ætherial Plains*; and consequently, that he was entred into Glory: yet recommends it to the *Reader*'s Devotion to pray for him; using these Words,

Astriferam CAROLI *teneat, dic, spiritus Arcem*, &c.
Wish, that Charles's *Soul*
May be possessed of the Starry Pole.

That of Pope *Sergius* II. deceased *April* the 12th, 847.

"Pro tanto tundamus pectora pugnis,
"Pastore amisso, vivat ut axe Poli, *&c.*
So great a Pastour lost, We are to grieve
With beaten Breasts, that he in Heav'n may live.

That of *Ermengard*, Wife to the *Emperour Lotharius*, deceased on *Friday, March* the 20th, 852. and immediately introduced (as the *Authour* of it observes) *into the Kingdom of Heaven*; where she was abundantly filled with the *Joy of* Christ, *&c.*

"Hanc, rogo te, Lector, commenda ritè Tonanti,
"Assiduis precibus, *Christus* eam ut habeat:
"Cum quo congaudens vivat feliciter ipsa,
"Angelicis semper mista beata Choris, *&c.*
Reader, employ thy daily Pray'rs, I crave,
That Christ *with him may* Ermengarda *have:*
With whom in lasting Joys she may remain,
A Saint to live amongst the Heav'nly Train.

Whereupon the *Authour*, to give us a more particular Accompt of his intention, adds;

"Has ego *Rabanus* confeci Versibus Odas,
"Ex obitu mæstus, ex requie & gratulans, *&c.*
I, Rabanus, *this into Verse have drest,*
Griev'd at her Loss, but glad she is at Rest.

Whence it follows; that all he intreated the *Reader* to desire, was, not properly the happiness; but the continuance, and eternity of the happiness of that *Princess*, already glorified with *Christ* in Heaven. Whereto may be added; that, as Reason requires, that the *Gratulations*, whereby we express the *good Wishes* we have for our Friends, be grounded, not on the imagination of their future good; but on the advantage they have to be in actual possession of it: so the *Authour* of this *Epitaph* had had no great reason to congratulate the *Rest* of the *Empress Ermengard*, if she had not been admitted *into it*.

To the same *Predicament* may be reduced that of the *Emperour* CHARLES *the Bald*, which, after the *Authour* had observed, that he *returned his Soul to God*, that is to say, died so piously, that *Pope* JOHN *the Eighth* said, he was in *Paradise* with the *Angels*, concludes in these *Terms*;

" Deus excelsus dignetur jungere Turmis,
" Sanctorúmque choris consociare piis, *&c.*
May the high God to the Saints holy Quires
Joyn him ———

That of *Pope* STEPHEN *the Sixth*, whom the *Authour* had represented as Triumphantly ascending to Heaven, inviting all, that should read it, to desire pardon for him; saying,

——— Dicite, Fratres,
Arbiter Omnipotens da veniam Stephano, *&c.*
Th' Almighty Judge's grace, Brethren, implore
For Stephen———

And that of *Benedict the Fourth*, deceased in the year 907. following the same *Track*, hath these words, which denote the excessive Charity of the deceased:

Mercatus cœlum cuncta sua tribuit, *&c.*
To purchase Heaven all he had he gave:

And adds immediately this *Advertisement*,

" Inspector Tumuli compuncto dicito corde,
" *Cum* Christo *regnes* (*O* Benedicte) *Deo*, &c.
Who seest this Tomb, say with a contrite Heart,
" May'st thou, O *Benedict*, with *Christ* have part.

Which Words proceeded not from the *Authour*, out of any design he had to insinuate, that *Benedict* (when he uttered them) had not yet obtained his part, or reigned with God; for what can be imagined more absur'd, then that God should refuse to crown *Charity*, the greatest of his Gifts, and suspend the Effect of his Promises towards those, who have (as is supposed of *Pope Benedict*) most conscientiously exercised it: But his intention was to discover, that he thought it, not onely lawfull, but necessary; that the *Faithfull surviving* should continually desire of God the ratification of the Gifts he had already bestowed on those he had taken to himself. According to this *Principle*, which seems to have been common to all *Antiquity*, may be understood in a good sense the *Inscription* of *Amatus*'s *Tomb*; which runs thus, *Pro animâ* Amati *pœnitentis hîc sepulti Domini misericordiam deprecari digneris*, &c. *Vouchsafe to implore the Mercy of the Lord for the Soul of penitent* Amatus *here buried.*

But when the *Opinion* of *Purgatory* (by the *Monks* management of the Business) had a little more prepossessed the minds of People, the use of *Prayers* in *Epitaphs* became much more frequent, then it had been before. And, as it were easie to produce *Centuries* of *Instances* to that purpose; (as of *John*, Bishop of *Nepete*, deceased *October* the 31th, in the year 770. of *Paul*, *Arch-Deacon* of *Pavia*, deceased in the year 774. of *Alcuin*, deceased *May* the 19th, 804. of *Hincmar*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Rheims*, deceased *December* the 21st, 882. of *Boson*, King of *Provence*, deceased *January* the 11th, 887. of *Fulk*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Rheims*, deceased *June* the 17th, 899. of *Pope John* IX. deceased *September* the 23d, the same year; of *Pope Anastasius*, III. deceased in the year 912. of Pope *John* XIII. deceased *September* the 6th, 972. of Pope *Benedict* VII. deceased *July* the 10th, 984. of Pope *John* XV. deceased *May* the 7th, 996. of *Gebhard*,

Bishop

Biſhop of *Conſtantia*, deceaſed *Auguſt* the 27th, the ſame year; of Pope *Sylveſter* II. deceaſed *May* the 12th, 1003. of *John*, ſurnamed *Capanarius*, deceaſed *October* the 12th, 1004. of Pope *John* XIX. deceaſed *Auguſt* the 31. 1009. of Pope *Sergius* IV. deceaſed *May* the 13th, 1013. of Pope *John* XX. deceaſed *November* the 8th, 1033. of *Tereſa*, Siſter of *Alphonſus* V. *King* of *Leon*, deceaſed *June* the 9th, 1047. of *Geffrey*, *Count* of *Arles*, deceaſed about the year 1052. of *Stephen Cardinal*, deceaſed in the year 1061. of *Peter Damiani*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, deceaſed *February* the 23d, 1072. of *Adam*, a *Monk* of St. *Victor*'s, deceaſed in the year 1153: So ſome might conceive themſelves obliged to believe, that all the *Prayers* we read in ſuch *Epitaphs* were intended onely to this end, *viz.* to deliver the Souls of the departed out of the pretended *Purgatory*; and I am ready to acknowledg, that the intention of the *Authours* many times was, or might be ſuch: moſt having, eſpecially from the year 900. either embraced, or countenanced that new *Tenets*: ſome, upon account of the profit accrewing thereby; ſome, upon account of the profit accrewing thereby; ſome, becauſe it ſeemed likely to keep mens *Conſciences* in aw, and divert *Sinners* from their wicked courſe of Life: but this cannot be either ſaid, or imagined of all. For, with what countenance could they have numbred among the Malefactours racked upon the *infernal Engines* of *Purgatory* for their Sins, either *Gebhard*, whom the *Authour* of his *Life* obſerves to have been conveyed to Heaven by the Hands of *Angels*, and, at the time of his *Enterment*, to have wrought *Miracles*, which demonſtrated his being glorified by God in Heaven? Or *Peter Damiani*, whom in like manner the *Authour* of his *Life* affirms to have died on the 23d of *February*, being the *Feſtival* day of St. *Peter* at *Antioch*, *to the end, that the celeſtial Court might receive into the* Manſions *of the Bleſſed the* Diſciple *of* Peter *the ſame day, on which* Peter *had deſerved to be placed in the* Paſtoral See? And, indeed, we find, that the former was *Canonized* by the *Church* of *Rome*: and the latter is one of the moſt eminent among her *Saints*, to whom ſhe addreſſes her *Prayers*, and thinks it were injurious to them to pray for them. After the ſame manner is to be underſtood the *Epitaph* of *Peter Leo*, which ſayes, that *Heaven*, and *Earth*, *divided him at his death*: whence it follows that his Spirit reigned in Glory, as his Body reſted in the Grave; which notwithſtanding, the *Authour* of the *Epitaph* forbore not to cry out for him,

——— "Dei gratia parcat ei.

May God him Pardon grant.

We have abundance of ſuch *Paſſages* in the *Poems* of *Baldric*, who, after he had been ſome time *Abbot* of *Bourgueil*, was advanced to the *Epiſcopal See* of *Dol*, in *Britany*, and continued in it from the 25th of *December*, 1107. to the 21ſt of *January*, 1131. about which time the Belief of *Purgatory* ſeems to have been received over all the *Weſt*. Yet is it hard to conceive, that he made any great account of it himſelf; ſince that, numbring among the *Patrones*, who were to be invocated, many of thoſe, for whom he put up his *Prayers* according to the *antient Cuſtom*, which excepted neither *Patriarchs*, nor *Prophets*, nor *Apoſtles*, nor *Martyrs*, he ſhews, that his meaning was, to deſire of God, not the *ceſſation* of their *Pains*, but the *confirmation* of their *Glory*: which the *Church* of

Rome

Rome cannot deny, but ſhe practiſed a long time; the acknowledgment made of it by (e) *Hincmare*, and (f) *Innocent the Third*, aſſuring us on her behalf, that in the antient *Miſſals* was this *Prayer* for one of the greateſt, and moſt eminent *Popes*, viz. LEO *the Firſt*, deceaſed *April* the 11th, 461. *Annue* (*quæſumus*) *Domine, ut animæ Beati* Leonis *hæc proſit oblatio. Grant, O Lord, we beſeech thee, that this Oblation may benefit the Soul of Bleſſed* LEO. From which *Prayer* three things neceſſarily follow, all which are extreamly contrary to what the ſaid *Church* teaches at this day.

(e) *De prædeſt. cap.* 34.
(f) Extra. *de Miſſarum celebr. c. cum Marthæ.*

The *Firſt*, That ſhe *prayed*, and preſented *Oblations* for him, whom ſhe acknowledged to be in *Bliſs*, and accordingly glorified for all Eternity with God.

The *Second*, That the *Oblation* ſhe then made, and does ſtill dayly make, in the *Maſs*, neither is, nor can be a *Propitiatory Sacrifice*, properly ſo called; but a ſimple *Sacrifice of Praiſe*, as it is expreſly qualifyed by the Words of the *Canon*, by which ſhe conſecrates, and preſents it to God.

The *Third*, That neither her *Prayer*, nor her *Oblation*, could (according to her own Sentiment) be of any *benefit* to *Pope Leo*, in order to his delivery out of *Pain*; ſince ſhe acknowledged him exempted from it, and in *Happineſs*; but to obtain for him what he was moſt aſſured of, *viz.* the Ratification, and Confirmation of his Glory to its full accompliſhment (g) *at the Reſurrection of the Juſt.*

(g) Luc. xiv. 14.

But moved, as it ſhould ſeem, at the apprehenſion of theſe three *Conſequences*, which might have forced thoſe of her *Communion*, not onely to confeſs (with St. (h) *Fulgentius*) that the *Euchariſt* is no more, then a *Sacrifice of Bread and Wine, conſecrated to ſerve as a* Memorial *of the Body, and Blood, of* Jeſus Chriſt, *our* (i) true Sacrifice, *offered up* (according to the particular Obſervation of the *Apoſtle*) ONCE *upon the Croſs*; but alſo to ſtop up the Mine of her moſt certain Revenue, by renouncing the Imagination of her *Purgatory*; the *Church* of *Rome* hath raced that *antient Prayer* out of her *Miſſal*; and yet, as if ſhe had been aſhamed wholly to take it way, ſhe hath put in another *Prayer* inſtead of it, which diſcovers ſome remainder of her former Sentiment. The Words of it are theſe; *Sancti* Leonis *Confeſſoris tui, atque Pontificis, annua ſolennitas nos tibi reddat acceptos; ut, per hæc Piæ placationis Officia, illum beata retributio comitetur, & nobis gratiæ tuæ dona conciliet:* that is to ſay, *May the annual Solennity of* Leo *thy Confeſſour, and* Pope, *render us acceptable to thee; that, by theſe Offices of pious pacification, a bleſſed reward may attend him, and confer the Gifts of thy Grace upon us.* Where we finde,

(h) *De fide, ad Petrum, cap.* 16.
(i) Hebr. ix. 26, 28. & x. 10.

Firſt, That St. *Leo*; for whom the *antient* Prayer was before made, is, in the *new*, conſtituted an *Interceſſour* for thoſe, who celebrate his Memory.

Secondly, That the *Solennity*, and *Service* of his *Feſtival* are called *Offices of pious pacification*, not onely to ſhew, that they are acceptable to God, looking on them with a propitious Eye; but alſo to inſinuate a pretenſe of offering therein a *Propitiatory Sacrifice* to God: and yet where in the ſame Prayer, the *Church* of *Rome* deſires for *Leo*, that a *bleſſed reward may attend him*, ſhe in ſome ſort expreſſes the ſence of her

her precedent Prayer, and ſhews to what end *Antiquity* was induced to Pray for the *Faithfull* departed in the Lord, *viz.* to deſire the perpetual continuance of their Bliſs; and not to obtain their entrance thereinto, and much leſs to deliver them out of any Torments, as is at this day imagined.

But however the Caſe ſtand, *Baldric*, praying even for thoſe of his Friends, whom he believed to be in *Happineſs*, diſcovers, that he was of the ſame *Opinion* with the *Church* of *Rome*, when ſhe prayed for *Pope* LEO *the Great*. As for inſtance in the *Epitaph* of *Natalis*, *Abbot* of Saint *Nicholas* of *Angiers*, deceaſed about the year 1097. after he had addreſſed this Diſcourſe to St. *Nicholas*,

—— "Tuum Deus accerſivit alumnum,
"Cui dedit æternum ſolenni funere ſomnum, *&c.*
—— *Thy Diſciple hence*
The Lord hath called to Eternal reſt.

And in another *Epitaph*;

—— "Defunctus ſacris (k) hanc oſſibus ornat, *&c.* (k) *Eccleſiam.*
This Church his ſacred bones adorn:

Signifying, that he believed *Natalis* glorified in Heaven: He concludes his *Epitaphs* with theſe Words;

"Hìc modò *Natalis* pro carne jacet cineratus,
"Cui noceat nullus pro carnis ſorde reatus:
Natalis *here*, *diſſolv'd to Aſhes*, *lyes*,
'Gainſt whom no guilt, *or ſtain of fleſh ariſe.*

In like manner, in the following *Epitaph*, recommending him to the Protection of Saint *Nicholas*, he ſays to him;

—— "Servi nunc memor eſto tui,
"*Chriſto* commenda, quem Mundo *Chriſtus* ademit.
"Húncque Patrocinii jure tuere tui:
—— *Now mindfull of thy ſervant be*,
Whom Chriſt *took hence*, *to* Chriſt *him recommend*,
And him with thy Protection ſtill attend:

Preſuppoſing, not that he was in any danger, but that he ſtood in need of Saint *Nicholas*, to be made fully aſſured of the perpetual enjoyment of his Felicity. A Conception falſe indeed in it ſelf, but yet was paſſed from hand to hand for many *Ages* before, and might have been confirmed by *millions* of *Examples*.

In thoſe of *Reynold*, Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, deceaſed the one and twentieth of *January*, 1137. after he had ranked him among the Souls *Salvandæ*, *that were to be ſaved*, and made this *Wiſh*;

"Diſpenſet veniam cunctipotens animæ, *&c.*
Pardon thy Soul he, *whom all things obey;*

he takes him for an *Interceſſour*, as he in requital *Prays* for him; ſaying,

"Oramus pro te; pro nobis, quæſumus, ora, *&c.*
We pray for thee, *thou us thy Pray'rs afford.*

And elſewhere he lays it down as certain, that the one and twentieth of *January*, the day of his Deceaſe,

"Deſtituit Mundo, ſubſtituítque Polo,
Snatch'd him from hence, *to place him in the Skie*;

Which

which cannot ſtand without his being received into Heaven.

In thoſe of *Howel*, Biſhop of *Mans*, deceaſed in the year 1129. and of the Abbot *Joel*, having ſaid,

— "Morte pari modicò Deus attigit ambos,
"Ut ſint tranſlati, Sidera magna Poli, *&c.*
In equal death God did them both conjoyn,
Tranſlated hence in Heav'n, great Stars, to ſhine:

A *Diſcourſe* repreſenting them already poſſeſſed of Celeſtial Glory; and and particularly of the former;

—"Coram Sancto Vota vovent Tumulo, *&c.*
Before his Tomb their Vows (1) *they pour:*

(1) The People of *Mans.*

Whence it follows, that they took him for their *Patron*, and muſt of neceſſity think him in Happineſs: Yet does he, nevertheleſs, pray for him; ſaying,

"Præſulis obtineat Spiritus Aſtra Poli, *&c.*
May Heav'n the Prelate's Soul obtain: —

as if (contrary to his precedent Proteſtations) he had thought him at a great diſtance from it.

In thoſe of *Audebert*, Abbot of *Bourg-dieux*, and *Arch-Biſhop* of *Bourges*, deceaſed in the year 1098. he is very liberal of his *Wiſhes*; as,

"Communem Patrem communi tangite voto,
"Ut det Paſtori ſedem ſuper æthera veſtro:

Again;

"*Audeberte*, vale, ſit pax tibi, lúxque perennis:

Again;

"In Domino requiem Spiritus inveniat, *&c.*
"Omnipotens animam Pontificis foveat, *&c.*
To th' common Father your joynt Vows addreſs,
That he your Paſtour bring to happineſs, &c.
Audebert, *be well, Eternal peace, and light,*
Thy Portion be ———
May's Soul in God finde reſt. ———
Kindely may God the Prelate's ſoul receive.

Who, hearing him talk after this rate, would not ſay, that he were out of *Heaven*, deprived of *light*, *peace*, and *reſt*? But look upon the *Reverſe* of the *Medal*, and you ſhall finde, he looks on him, as his *Patron*, already poſſeſſed of *Heaven*, ſaying,

"Tu Pater à Superis ſæpe reviſe tuos, *&c.*
"Vadis, te *Chriſto* per idonea ſigna vocante,
"Et velut emerito tibi præmia digna parante:
"Omni momento, noſtrî, Patrone, memento,
"Et ſuccurre gregi, mortali morte redempto.

Again;

"Nunc quoque cum *Chriſto* nos ſæpè reviſat ab alto.
Thou, Father, from on high reviſit thine, &c.
——— *By* Chriſt *hence,*
As a diſcharged Champion, thou art
Of great rewards call'd to receive thy Part;
O Patron, ever-mindfull of us be,

And

And thoſe relieve, whom mortal death ſet free.
With Chriſt *from Heav'n often reviſit us.*

What could he have ſaid more to St. *Peter*, or St. *Paul*, according to the *Theologie* of that Time?

In that of *William*, Biſhop of *Engouleſm*, having invited thoſe of his *Dioceſs* to worſhip his Body, he adviſes them to pray for him;

——— "Artus venerare Paternos,
"Dic quoque, *Tranſcendat* Gulielmi *Spiritus Aſtra.*
Thy Father's body having worſhip'd, pray,
That William's *ſoul to Heav'n may finde the way.*

What could have been more ridiculous, then to have perſwaded People to the Veneration of a Body, whoſe Spirit ſhould, at the ſame time, have been in a place of Pain, and deprived of Glory?

In that of *Gerald* of *Orleans*, he ſays;

——— "Datur hîc ſua portio Terræ,
"Spiritus in tenues vivens elabitur auras,
"Cui tamen è rebus lutulentis ſi quid inhæſit,
"Expediat totum clemens miſeratio *Chriſti*,
"His precibus Lector (*Amen* adjiciendo) faveto.
——— *Here Earth hath had her ſhare,*
The Spirit lives diſſolv'd to ſubtile Air,
Which yet, if ſtain'd with ought terreſtrial,
May Chriſt, *in his great Mercy, pardon all,*
T' advance theſe Prayers, Reader, Amen *let fall.*

Since then he conceived, that, at the fall of the Body, when it became the portion of the Earth, the Spirit lived, and was eſcaped, who ſees not, that he believed it to be in ſome other place, then that of a grievous puniſhment, and that the *Prayer*, he afterward makes, tends rather to aſſure the Expiation of his Offences, then to implore it for him, in as much as the Mercy of God is not communicated after death, but to thoſe, who obtained it, while they lived?

In that of *Durand*, Biſhop of *Cler-mont*, deceaſed the nineteenth of *November*, 1095. during the time of the *Councel*, or *Croiſado* for the Conqueſt of the *Holy Sepulchre* was publiſhed, he exhorts the People of *Auvergn* to worſhip him, and thereby declares him to be in Happineſs; ſaying,

"*Arvernus* ſanctos cineres reverenter habeto,
"Atque Patrocinio tutior eſto ſuo.
Worſhip his ſacred aſhes, Cler-mont, *and*
Thou ſhalt in his protection ſafer ſtand.

In thoſe of *Gerald*, Abbot of *Selue Majour*, in *Bourdelois*, he is yet more exceſſive, as hath been obſerved in the precedent *Chapter*. And though the *Prayers* he makes in the *Epitaphs* of his other *Friends*; as *Reynold*, *Clere*, *Guy*, *Raoul*, *Clerembant*, *William* of *Mont-ſoreau*, *Berenger*, Arch-Deacon of *Angers*, *Froden* of *Angers*, *Peter*, Dean of *Dol*, *Reinould*, Canon of *Poictiers*, *Geoffrey* of *Rheims*, *Alexander* of *Tours*, *Eriland*, *Peter Prior*, *Eudes*, Abbot of St. *John d'Angely*, *Raoul*, Arch-Deacon of *Poictiers*, Chevalier *Bouchard*, Chevalier *Rahier*, the Counteſs *Oſanna*, *Guy Tourangeau*, *William*, Abbot of *Bourgueil*, and *Herard* of *Loudun*; though, I ſay,

thoſe *Prayers* might preſuppoſe the Belief of *Purgatory*, yet, ſince they are conſiſtent with the other Preſuppoſitions, and that *Baldric* made the like for *Perſons*, whom he believed crowned with Glory in *Heaven*; it cannot be ſafely concluded, that he ever intended to apply any one of them to the common *Opinion* current in his Time, and which the *Church* of *Rome* maintains at this day. The ſame is to be ſaid of thoſe, who, after him, and, to this preſent, have declared, and do declare (according to the *Cuſtom* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and even in her *Communion*) that the *Perſons*, whoſe Memory they have *celebrated* by their *Verſes*, and *Sepulchral Inſcriptions*, are in Happineſs, and poſſeſſed of celeſtial Glory. For though they do not openly impugn the *Opinion* of *Purgatory*, as the *Proteſtants* do, and though they uſe ſuch Expreſſions, as might ſeem to maintain it, yet do they not oblige themſelves to maintain it in Effect: and (without any injury done them) it may be taken for certain, that they believed no more of it, then the Reverend *Peter Chaſtellain*, Biſhop of *Maſcon*, who, having on the three and twentieth of *May*, 1547. advanced into Glory the great King *Francis*, and ſcandalized the *College* of *Sorbonne*, which looked on his *Diſcourſe*, as a Piece of *Lutheraniſm*, flatly contradicting the common *Opinion* of *Purgatory*, and demanded of him either the formal Retractation, or Explication of it, thought it ſatisfaction enough, to give the Complainers (and that in the preſence of King *Henry the Second*, and all his Court) a *Jeſt*, inſtead of an *Apologie* for his *Funeral-Oration*, and, to ſtop their Mouths, tell them, that he denied not, he had been there, but that it was onely (k) to take a Glaſs of *Wine*, as he paſſed by, which *Diſcourſe* was to them an abſolute *Put-off*, and cauſed them to be laughed at whereever they came.

(k) See *Thuanus, Hiſt.* lib. 3.

Chap. XLII.

Of the true Motives, *which the* Antients *had to* Pray *for the Bleſſed* Saints *in* Heaven.

But not further to mention *Baldric*, or the Biſhop of *Maſcon*, it will be demanded, what *Motive* enclined thoſe, who, ſince the year 500. are found to have made *Prayers for the Dead*, to do ſo. And here I am willing to acknowleg, that there was no more noiſe of the *Opinion*, which had ſo much diſtracted the Spirits of *Chriſtians* of the *Second*, and *Third Age*, deceived by the Pretended *Sibylline* Writing, and preſuppoſing that all Souls, without exception, deſcended to Hell, were there confined, till the Reſurrection of their Bodies, and expoſed not onely to the temptations, but alſo to the violences of Evil Spirits; which to prove, *Juſtine Martyr* alledged, to *Trypho* the *Jew*, the pretended raiſing of *Samuel* by the *Witch* of *En-dor*. For, though the moſt *antient Prayers* (as, for *Inſtance*, thoſe, which St. *Auguſtine* made for his *Mother*) ſeem to have been drawn up by that *Precedent*; and that the *Libera*, if it be applied to the *Departed*, rather then to the Faithfull in *Agonies*, and preparing themſelves for death, requires we ſhould think they were; yet had they

they, even from the Time of *Tertullian*, ſeventy years, or thereabouts, after the firſt coming abroad of the *Sibylline* Writing ſo called, begun to exempt the *Martyrs* from the neceſſity of deſcending into Hell; and ſo, by little and little, the minds of the *Chriſtians* ſtrugling with, and overcoming the *Impoſture*, that firſt *Hypotheſis* was caſt out of doors, yet ſo, as that it was done without a rejection of the *Forms*, which thoſe, who maintained it, had introduced into the *Publick Service* of the *Church*. And thence comes it, that St. *Ambroſe* prays for his Brother *Satyrus*; ſaying, *Tibi nunc, omnipotens Deus, innoxiam commendo animam*, &c. *Now, O Almighty God, I recommend unto thee his innocent ſoul.* And for *Valentinian the Second*, and *Gratian*, in theſe words, *Hîc adhuc interceſſionem*, &c. *Should I ſtill make Interceſſion here for him, to whom I dare promiſe a reward? Put into my hands the ſacred Myſteries; let us with a devout affection demand reſt for him; give me the celeſtial Sacraments; let us attend his religious ſoul with our Oblations.* (a) Lift up your hands with me in the Sanctuary, O ye People; *to the end, at leaſt, that by this Preſent we may recompenſe his merits*, &c. *No night ſhall go over my head; but that I will make you ſome preſent of my prayers; in all my Viſitations I ſhall remember you*, &c. And for the Great *Theodoſius*; *Præſumo de Domino* &c. *I ſo far preſume of the Lord, that he will* (b) *hear* the voyce of my cry, *wherewith I attend thy pious ſoul*, &c. (c) *Grant perfect reſt unto thy ſervant* Theodoſius, *even that reſt, which thou haſt prepared for thy Saints. May his ſoul return thither, whence it deſcended, where he cannot feel the* (d) *ſting of death, where he may be ſatisfied, that this death is the end not of Nature, but of ſin*, &c.

(a) Pſa. cxxxiv. 2.
(b) Pſal. v. 2.
(c) Pſal. cxvi. 7.
(d) 2 Cor. xv. 55.

From which *Prayers* it is to be obſerved, by the way,

Firſt, That this Holy *Prelate*, expreſſing that he conſidered not his *prayers* for *Valentinian*, who died a *Catechumen*, but a Perſon very Religious, and truly inclined to Piety, as an *Office*, whereof he ſtood in need; but as a ſimple Effect of his *good Wiſhes*, manifeſtly diſcovers, that not any one of the Faithfull, *departed in the Lord*, ſtands in any neceſſity of the *ſuffrages* of the ſurviving; and accordingly, that the *Proteſtants*, who believe, that, in matter of *Religion*, nothing ſhould be attempted without the expreſs order of God himſelf, ſpeaking in his *Word*, cannot be accompted *criminals* for their declining an act, which is not (even in their Judgment, who practiſed it) of any neceſſity, or any way beneficial to thoſe, for whom the voluntary devotion, or *Will-worſhip* of men deſigns it.

Secondly, That St. *Ambroſe*, who calls the *Euchariſt*, celebrated in memory of *Valentinian*, and, upon his occaſion, a *Preſent*, which he makes his Friend, and by which he requites him, could not have believed it to be either the *Body of the Son of God*, or the *Offering-up* of that Body, or, in general, *a Propitiatory Sacrifice* properly ſo called. For who could (without an impious Abſurdity) imagine, that the *real Body* of our *Saviour* ſhould be ſo much at our diſpoſal, as that we might make *Preſents* of it to our Friends? &c. that the *Proper Oblation* of the ſame Body, being infinitely more precious, then we, or any thing, that can proceed from us, is, or could be a ſupplement, which we adjoyn to our *Prayers* for our Friends; and that this kind of *Preſent* is as the meaneſt

kindneſs we can do them, ſo as that we might ſay, with St. *Ambroſe*, that, *at leaſt, by that Preſent we requite them?* It ſeems then he pretended not to do what the *Church* of *Rome* thinks to do at this day in the *Maſſes* of *Requiem*. For ſhe profeſſes to preſent the *Oblation* ſhe makes therein, whatever it may be, not to the deceaſed, for whom ſhe prays; but onely to God, for, or on the behalf of the deceaſed. She conceives alſo, that her *Hoſt*, which ſhe believes to be *properly*, and *really* the Body of the *Son of God*, ſurpaſſes in value, not onely our *Prayers*; but what ever is moſt excellent, either in *Earth*, or in *Heaven*, among the *Angels*, and *Spirits* of the glorified *Saints*. And though ſhe, who cannot endure the *Proteſtants*, becauſe they are unwilling to ſubmit their Conſciences to any other *Rule*, then that of *Faith*, contained in the *Sacred Scriptures*, hath born in her Boſom, and ſuffered unreproved thoſe inconſiderate Children, who have had the boldneſs to write that the *ſolemn Sacrifice might be offered to Creatures*; As when the *Authour* of the great *Chronicle* of the *Low-Countries* thruſt in this into his *Hiſtory*, that, on the 27th of *October*, 1467. *Charles*, laſt *Duke* of *Burgundy*, who conquered the *People* about *Liege*, *Eccleſiæ* Lovanienſis *univerſo Clero commiſit, omnipotenti Deo, ſuæque ſanctæ Genitrici offerre ſuo nomine ſacrificium*, &c. *gave expreſs Order to all the Clergy of the Church of* Lovain, *to offer unto Almighty God, and to his moſt Holy Mother, the ſolemn Sacrifice in his name*; never conſidering, either that the *Oblation* of the *ſolemn Sacrifice* is (by the confeſſion of all) the act of *Latria*, and *ſovereign adoration*, due to God alone, as being the moſt *proper Object*, and moſt worthy of it; nor that the *moſt Holy Mother of our Lord*, though *bleſſed* (according to the ſaying of the *Angel*) *among Women*, never ceaſed being a *Creature*, and that ſhe is ſuch now in Heaven as much, as ſhe was before ſhe was crowned with Glory; or that to addreſs to her, either *ſeparately*, or *joyntly* with God Almighty, the *ſolemn Sacrifice*, is to ſerve her with the *ſervice* of *Latria*, and to *transfer to the Creature the Glory of the Creatour:* Or when *Jovianus Pontanus*, (a *Great Perſon* otherwiſe) *Councellour*, and *Secretary* of *State* to *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* King of *Naples*, feigned, (e) that St. *Michael*, the *Archangel*, appearing to *Laurence*, Biſhop of *Sipontum* in *Apulia*, had entertained him with this horrid, and neceſſarily-falſe *Diſcourſe*, concerning the *Grot* of the Mountain *Garganus*, now called *Mont di S. Angelo*; Michael *ego ſum, qui, hoc excavato ſaxo, hoc antro, hoc habitaculo, his aſſidue manantibus ſtillis abluturus ſum, ac deleturus meam ad aram confugientium mortalium errata*, &c. *I am* Michael, *who, having hollowed this Rock, this Cave, this Habitation, ſhall, by theſe perpetually falling drops, waſh away, and take off the ſins of thoſe, who have recourſe to my Altar:* as, if ever any one of the bleſſed *Angels of Light*, of whom St. *Auguſtine* ſometime ſaid to the *Heathens*, (f) *Utinam & vos illos colere velletis, facilè enim ab ipſis diſceretis non illos colere*, &c. *I wiſh you would alſo attempt to ſerve them*, (as ſometime did St. (g) *John*) *for you might learn of them not to ſerve them*; as if, I ſay, it had been a thing becoming any of the *Angels* to importune men for *Temples*, and *Altars*, or, at leaſt, to erect them to themſelves; or, laſtly, to attribute to themſelves the honour of *waſhing away*, and *blotting out* the ſins of men; or, as if any other, then the *Son of* God (h) *had purged our ſins*, and that (i) *by the ſacrifice of himſelf appearing now once for to put away ſin*,

(e) *Hiſt. Neap. lib. 2. pag. 581.*

(f) *In Pſal. xcvi.*

(g) Apoc. xix. 10. & xxii. 8.

(h) Hebr. i. 3.

(i) Heb. ix. 26.

(k) *ſancti-*

(k) *ſanctifying thoſe, who are his, through the offering of his Body once for all, having offered one Sacrifice for ſins for ever, and by that offering for ever perfected them, that are ſanctified*: Upon which accompt St. *John* ſays, that *he is the Propitiation for our ſins*, and that *his blood cleanſeth us from all ſins*: yet this very *Church* of *Rome*, I ſay, who hath, in thoſe of her *Communion*, forborn to take any notice of the wicked, and ſcandalous *Expreßions* we have even now refuted, made no difficulty, after St. *Auguſtine*, to declare thoſe guilty of *ſacrilege*, who ſhould preſume to *ſacrifice* to any of the *Saints*; nor, in imitation of him, to affirm, that *it is a leß ſin to return drunk from the Memorials* (or, *Sepulchres*) *of the* Martyrs, *then to ſacrifice to them faſting*. But conſidering, with the whole *antient Church* in her *Liturgies*, the things diſtributed in the *Euchariſt* no otherwiſe, then as *gifts*, and *preſents*, which God *gives* us, and which he *creates*, and daily leaves to our diſpoſal, though by their *conſecration* we hold, with the Holy *Fathers*, that they become *Religious Sacraments*, *Figures*, *Images*, *Signs*, and *Similitudes* of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, nay, that very Body, and Blood in a *Sacramental way*, no man ought to think they abſolutely ceaſe to be what they were (according to the condition of their *nature*) before the *Conſecration*, viz. *aliments of refection*, created for our uſe, and left to our diſcretion, to be communicated to thoſe, who are with us, whether *effectually*, or in *outward appearance*, in the *Communion* of the *Church*. Upon this accompt St. *Ambroſe* might ſay, that he made a *Preſent* of it to *Valentinian*, a *Catechumen* indeed, as to *outward appearance*, but in *effect* one of the *Faithfull*, in as much, as he had made a Vow to receive *Baptiſm*; much after the ſame manner, as at this day the *Church* of *Rome*, in the diſtribution of the *Bread*, which ſhe calls *Holy*, reſerves (even for the abſent, that are in *Communion* with her, whom the Perſons, that offer it, are willing to honour) their portion, as a kinde of *Honourary Preſent*.

(k) Hebr. x. 10. xii. 14.

Thirdly, I intreat the *Reader* to obſerve, that St. *Ambroſe*, who had ſaid of the Great *Theodoſius*, that he had *attained ſalvation through his humility*, in imitation of *David*, that *his ſoul was returned into her reſt*, &c. that ſhe had *made haſte to enter into the City of* Jeruſalem, *into true glory*, in the *Kingdom of the bleſſed*, in the enjoyment of *perpetual light*, *rejoycing in the fruits of the reward for the things he had done in his body*, does not, when he concludes his *Diſcourſe* with this Wiſh, *Grant thy ſervant perfect reſt, that reſt, which thou haſt prepared for thy Saints*, any way inſinuate (to the prejudice of what he had ſaid before) that the Soul of that *Prince* was then (when he ſpoke) in expectation of her reſt; for he adds immediately after, that he *remains in light*, and is *glorified in the Aſſemblies of the Saints*, in the *Kingdom of the Lord* Jeſus, enjoying the ſociety of *Gratian* his Brother-in-law, of *Flaccilla* his Daughter, and of the great *Conſtantine*: but he deſires, on his behalf, not abſolutely reſt, ſince he was poſſeſſed of it, as to his Soul, but the *perfect reſt*, the poſſeſsion whereof he could not arrive to in Body, and Soul, till after the Reſurrection, and in compariſon to which, what he was then poſſeſſed of could not be accompted other, then *imperfect*, and, as it were, *half*; ſince he enjoyed it, but in *one* of the parts of his *Perſon*, the *other* being to remain under the power of Death, till the Laſt day, at which time it was to be rejoyned

rejoyned to the other, that they might be joyntly received into Glory.

Into this *Doctrine*, which, in the main, presuppoſes the *Hypotheſis* of the *Proteſtants*, concerning the *Beatitude* of the *Faithfull*, as to their *ſouls*, from the Moment of their *Body*'s diſsolution, we finde a little *rubbiſh* ſhuffled; which the *Proteſtants* do not conceive any one ſhould force them to take upon their accompt.

In the *firſt* place, according to the then *Cuſtom*, but without any *Command*, or *Promiſe* of God, and without the *Example* of the *Apoſtolique Church*, (the onely means able to Authoriſe his Action) St. *Ambroſe* prays for him, whom he acknowledged in *Bliſs*, in the *Kingdom of God*; a kinde of *Office*, which he himſelf, in his *Funeral Oration* for *Valentinian*, had declared purely *Arbitrary*, and proceeding from the *Will-worſhip*, whereof St. *Paul* had, about three hundred and thirty years before, expreſly advertized the *Coloſſians*, and by them the whole *Church* through all *Ages*, to beware:

And *ſecondly*, where he prays, that the Soul of *Theodoſius* might return *into the reſt, whence it had deſcended*, he not onely makes a *ſuperfluous Wiſh*, and conſequently *ill-grounded*, according to his own confeſsion; ſince that Soul was already gotten into the place, where he wiſhed it: But he ſhews further, that he had a little Tincture of *Origene*'s Venom, whoſe Imagination it was, that the *ſouls*, having ſinned in Heaven, and being forced to depart thence, were *deſcended*, guilty of Crimes, and, as ſuch, had been diſpoſed into *Bodies*. An *Opinion*, which was condemned in the year 399. by the unanimous conſent of the *whole Church*; which *conſtantly* maintains, even to this day, and that *every where*, that all Souls are *produced* by God, at the very *inſtant* of their *infuſion* into the Bodies they are to animate; and that, for as much as they were not *at all*, before they were united to their *Bodies*, they could not either *be*, or *ſin*, in Heaven, or, conſequently, *deſcend thence*; as St. *Ambroſe* preſuppoſed: that, which *is not* abſolutely, neither having (before it is) any Being, nor *pre-exiſting*, nor capable of either *Action*, or *Motion* from one place to another, or of any *Paſſion* any way conceivable by us.

But as to the main point, it is manifeſt, that St. *Ambroſe*, and all the *Church* of his Time, had abſolutely rejected the firſt *Hypotheſis*, derived from the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, maintaining, that all Souls, without exception, deſcend into *Hell*, after their departure out of the *Bodies*, wherewith they (every one, as to its own particular) conſtituted humane Perſons; and that that other Branch of Errour, which had prepoſſeſſed the Spirit of *Juſtine Martyr*, and his *Contemporaries*, whereby they imagined, that the Souls of the *greateſt Saints*, during their pretended detention in *Hell*, were, in ſome ſort, ſubject to the power of *Evil Spirits*, and upon that accompt, ſtood in need of being relieved by the *Prayers* of the *Living*, imploring on their behalf the Protection of God, and his good Angels, was no longer held, it being the perſwaſion even of thoſe, who continued to make the ſame *Prayers*, as they, who had been of that Belief, that the true *Chriſtians, departing out of the Body*, were *with the Lord*, in an eternal reſt, and abſolute ſafety. In ſo much, that theſe, who recommended the *Dead* to God, grounded not their ſo doing on either of theſe two *Motives*,

tives; St. *Ambroſe* telling us plainly concerning *Valentinian* the Second. *Requieſcamus* (*inquit* (l) *anima pia*) *in Caſtellis, oſtendens illic eſſe quietem tutiorem, quæ ſepto Cœleſtis refugii munita, atque vallata, non exagitatur ſæcularium incurſibus Beſtiarum*, &c. *Let us reſt* (*ſays the Faithfull ſoul*) *in Towers, ſhewing that there* (where ſhe is received) *there is a more aſſured Repoſe, which being encompaſſed, and fortified with the Encloſure of celeſtial refuge, is not diſturbed by the Incurſions of the Beaſts of this World*; that is to ſay, *Evil Spirits*, and *Wicked Men*. And concerning *Theodoſius*; *Lapſum ſentire non poterit, in illa requie conſtitutus*, &c. *Being ſeated in that Reſt, he cannot be ſubject to fall from it*. (l) Cant. vil. 11.

And *Paulinus*, not long before the Death of St. *Ambroſe*, to *Pammachius*, concerning his Wife *Paulina*, deceaſed in the year 396. *Satis docuit Rex Propheta*, &c. *The* Royal Prophet *hath ſufficiently* (m) *taught us how far we ſhould be troubled at the departure of our Friends, and Kinred, to wit, ſo, as rather to think of our Journey after them, then of that, which they are already come to the end of. It is indeed an Expreſſion of Piety to be caſt down at the taking away hence of Juſt men; but it is alſo an Holy thing, to be raiſed up into Gladneſs upon the* (n) *Hope, and Faith of God's Promiſes, and to ſay to him, that it is in trouble,* (o) Why art thou ſad? *Be it ſo, that Piety bewail for a time, yet is it neceſſary, that Faith ſhould always be joyfull*. (m) 2 Sam. xii. 13. (n) Rom. xii. 12. (o) Pſal. xliii. 1, 5.

Upon this Ground was it, that all thoſe, who, for the ſpace of ſix hundred years, made it their Buſineſs to write the *Lives* of the *Faithfull*, accompted them among the *Bleſſed*; not admitting any adjournment of their Peace, and Felicity, after their death. In ſo much as *Gregory*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Tours*, deceaſed the ſeventeenth of *November*, 592. about which time *Pope* GREGORY, *firſt* of that Name, was deſigning the *firſt-draught* of *Purgatory*, ſhould not have ſpoken of thoſe Virtuous Perſons, whoſe memory he celebrated, in other Terms, then thoſe, who had preceeded him: ſaying of *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Langres*; of *Nicetius*, Biſhop of *Lyons*; of *Porcianus*, *Urſus*, and *Caluppa*, *Religious* Men; *Migravit ad Dominum*, &c. *He is gone hence to the Lord*: of *Gallus*, Biſhop of *Cler-mont*; of *Nicetius*, Biſhop of *Trier*; and of *Lupicinus*; *Spiritum, cœlo intentum, præmiſit ad Dominum*, &c. *He ſent before* (his Body) *to the Lord his Soul, imployed in Thoughts of Heaven*: of *Friard*; Chriſtus *animam ſuſcepit in Cœlo*, &c. Chriſt *hath received his ſoul into Heaven*: of *Martius*, *Ad Coronam commigravit*, &c. *He is gone hence to receive a Crown*: of *Venantius*; *Vitam percepturus æternam, emicuit ſæculo*, &c. *He is hurried hence to receive eternal Life*: of *Leobord*; *Manifeſtum eſt, eum ab Angelis ſuſceptum*, &c. *It is manifeſt, he hath been entertained by Angels*. In a word, the great number of thoſe, who admire the *Novelties*, that have crept into the *Opinion* of *Purgatory*, hath been no hindrance, but that the *Authours* of *Lives*, who have written ſince the year 600. have ſpoken, and believed of their *Dead* conſonantly to what had been done by the moſt *Antient*.

If therefore, even in the Time of St. *Ambroſe*, the *Opinion* of the *Millenaries* was ſo loſt to credit, that St. *Hierome*, who, out of reſpect towards the *Great Perſons*, that had followed it, forbore to expreſs his Thoughts thereof, and to number it among *Hereſies*, thought it a great Tenderneſs

Tenderneſs towards it, to aſſign it a place among the *dreaming Imaginations* of *mis-informed Spirits*; it is not to be conceived, that after the year 500. deſcending ſtill, it ſhould have regained any *Partizans*, and that there ſhould have been any man, whoſe *Prayers* for his *deceaſed Friends* proceeded from that *Motive*, ſo, as that he thought himſelf obliged to wiſh them their *part in the Firſt Reſurrection*, which no man then underſtood in the ſenſe, wherein *Tertullian*, and thoſe of his Time, had conceived it. But indeed, many, even till after the year 600. relying on that *Hypotheſis*, partly extracted out of the pretended *Oracles* of the Counterfeit *Sibyl*, that *All Souls ſhould paſs through the laſt Conflagration of the World*, demanded, on the Behalf of their *departed Friends* two things. One, that they might paſs through that great *Conflagration*, as through a *Purgative Fire*, not to be prejudiced thereby, no more, then the *Gold* melted in the *Crucible*. Another, that they might have their part with all the *Saints* in the *Reſurrection* to Glory. Upon this perſwaſion, *Kindaſvind*, *King* of the *Weſt-Goths*, in *Spain*, who reigned between the year 642. and 649. had cauſed theſe *Verſes* to be written on the *Tomb* of his Wife *Reciberga*;

— Ego te (Conjux) *quia vincere fata nequivi,*
Funere perfunctam, Sanctis commendo tuendam;
Ut, cùm Flamma vorax veniet comburere Terras,
Cœtibus ipſorum meritò ſociata reſurgas.
Since death, on my deſires, would not thee ſpare,
Of thee departed may the Saints take care;
That thou, with them, mayſt riſe again that day,
When of the Fire the Earth ſhall be the prey.

The *Firſt* of theſe *Demands* hath loſt much of that Conſideration with thoſe, who have embraced the *New Opinion* of *Purgatory*, which ſeemed to require the Example of the moſt *Antient*, and the Exerciſe of the ſame *Prayers*, as they had made uſe of. For, though they make mention of the *Laſt day's Fire*, and are abſolutely ſilent concerning *Purgatory*, yet do not thoſe in the *Weſtern-Church*, *who pray for the Dead*, hardly faſten their thought on any thing, but their *deliverance* out of the pretended place of *Pain*, and their diſpoſal into reſt; and I am to learn, whether there be any, who think of the *Reſurrection*, to which alone relate, even to this day, both the *Texts*, and *Prayers* uſually read in the *Office of the Dead*. Beſides, it be thought ſhamefull, to pray (as in the *Times* of St. *Chryſoſtome*, *Prudentius*, and St. *Auguſtine*) for the *Damned*; not out of any hope to attain their abſolute *deliverance*, but onely ſome *alleviation* of the *Pains* they ſuffer in *Hell*. And the *Legends* of *Falconilla*, and *Trajan*, reſcued out of eternal Damnation by the *Prayers* of St. *Thecla*, and *Gregory the Great*, are ſomewhat offenſive to the *Learned* even of the *Roman Communion*, who are not a little troubled to excuſe (p) *John Damaſcene*, as to that particular. To be ſhort, not one of the *Doctours* before the year 590. propoſed to himſelf any ſuch thing, as either the *confinement* of the *Dead* in *Purgatory*, or *Prayer* for their *deliverance* out of it.

(p) Orat. *de his, qui in Fide dormierunt.*

CHAP.

Chap. XLIII.

The Obscurity, and Uncertainty of the Opinion *of* Purgatory.

GREGORY *the Great*, the *first* of all those, of whom we have remaining among us any *Monuments* to this purpose, having in the year 593. begun to fasten together, in his (a) *Dialogues*, and *Sermons*, the *Discourses* he had heard, and which he recommends to us, with this notable *Observation*, that they were *Novelties*, not heard of before, since he brings in *Peter*, his *Deacon*, putting this *Question* to him, *Quid hoc est, quæso te, quod, in his extremis temporibus, tammulta de animabus clarescunt, quæ antè latuerunt*, &c. *What means it, I beseech you, that in these Last Times, there are discovered, concerning Souls, so many things which were hidden before?* The *Leaven* so spread it self since, that in the Time of (b) *Beda, viz.* one hundred and twenty years after St. *Gregory*, some numbred *cold* and *temperate Purgatories*, as well, as *hot* ones; which was further heightned by *Visions*, and *Prodigious Relations*, as if the confidence of Feigning should, as it grew *Elder*, grow also *stronger*. But, though there were no other reason to quarrel at this *Opinion*, then the Novelty of it, as such, as had not appeared, in the *West*, before the end of the *sixth Age*, and could never obtain *Naturalization* in the *East*, and *South*, where it is yet unknown to the *Vulgar*, and discarded by the *Learned*; and the *irresolution*, wherewith its Principal, and first Promoter, *Pope Gregory*, spoke, whether of the place of *Hell*, or the activity of *Infernal Fire* upon the *Spirits*, which (according to his Imagination) are tormented therein: yet they clearly justifie, that he Treated not the *Question* of the *State of the dead*; but as it were, by conjecture, and upon the Imaginations of Persons so apt to be mis-informed, as that there needed onely some *common Report*, and the affirmation of a *confident Dreamer*, to perswade them to any thing. I know well enough, that *Cardinal Bellarmine*, to derive the Business somewhat higher, cites St. *Augustine*; who, being in some difficulty about the Explication of those *Words* of Saint *Paul*, (c) *He shall be saved, yet so, as by Fire*, had, about the year 410. made use of these *Words*, which manifestly discover how far he was unresolved in the Case: (d) *Sive in hac vita tantùm ista homines patiuntur, sive etiam post hanc vitam talia quædam Judicia subsequuntur, non abhorret (quantum arbitror) à ratione veritatis iste intellectus hujus Sententiæ: verùntamen etiamsi est alius, qui mihi non occurrit, eligendus, non cogimur dicere injustis*, &c. *Salvi eritis*, &c. *Whether it be in this Life onely, that men suffer such things* (that is to say, dolefull Regrets for the things of this World, which they have carnally loved) *or, that, after this Life, some such Judgments follow, this way of understanding the place of the* Apostle, *is not (in my Judgment) repugnant to the reason of Truth: yet, if we must pitch upon another sense, which is not obvious to me, we are not forced to say to the unjust*, &c. *You shall be saved.* Continuing still in the same *posture*, about the year 419. he writt to his Friend *Laurence*, (e) *Tale aliquid*, &c. *That some such thing may happen, even after this Life, is not incredible; and whether*

(a) *Dial.* lib. 4. cap. 40.

(b) *Hist. Angl.* lib. 5. cap. 13.

(c) 1 Cor. v. 15.

(d) *De Fide, & Operibus*, cap. 16.

(e) *Enchirid.* cap. 69.

ther it be really so, may be questioned, and it may be either found true, or remain concealed; to wit, whether some of the Faithfull, according as they have more, or less, loved perishable Goods, may be sooner, or later saved, through a Purgatory Fire. And note, that having not any thing more certain to *answer*, he kept to the same *Terms* in resolving the first *Question* proposed to him by *Dulcitius*. Nay, in the year 424. which was the seventh before his *death*, publishing his Books *Of the City of God*, he *harped* on the same *Doctrine*, saying, (f) *Post istius sanè corporis mortem*, &c. *But as for the time between the bodily death, and Last Judgment, if any one say, that the Spirits of the Dead are, all that while, tried in such a Fire, as they do not any way feel, who were not subject to the same Inclinations, and Affections in this Life, that their Wood, Straw, and Stubble might be consumed; but that others, who carry hence such Buildings, do onely here, or both here and there, or here so, as not there, pass through the purging Fire of a Transitory Tribulation, which burns the things of this World, though Venial in respect of Damnation, I reprove him not; for that it is possible, he is in the right.*

(f) *Lib.* 21. *cap.* 26. See also, to the same purpose, *cap.* 26, and 24. in *Psal.* 37. *de* Genesi, *adv.* Manich. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 20.

But the *Proceeding* of the present *Church* of *Rome*, who triumphs so much upon these *Passages*, whereby she pretends to draw St. *Augustine* to her side, is so much the more unjust towards him, the more she presumes on the *Testimony* of a *Witness*, who does not onely not say any thing as to what she would have him, but *absolutely* destroys it, in as much, as he speaks of a *Fire*, which some *feel* even in *this* Life, and others *after* it. Whence it follows, that his Imagination reached no further, then a *Metaphorical*, and *Intentional Fire*, which may be felt, even during the *Life of this Body*: whereas the *Romane Church* supposes a *real*, and *material* one, which *burns* not the living, but *torments the Spirits of the Departed*.

Secondly, That he is not confident of his having found out the true sense of St. *Paul*'s Words: but, ingenuously, confesses; that they may be understood in some other, to him absolutely unknown.

Thirdly, That, treading, as it were, upon *Thorns*, he is not over-ready to give us any thing for certain; but entertains us with a simple *Conjecture*; which might be brought to Question, whether it were so, or not: which also he but slightly advances; as finding it not contributary to ought Impious, yet without imposing any necessity to admit it, and which, in fine, he lets pass under a *Whether*, an *It may be*, a *Peradventure*: so that, not presuming himself to approve it, all the kindness he hath for it, is expressed in his telling us, that he does *not disallow it*.

Fourthly, That the *very* thing, which he proposes so doubtfully, may be adjusted to the *Opinion*, which the most *Antient* had had of the *general Conflagration* of the *Universe* at the *end* of the *World*: whose Imagination it was, that it should serve as a general *Lustration*, through which the Spirits of the *Saints*, even that of the *Blessed Virgin*, were to pass, and who reflected on nothing less, then the *Purgatory*, proposed to us at this day.

Fifthly, That, though he should assure us, that that *certain Fire of Grief*, whereof he speaks, shall be a *material Fire*, that it shall *burn* the *Spirits* of men, and that the *Torment*, which they shall endure thereby, shall afflict them from their departure out of the Bodies, they had cast off: yet should not his assurance be of greater weight to the *Protestants*,

then

then to the *Church* of *Rome*, which ſubmits not to his Authority; but onely in what ſhe finds conſiſtent with her own *Opinions*, and confidently rejects what ſhe quarrels at. For, if ſhe think it juſt to diſſent from him, when he teaches (g) that *In the Deity there are three Subſtances*, that (h) *The Angels are corporeal*, that (i) *The ſins of the Fathers make the Children liable to puniſhment*, that *The ſouls* (of all the *Departed*) *are* (between the day of their departure out of *this World*, and that of the *Laſt Judgment*) [k] *ſhut up in ſecret Receptacles*, that the *Prayers* made for them *are beneficial to them, to the end, that either the Remiſſion may be full, or that their Damnation be more tolerable*, and that *thoſe Prayers, made on the behalf of the Damned, are a kinde of conſolation to the Living*; all which things the ſaid *Holy Prelate* poſitively affirms: why ſhould ſhe take it ill, that (after her Example) we ſhould refuſe *abſolutely* to depend on his Authority, eſpecially in a ſubject, wherein he does not pretend any, in as much as it is his own acknowledgment, that he was not reſolved, what he ſhould ſhould hold? What greater Neceſſity is there, that we ſhould determine for the *Affirmative*, when he, himſelf, makes it a *Queſtion*, *Whether there be after this life a Purgatory* for the Spirits of the Deceaſed; then, when he doubts, *Whether the Sun, Moon, and Stars belong to the ſociety of the bleſſed Spirits in Heaven?* Though we had read no other *Lecture* of *Modeſty*, then the reſervedneſs, which prevailed with him to forbear reſolving ought upon theſe two *Queſtions*, do we not deſerve commendation for having (in imitation of him) kept the *Scales* in our Hands, rather, then Blame, which we muſt never expect to avoid, if, without pregnant *Proof*, we affirmed what he propoſed onely *Problematically*, and without any deciſion. If it may, with any *colour*, be pretended, that the Bent of his inclination was the *Affirmative* of a *Purgatory* of ſome kinde, or other, and that it ſhould be a Pattern for us to do the like, why ſhould not his confidence in denying the [l] *Antipodes* force us by a like *Negative*, to diſpute againſt our own Experience, whoſe *Teſtimony*, for theſe 150. years, aſſures us he was miſtaken? Were it not much better, that thoſe, who would make uſe of his Name, in a Cauſe he never maintained, ſhould behave themſelves according to his Moderation, and proteſt with him, [m] *I would, if it might be; or, rather I will, if it may be, be overcome by the Truth, which is not openly repugnant to the ſacred Scriptures, in as much as that, which is repugnant to them, cannot in any ſort, be either called, or accompted Truth.* I therefore intreat them, in the fear of God, to take it into their ſerious Conſideration,

(g) *De Trin.* lib. 1. cap. 8.
(h) Lib. 3. cap. 8 & lib. 4. cap. 1.
(i) *Enchirid.* 46.
(k) *Ibid.* cap. 109 ad *Qu.* 2. *Dulcitii.*
(l) *De civit. Dei*, lib. 16. cap. 9.
(m) Ad *Qu.* 2. *Dulcitii.*

Firſt, Whether it be poſſible, their Belief, ſuch as they propoſe it to us, can be the ſame with that of St. *Auguſtine*, who, never (for ought we could ever learn) determined in the *Affirmative* of any *Purgatory*; much leſs of that, which the *Monaſtical Revelations* have furniſh'd us with, in deſpight of the moſt *Venerable Antiquity*; but hath expreſly declared, by his *Sermons*, that he *acquieſced* in the common *Sentiment* of the *Church* of his Time, which held, that thoſe, whom God calls to himſelf, are Tranſlated, at their *Death*, either into the actual enjoyment of their Felicity, or confined in the Place of their eternal Puniſhment. To this Effect does he expreſs himſelf to his *Church*, upon the eleventh *Chapter* of St. *John*. [n] *Receptus eſt Pauper, receptus eſt Dives: ſed ille in ſinu*

(n) In *Joann.* Tract. 49.

Abrahæ; *ille*, &c. *The Poor man was received, the Rich man was received: but the former into* Abraham's *Bosom; the later where he should be thirsty, and not finde a drop of Water: the souls of all men therefore (that I may hence take occasion to instruct your Charity) all souls have, after their departure out of this World, their several Retreats: the Good are in Bliß, the Wicked in Torments*, &c. *The rest, which is given immediately after Death, whoever is worthy of it, receives it immediately, when he Dies.* And upon the *First* of St. *John*,

(o) *Tract.* 10. [o] *Ille, qui vixit, & mortuus est*, &c. *He, who hath lived, is also dead, his Soul is transported into other places, his Body is disposed into the Ground; whether those words, (viz.* those of his Last Will) *be put in execution, or not, it does not concern him; he does, he endures quite another thing, he either rejoyces in* Abraham's *Bosom, or in eternal Fire prays for a little Water.* I know *Cardinal Bellarmine* either thought, or pretended to think, that all could be deduced from those *Words*, was, that the Souls of the *Faithfull* are, immediately after their Departure out of this World, *gathered into rest, in as much as assured of their eternal Salvation*, and that thence they *derive great Joy*; but that *to some it is not given without the admixture of Temporal Pains.* But I maintain, that his *Commentary* is a formal corruption of the *Text*, to which he applies it; in as much as S. *Augustine* gives us to observe therein, as things immediately opposite, the *Good*, and the *Wicked*, the *Joy* of the former in *Abraham's Bosom*, and the *Torments* of the later in *eternal Fire*: so that, as the *Torment* of these is an absolute Privation of *Joy*, and *Rest*; so the *Joy*, and *Rest* of the other is necessarily an absolute exemption from *Torment*. Besides, I do not see how long any can number among those, who *rejoyce*, and are in *Bliß*, the *Spirits* of such, as are supposed to *suffer more, then could be suffered in this Life*; and much less, how the Believer, *dead in the Lord*, receives (when he dies) his *Rest*, and *Joy*, if he be then confined to Places of Punishment; and upon that very accompt is not in his *Rest*. To salve then so strange a *Conception*, we must say, that to *Be in rest* signifies, *not to be in rest*, and to *rejoyce* may be taken in the same sense, as to be *tormented*. But whom will they perswade to this, unless those, who have suffered such a *dislocation* of Understanding, as hath made them uncapable of either discerning, or disallowing any *distorsion* of words?

Secondly, I earnestly intreat those, who are in *Communion* with the *Church* of *Rome*, to tell me conscientiously, whether they think it possible, that St. *Augustine* held their *Purgatory* for an *Article of Faith*, when he is so far from making a certain acknowledgment of any, that he leaves it to every one (after his *Example*) to put it to the *Question, Whether there be any, or no.* Will they say, he was so weakly instructed, that he was ignorant, that *Tenent* (if so be it were such, as they would have it) made, or ought to make part of the *Catholique Doctrine*, or that *the Catholique Doctrine* is duly professed, when those, who are called to teach it, openly declare they doubt thereof? It must then needs follow, that *Purgatory* was not known to the *Christians* of that *Age*, and therefore much less to those, who had been *Disciples* of the *Apostles*.

CHAP.

Chap. XLIV.

That the Proofs, *produced by* Cardinal Bellarmine *for* Purgatory, *are Weak, and Defective.*

Cardinal Bellarmine, who hath undertaken to prove the contrary, cannot acquit himself, without being forced to shamefull shifts, and calling to his Assistance such *Witnesses*, as depose onely on the behalf of *Prayer for the Dead*; as if *that* Prayer, which St. *Epiphanius* assures us to have been made, in his Time, for *all* the *Saints*, without exception, never either had, or could have had any other Ground, then the *Purgatory held by the Church of Rome*. He cites, to this purpose, *Councels*, almost all *Latine*, viz. the *Third* of *Carthage*, Assembled the first of *September*, 397. and the *Fourth*, held the sixth of *November*, 398. the *Third* of *Orleans*, celebrated the three and twentieth of *June*, 533. the *First* of *Braga*, convocated the first of *May*, 563. the *Collection*, compiled, at the same Time, by *Martin*, Bishop of *Dumium*, and afterwards *Arch-Bishop* of *Braga*; the *First Councel* of *Chaalons* upon the *Saone*, Assembled in the year 650. and that, which the *Greeks* held in the *Trullum* of *Constantinople*, in the year 691. Nay, he makes accompt to put us off also with some *Councels*, Assembled by the *Popes*, for the maintaing of *Abuses* as well in *Doctrine*, as *Discipline*; as that of *Lateran*, under *Innocent the Third*, in the year 1215. that of *Florence*, under *Eugenius the Fourth*, in the year 1439. and that of *Trent*, under *Pius the Fourth*: as if the *Authority* of these *last* should have any other Effect, then to provoke the just disgust of the *Protestants*. Besides, to strengthen the *Dose*, he makes no small Stir with two Counterfeit *Pieces*, advanced by shameless *Impostours*, under the Names of the *Sixth Councel* of *Rome*, under *Symmachus*; and of that of *VVorms*, held, I know not *when*, nor *by whom*. Nay, to give us an *Essay* of his own *Abilities*, in such a Case, after he had cited the *sixty ninth Canon* of the *Collection* made by *Martin* of *Braga*, instead of the *sixty eighth*, he falsely pretends, that he took it out of the *Synods* of the *Greeks*; never considering, that in that *Collection* we have *nine Canons* of the *First Councel* of *Toledo*, and *two* out of the *third* and *fourth* of *Carthage*, with *thirteen* others, which are not to be found in any of the *Councels* now extant, either *Greek*, or *Latine*, and that the *sixty eighth*, which he places in the *sixty ninth* rank, is of that Number.

Next he cites the *Liturgies*, which go under the Names of St. *James*, St. *Basil*, St. *Chrysostome*, St. *Ambrose*, &c. and furnish us (as do also the *Councels*) onely with *Prayer for the dead*, which not onely hath nothing common with the *Purgatory* held by the *Church* of *Rome*; but presupposes what is directly contrary; as assuring us, that those, for whom it is made, are not in *Torment*, but in *Rest*, and *Peace*.

Thence he passes to the *Greek Fathers*, and, upon the first start, alleges unto us (as taking it from St. *Clemens Romanus*, St. *Denys* the *Areopagite*,

Areopagite, and St. *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*) the *Constitutions*, forged under the Name of the said St. *Clement*, about two hundred years after his *Martyrdom*; the *Hierarchy*, composed above four hundred years after the death of the said St. *Denys*; and the *Answers* to the *Questions* of *Antiochus*, written by *Athanasius* of *Antioch*, who was later, then him of *Alexandria*, by four hundred years. Then he produces St. *Gregory Nazianzene*, St. *Cyril* of *Hierusalem*, St. *Chrysostome*, and *Theophylact*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Bulgaria*, who lived after the year 1000. and, following the steps of those, who had preceded him, tells us onely of *Prayer for the dead*.

As for the *Latines*, he produces *Tertullian*, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Hierome*, St. *Paulinus* of *Nola*, St. *Augustine*, *Gregory the Great*, *Isidore* of *Sevil*, *Victor*, *Bishop*, not of *Utica* (as many conceive) but of *Vcetia*, and *Bernard*; not one of whom Treats of any thing, but *Prayer*. Which I observe, not to deny, that St. *Gregory*, and those of the *Latines*, who lived after him, might take the *Opinion* of *Purgatory*, whereof St. *Gregory* may be called the *Father*, or *God-Father*, for a *Motive* of their *Prayers for the dead*; but to advertise, that no such thing can be said of such, as were more *antient*, who founded their *Prayers* on other *Motives*; to wit, those, which have been represented already; whereof there is not any one compatible with *Purgatory*; such as it is at this day imagined to be.

CHAP. XLV.

That the Testimonies, *produced by* Jodocus Coccius *for the* Opinion *of* Purgatory, *are also defective.*

THere is somewhat, much of the same Nature, to be observed in that great *Collection*, which *Jodocus Coccius*, *Canon* of *Juliers*, (rather out of a *scrupulous*, then *judicious* diligence) makes of all manner of *Pieces*, *good* and *bad*. For he cites us (among the *Liturgies*, named by *Cardinal Bellarmine*) those, which are attributed to St. *Peter*, St. *Mark*, and St. *Matthew*, those of *Milan*, of the *Mozarabes*, *Goths*, and *Armenians*; as also the *Councels* of *Arles*, *Vaison*, and *Valentia*, which speak onely of *Praying*, and *Offering for the dead*; and for that very Reason say nothing, as to the Business of *Purgatory*, which is not necessarily deduced thence. Coming to the *Greek Fathers*, he produces, out of a notoriously-counterfeit *Piece* of St. *Clemens Romanus*, certain Words, extracted out of the *Rule* of St. *Benedict*, which was written four hundred and fifty years after the blessed Death of St. *Clement*, and, after all, amounting to nothing, in as much as they mention onely *Prayer for the dead*. He cites *Hermas*, an *Apocryphal Authour*, one, who expresly telling us, that he speaks of Persons, that are in a Condition of *repenting*, or *remaining Impenitent*, clearly shews, that he says nothing competible to the Souls, which the *Church* of *Rome* pretends to be so confined in her *Purgatory*; that they cannot *merit* there, much less be *converted to God*. He takes for

for good the *Teſtimony* of *Origene*, who believed not any *Pains eternal*, and that of St. *Gregory Nyſſenus*, who was lightly led away into that *Errour*. He ſummons in alſo *Ephraim*, *Deacon* of *Edeſſa*, *Diadochus*, Biſhop or *Photice*, *Maximus*, and *Oecumenius*, who ſpeak of no other *Fire*, then that of the *laſt Conflagration*: *Syneſius*, Biſhop of *Ptolemais* in *Cyrenaica*, who Treats of the *Pains* inflicted *by Devils*, and conſequently of thoſe of the *damned*: *Procopius* of *Gaza*, who propoſing to us a *Purgative Fire*, which the *Seraphim brings from Heaven* to *Earth*, to *ſanctifie* as well the *Miniſters* of the *Church*, as the *ſinners*, for whom they pray, clearly diſcovers, he never thought on the *Romiſh Purgatory*, which does not ſanctifie any one, and which cannot be in *Heaven*, for this very Reaſon, that it is placed in *Hell*. *Germanus*, *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, who ſpeaks of the *Efficacy* of our *Saviour's Paſſion* to deliver out of *Limbus* thoſe, whom *Antiquity* believed to have been there, confined in expectation of his coming, as alſo of the *Purgatory* of thoſe, who die daily, ſays nothing to his purpoſe. He makes great oſtentation of a *Fragment* unjuſtly attributed to *Theodoret*, which is not to be found any where in his *Works*; of *Gennadius Scholarius*, drawn into the *Church* of *Rome's* Party by the *Careſſes*, and kindneſſes of Pope *Eugenius the Fourth*: and of *Zagazabo*, an *Abyſſine Biſhop*, whom the *Portuguez*, deceitfull *Interpreters* of his Sentiments, made to ſay what they pleaſed, directly contrary to the common Belief of his *Countrey-men*. He further brings in the *Depoſitions* of that *Impoſtour*, who had in the year 1595. taken upon him the Name of *Gabriel Patriarch of the Coſti*, and who hath been ſince acknowledged by the *Doctours* of the *Church* of *Rome* to be what he was: as alſo thoſe of *Hypatius*, *Arch-Biſhop* of the *Black-Ruſſians*, who (to comply with the *King* of *Poland*, Father of the laſt-deceaſed) had ſubmitted to the *Church* of *Rome*, and in conſequence thereof had made ſuch a *profeſſion* of *Faith*, as ſhe deſired he ſhould. In a word, he ſhuffles together all he met with, of one, I know not what, *Euſebius* of *Alexandria*, unknown to *Antiquity*, of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, of the *Arabian Canons*, of *Timothy* of *Alexandria*, of St. *Epiphanius*, of *Palladius*, of *John* ſirnamed *Caſſian*, of *Juſtine*, *Juſtinian*, and *Leo the Wiſe*, Emperours, of *John* ſirnamed *Climacus*, of *Gregory* the *Prieſt*, of *Leontius*, of *Sophronius*, of *Damaſcene*, of *Anaſtaſius*, of *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, of *Conſtantine* ſirnamed *Manaſſes*, of *Nicetas*, of *Nicholas Cabaſilas*, of *Athanaſius* of *Conſtantinople*, of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, of the *Greeks* deputed to the *Councel* of *Baſil*, of thoſe, who reſide at *Venice*, and of *Jeremy*, *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*; not omitting any of the *Authours* alleged by *Cardinal Bellarmine*, and never minding, whether from any one of the *Teſtimonies*, he draws from this long *Catalogue* of *Witneſſes*, any thing more can be gathered, then *Prayer for the dead*.

Then turning to the *Latine Fathers*, and bringing in all thoſe, whom *Cardinal Bellarmine* had cited, he produces, over and above, *Arnobius*, who ſimply ſays, that the *Church prays for all*, both *living*, and *dead*; and *Zeno* of *Verona*, blaming the *VVidows*, who, by their *lamentations*, interrupt the *prayers*, whereby the Souls of their deceaſed Husbands are recommended to God; and ſhews even in that, that he thought they no way deſerved thoſe *lamentations*, which yet were but the juſt, and neceſſary

ceſſary Effects of the compaſſion of the *living*, if they preſuppoſed, with any certainty, of their *departed Friends*, that they burn in an *Infernal Fire*. Beſides all this, he ſhuffles in the *Depoſitions* of *Lactantius*, of *Hilarius* the *Deacon*, of *Eucherius* of *Lyons*, of *Cæſarius* of *Arles*, and of *Boethius*, who ſpeaks of the *Conflagration of the World at the Laſt day*; of *Prudentius*, who ſpeaks of the *Hell of the damned*; of *Philip* the *Prieſt*, who Treats *Of the Abſolution, and Remiſſion of Sins, which ſhall be ſolemnly given to every Believer at the Laſt day*; of St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers*, who diſcourſes *Of the Tribulations of this Life*; of *Bacchiarius*, who, to confute thoſe, who made any difficulty to allow the peace of the *Church* to their *Brethren*, that were fallen, alledges the care which *Reſpa*, *Saul*'s *Concubine*, had taken of the bodies of his children, hanged upon occaſion of the *Gibeonites*; and that of *Judas Maccabæus* for thoſe of his *Army*, who, after their Death, had been found ſeized of the prey, taken in the *Temple* of *Jamnia*; of *Primaſius*, and *Fauſtus*, *Religious Men* of the *Monaſtery* of St. *Maurus*, who are pleaſed to approve *Prayers* and *Offerings for the dead:* and, to give us good meaſure, when we are to be *cheated*, he cites us a *Writing* lately Fathered on Pope *Sixtus the Third*; an *Homily* of the *Lord*'s *Supper*, ſtuffed with *paſſages* out of St. *Hilary*, St. *Hierome*, St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Proſper*, *Iſidore* of *Sevil*, *Bede*, and *Alcuin*, and conſequently unjuſtly attributed to Saint *Eloy*, deceaſed the firſt of *December*, 663. before the *birth* of *Bede*, who was more *antient* by Fifty years, then *Alcuin*; the *Commentary*, which *Sedulius*, not (as he thinks) the *antient*, who writ the *Opus Paſchale*, but another, of the ſame *Nation*, dreſſed up ſince the year 700. out of the *Writings*, and abundance of other *Authours* of *later date*, whom I forbear to bring into the *Accompt*, out of a conſideration, that, in regard they lived ſince St. *Gregory*, and have had a great Veneration for the *Writings*, and *Authority* of that Renowned *Prelate*, it may be they might have ſome Thoughts of the *Purgatory*, whereof he was the *firſt Founder*, when they writ what is alledged out of them, though they contain not any formal mention thereof. So that, to make good the *Proteſtant* Cauſe againſt the *Church* of *Rome*, it is ſufficient, if I maintain,

Firſt, That ſhe hath nothing expreſly affirmed on the behalf of her *Purgatory* among the *Latines*, before *Gregory the Firſt*.

Secondly, That that onely reflection may give the more ſimple, light enough to comprehend, that that Point of *Doctrine*, being ſo new, that it *was* not known for the ſpace of *ſix Ages* together even among the *Doctours* of the *Weſtern Church*, who have not, neither any one of them in particular, nor all together, any thing determinate, to induce the reception of it, and juſtifie that they had received it, can by no means be an *Article of Faith*.

Thirdly, That ſuch, as alledge unto us the *Greeks*, who never believed, nor can to this day believe, what is propoſed to them, concerning it, by the *Church* of *Rome*, deal very unhandſomly, and are more worthy *reproach*, then *refutation*, which their *Suppoſition* doth not deſerve:

And laſtly, That *Coccius*, who hath made no difficulty to bring in, as *Witneſſes*, the *Greeks* ſojourning at *Venice*, and *Jeremy*, *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*; who, in thoſe very Places, which he cites, deny what he pretends to prove, did not any way conſider, what he ought, either his

own

own Cause, or the sincerity of a good Conscience, which in the Business of *Religion* cannot advance any thing either *false*, or *superfluous*, much less ought, that is repugnant to what it hath undertaken to prove.

Chap. XLVI.

Of the Reasons, *which might have moved the* Antients *to Interr their departed Friends in the* Churches, *consecrated to the Memory of the* Saints.

ALl this thus presupposed, as it may well be, in as much as the necessary result from it is, that that Part of *Antiquity*, which *prayed for the dead*, had not any thought of either the *Purgatory*, where the *Church* of *Rome* teaches, that they burn, or their deliverance out of that grievous Pains but intended onely to desire of God, that he would be pleased to pardon their Sins at the day of his Son's Last coming, deliver them from the *general Conflagration* of the World, and give their Bodies a *glorious Resurrection*; it remains to discover, what may have been their intention, who have ordered their *Friends* to be Buried near the *Martyrs*, or, at least, in the *places*, and *Edifices dedicated*, since the *peace* of the *Church*, to their *Memory*. To proceed in a more certain order, and take things at their proper *Sources*, I observe,

First, That the *Christians* (no more, then the *Jews*) had not, at the beginning, any common *Cemiteries*, or *Church-yards*, but that every one made choice of such place for his *Sepulchre*, as he thought fit, and, that it was thus, the most *antient Monuments* yet remaining among us give sufficient *Testimony*.

Secondly, That according to the *Politicks* of the *Jews*, and *Romans*, *Sepulchres* were not within *Cities*, (a) but onely near, and about them.

Thirdly, That as among the *Jews*, and *Heathens*, there were certain particular Places of *Sepulture* for those of the same *Family*; so the resentments of *Christian* Fraternity, whereby all the *Saints* make up (b) *the Family of God*, and are (c) *Members one of another*, prevailed so far upon the Spirits of the *Faithfull*, that they begat in them (as far as the *Extremities* of those Times permitted) a desire, that their Bodies might be *deposited* near those of their *Brethren*, who had before (d) fought *the good Fight of Faith*, and (e) *held fast the confidence, and the rejoycing of the hope firm unto the end*.

(a) *Paul. Sent.* lib. 2. Tit. 22. *Cod. Theod.* lib. 9. Tit. 17. cap. 6.
(b) Ephes. ii. 19.
(c) Rom. xii. 5.
(d) 2 Tim. iv. 7.
(e) Hebr. iii. 6.

Fourthly, That the *Church*, during the rigour of the *Persecutions*, having been forced to Assemble to serve God *before day*, and to seek the safety of her Children in the silence of the *Night*, and the *Solitudes* of *Cemiteries*, Places not onely of no great shew, but such as were (if the Scituation permitted it) for the most part, under *Ground*, as the *Catatumbs* about *Rome*, and could not (upon that accompt) give any *Jealousie* to the *Pagans*, the *Faithfull*, who were there daily animated to *Constancy* by the *Instruction* of their *Pastours*, and the sight of the *Tombs*, which they con-

sidered as so many *Trophies* of their Brethren; seeing the *Mystical Table* purposely placed towards that part, where their *bodies* rested, as it were, to make unto them a *literal* Application of the Words of St. *John*, who (f) affirms, that (f) *he saw under the Altar the Souls of them, that were slain for the Word of God, and for the Testimony, which they held*, derived from all these *Considerations* that noble desire of remaining conjoyned with the *Saints* of God in Life, and Death, and, when the time should come, depose their own Bodies, as it were, into the Bosom of those Friends; whose *Examples* they had followed, in all the course of their Lives.

(f) Apoc. vi. 9.

Fifthly, That after the *Conquest* of *Paganism*, under the *Reign* of *Constantine the Great*, *Constantius*, his Son, who, at the time he was most violent against the *Orthodox*, bethought him of making the first *Transportations* of *Saints bodies*, in as much, as upon the *first* of *June*, 356. he transferred to *Constantinople* the *body* of St. *Timothy*, which he had taken out of *Ephesus*, and the *third* of *March* following caused to be brought, from *Patras*, the *bodies* of St. *Andrew*, and St. *Luke*; *Constantius*, I say, raised in all those, that came after him, such a desire to attempt the like *Translations*, that there can hardly be named any one of the *antient Martyrs*, and *Confessours*, whose *body* hath not been digged out of the Earth, and torn in *Pieces*, to be distributed into many several places. In imitation of *Princes*, *private* Persons began to exercise that Piece of *Will-worship*: those, who wanted *Authority* to countenance their *Actions*, taking the liberty to make use of *Violence*, and commit *Robberies* (not to speak of the *Adulterations*, and *Impostures*, which, in less, then thirty years were come to that *Excess*, that on the six and twentieth of *February*, 386. it was thought necessary to repress it by an Express *Law*, to this Effect, (g) *Humanum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat*; *nemo* Martyrem *distrahat*; *nemo mercetur*, &c. *Let no man translate any man's body from one place to another*; *let no man sell*; *no man set to a Price any* Martyr. But, since that time, the Disease growing too violent for the Remedy, what had been accompted an (h) Execrable attempt became an *Act of Religion*, and there wanted not an Emulation among those, that practised it, who should be most criminal; and whereas, at the beginning, People thought it enough to consider the *Monuments* of *Martyrs*, and *Confessours*, onely as the glorious marks of their *Christian* Profession, with such a respect, as admitted not the violation of their *bodies*, they came in time to exercise that rudeness upon them, as is done on a *Prey*, exposed to the covetousness of the first, that lays hands on it; every one endeavoured to keep his share, their very *bones* were cut to Pieces, and, instead of honouring their *Memory*, and celebrating their *Virtues* by a pious imitation thereof, they turned their Veneration towards the *Repositories*, into which they were disposed. If, on the one side, *Antiquity*, reduced to those Extremities, as to keep its *Assemblies* in *Cemeteries*, thought it a glory to place the *Eucharistical Table* under their *Tombs*, to teach every one of her children, that they belonged, both *living*, and *dead*, to that Great *Saviour*, who hath commanded us to *shew forth his death till his coming again*: *Posterity*, on the other, which had the opportunity to build as many *Temples*, as they pleased, and where they pleased, hath suffered their

(g) *Cod. Theod.* lib. 9. Tit. 57. cap. 7.

(h) In the year 398. St. *Augustine*, in his *Book* of the *Work of Monks*, (ca. 28.) complains of certain *Wandering Persons*, who boasted, that they had in their possession *Martyrs*, either *Entire*, or in *Pieces*. In the year 440. *Theodoret*, (*De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, lib. 9.) makes it his boast, that every one strived to have some part thereof. And, in the year 587. *Gregory* of *Tours* (lib. 9. cap. 6.) speaks of the notorious *Impostour*, who bragged, that he had a whole *Bag-full* of *Reliques*.

Liberty

Liberty to degenerate into *Superstition*; imagining, that no *Altar* was to be erected, but it must be made a *Repository* of *Reliques*, and the disorder (as it were by an universal Deluge) spread it self so suddenly over all, that the *General Council* of all *Africa*, Assembled at *Carthage* on the thirteenth of *September*, 401. was forced to make *Provision* against it by this remarkable *Decree*: *Placuit, ut Altaria, quæ passim, &c. It hath been thought fit, that the* Altars, *which are erected up and down the Fields, and High-ways, as* Memorials *of the* Martyrs, *wherein there are not any* Body, *or* Reliques *of the* Martyrs *interred, be (if possible) demolished by the* Bishops, *under whose Jurisdictions those Places are. But if, by reason of popular Tumults, it be not in their power to do so, yet let the People be admonished, not to frequent such Places; so as that those, who understand things aright, be not out of any Superstition obliged thereto: that, by no means, there be not any* Memory *of the* Martyrs *accepted with appearance of approbation; but onely there, where, by an unquestioned Origine, it is found there are some* Body, *or* Reliques, *or the beginning of some Habitation, or Possession, or Passion; and that the* Altars, *which are any where erected upon the Dreams, and vain, as it were, Revelations of any men whatsoever, be wholly disallowed.*

Christian Religion had not been Authorised yet an hundred years by the *Laws* of the *Emperours*; but *Dreams*, and *Reveries*, falsly called *Revelations*, had taken such Root therein, that the *Fields*, and *High-ways* were the shamefull Witnesses of it, and the *Bishops*, justly filled with indignation to see their People in the Fetters of *Superstition*, and not daring to promise themselves the success to overcome it, opposed it but faintly, with an *If possible*, as well imagining, that the Spirits of men, once *Infatuated* with its Prejudications, become easily *Furious*, and maintain, by *Tumult*, and *Violence*, what cannot be coloured with any Reason, nor give satisfaction to understanding Persons. They therefore thought it much to have admonished the *Faithfull* of the *Imposture*, and protested against it, referring the event to the Providence of God, who by a just Judgment hath delivered the Perverse to be *Infatuated* by their own *Councels*. In Effect, the *Evil* was incomparably much stronger then the *Remedies*, and it is not to be thought strange, if, even to this day, in all those Places, where the *antient Custom* hath kept its Credit, men pray, *by the Merits of the Saint, whose* Reliques *are under the* Altar, and desire, *ever to be assisted by the Merits of those, whose* Reliques *they there with a pious love Embrace.*

Sixthly, That the *Children* of those *first Christians*, who (during the Tempests of *Persecution*) had had their *Nocturnal-Assemblies* in the *Cemeteries*, where the *Exigency* of the Season forced them to make use of Lights, when the Peace of the *Church*, then beginning to Triumph over the *Fury* of *Paganism*, put them into a Condition to build *Temples*, and to transferr into them the *Bodies* of *Martyrs*, were desirous, not as their *Predecessours*, to have their *bodies* deposited in the *Cemeteries*, common as well to *Martyrs*, as the rest of the *Faithfull*, in Testimony of the *Profession* they had continued, even to the last Gasp; but that they might be placed near those of the *Martyrs*, as if (contrary to the *Custom* of the *Primitive Church*, which meddled not in the least with the *bodies* of the *Saints* once *Interred*) after they had committed a new kinde of *Violence*

on their *Reliques*, the glory of accompanying them in their laſt *Repoſitory*, and taking place near them, ſhould have ſo poſſeſſed any one, as to beget in his minde, out of a carnal Affectation, ſiniſter Deſigns, and Jealouſie, or, as if thoſe, who were *Interred* in the *Fabricks*, particularly Conſecrated to their *Memory*, had had a nearer communion with them, then other *Chriſtians*, who had had their *Burial* in the common *Cemeteries* whence their *bodies* had been taken up. This ridiculouſly-ambitious kinde of *Superſtition*, becoming, immediately upon its firſt *Eruption*, importunate, the *Emperours*, who thought it Scandalous, and likely to beget *Trouble*, and *Diſturbance*, had conceived it might have been baniſhed the *Church* by their *Law* of the nine and twentieth of *July*, 381. expreſſing as much in *Terminis*. *Nè alicujus fallax, & arguta ſolertia, ab hujus ſe præcepti intentione ſubducat, atque* Apoſtolorum, *vel* Martyrum *ſedem humandis corporibus æſtimat eſſe conceſſam, ab his quoque ità, ut à reliquo civitatis, noverint, ſe atque intelligant eſſe ſubmotos*, &c. *To the end that the deceitfulneſs, and unfeigned ſubtilty of any one may not decline the intention of his command, and as imagining that the aboad of the* Apoſtles, *or* Martyrs, *is allowed for the Interment of bodies; let them know, and underſtand, that they are debarred thence in like manner, as from the reſt of the City.* Hence it appears, that the meaning of thoſe *Chriſtian Princes* was, that no Body ſhould be *Interred*, either in *Conſtantinople*, or in the *Churches* of the *Apoſtles*, and *Martyrs*. But their Regulation, though rational in it ſelf, proving ineffectual, through the joynt Deſigns of the *Prelates*, and the *People*, who made it their Buſineſs, to the utmoſt to oppoſe it, rather heightned, then abated their Paſſion: ſo that, as ſince that time, *under pretence of Religion, People lighted a great number of Wax-Candles*, even while the *Sun* ſhined, and maintained they had reaſon ſo to do, in as much as *they lighted them*, not (as ſometime under *Perſecution*) *to chaſe away darkneſs, but to expreſs ſigns of Joy*: every one, as much as in his power lay, concerning himſelf, in that magnificence, and, according to his Ability, contributing thereto: ſo every one took an Humour to ſlight the common *Cemeteries*, and to diſpute who ſhould have the neareſt places to the *Martyrs* in their own *Churches*, *purchaſing* (according to the preſent Expreſſion, even at this day) *the entrance of the Holy Land* with Sums of Money.

But, though the common Rate of People was eaſily drawn into this Deſign, and promoted it with extraordinary earneſtneſs, yet the more modeſt declined it, and, demeaning themſelves according to the *Example*, and *Practice* of their *Anceſtours*, contained themſelves, through a commendable reſervedneſs, within the Terms of the *Priſtine* ſimplicity. Among theſe is *Pope Damaſus*, of whom we have certain *Verſes*, concluding an *Inſcription*, which he had put on the *Frontiſpiece* of Saint *Laurence's church* called, upon this occaſion, *In Damaſo*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Church*, dedicated to the Memory of the ſame *Saint*, and and called, *In Lucina*, becauſe of *Lucina*, a *Roman* Lady, who had firſt taken upon her the Care of gathering together, and burying the remainders of the *Body* of that Glorious *Martyr*: He ſays thus,

(i) *Append. Inſcript Antiq.* pag. 1172. n. 11. & apud *Baron.* A. D. 384 Sect. 35.

(i) *Hìc volui* (*fateor*) Damaſus, *mea condere Membra,*
Sed cineres timui Sanctos vexare Piorum.
——— *I muſt confeſs,*

I here

I here would fain my Body lay in Duſt,
Were't not t' offend the Aſhes of the Juſt.

And theſe *Figurative Words* deſerve to be ſo much the more particularly conſidered, in as much as any one may judg, that ſo great a Perſon could not be Ignorant, that the *Reliques* of Saint *Laurence* could be no leſs deſtitute of Sentiment then of Life; but Poëtically borrowing the *Metaphorical* Expreſſions, as well of the *Heathen*, who were wont to make the ſame *Wiſh* for their deceaſed *Friends*, *May the earthly light upon thee, May thy Bones gently reſt*; as of the *Prophets*, as *Eſay*, who introduces (k) *Hell moved from beneath, becauſe of the King of* Babylon, *to meet him at his coming, and to ſtir up the Dead for him, and to raiſe up from their Thrones all the Kings of Nations*, to inſult at his Miſery, he conſidered his Reliques, as if they had been animated with the ſame Spirit, as had made uſe of them to the glory of God, during the courſe of his life, and intended onely to ſignifie thus much; that, if they had been capable of Reſentment, they might have ſuffered, through the nearneſs of his Body to them, the ſhame, and diſſatisfaction, which happen to generous *Perſons*, who, being unequally matched, deſire, and endeavour to free themſelves out of the ſlavery of an importunate and diſhonourable Society.

(k) Eſa. xiv. 9.

Chap. XLVII.

The Sentiments *of Saint* Ambroſe, *and* Paulinus, *concerning the Burial of the* Faithfull *in* Churches, *Examined.*

BUt all the reſt of the *Prelates* were not ſo ſcrupulous [as Pope *Damaſus*] on the contrary, Saint *Ambroſe*, carried away the reſt by *Cuſtom*, as by the violence of an impetuous *Torrent*, had not onely cauſed his Brother *Satyrus*, deceaſed the ſeventeenth of *September*, 383. to be buried near St. *Victor*, *Martyr*, but made his *Tomb* famous with this *Epitaph*,

Uranio Satyro, *Supremum frater honorem,*
Martyris ad lævam detulit Ambroſius;
Hæc meriti merces, ut ſacri ſanguinis humor
Finitimus penetrans adluat exuvias.
Here, on the Martyr's left, Ambroſe *beſtows*
Laſt Honours on his Brother Satyrus;
That's ſacred Blood (merit's reward it is)
May piercing drench the neighbouring Carkaſes.

In like manner, commendation is given to his Siſter *Marcellina*, deceaſed the ſeventeenth of *July*, about the year 398. or 99. for that ſhe had choſen the place of her Burial near her Brethren in ſacred Ground; for her *Epitaph* runs thus;

Marcellina, *tuos cùm vita reſolveret artus,*
Spreviſti Patriis corpus ſociare Sepulchris.

Cùm

Cùm pia fraterni ſuperas conſortia ſomni,
Sanctorúmque cupis charâ requieſcere terrâ, &c.
Nor would'ſt thou be, when death thy Limbs disjoyn'd,
To thy forefather's Sepulchres confin'd,
Out of a hope t' injoy thy Brother's reſt,
And to remain 'ith' Region of the Bleſt.

Saint *Paulinus*, then indeed onely a *Prieſt*, but afterwards *Biſhop* of *Nola*, ſhewing, that he had conceived an Imagination ſuitable to that of St. *Ambroſe*, writ concerning *Celſus*, a young man, deceaſed at *Complutum*, or *Alcada de Henarez*, in *Spain*, about the year 393.

— Complutenſi *mandavimus urbe propinquis*
Conjunctum tumuli fœdere Martyribus,
Ut de vicino Sanctorum ſanguine ducat,
Quo noſtras illo purget in igne animas, &c.
— *In* Complutum *he's diſpos'd*
Among the Martyrs, *in a Tomb inclos'd,*
That from th' adjacent blood o'th' Saints *he may*
Derive what can our Souls purge in that day.

viz. that of the *Conflagration* of the Univerſe.

(a) 2 Kings xiii. 21.

Of theſe *Epitaphs* the reſult is, that, as the Prophet (a) *Elizeus* was heretofore ſo aſſiſted by the Almighty power of the God of Glory, that a dead Carkaſe, *caſt* by thoſe that carried it *into his Grave*, without any other Deſign, then that to rid themſelves of a trouble, which might have retarded their Flight, *recovered Life, as ſoon as it had touched his bones*; ſo, according to the *Opinion*, as well of St. *Ambroſe*, as *Paulinus*, the Bodies of *Martyrs* were endued with a certain *Virtue*, ſuch as *Sanctified*, and *Purged* the *Things*, that were placed near them. We cannot at this day affirm, whether St. *Ambroſe* did, or did not change his *Opinion*: but we are obliged to obſerve by the way what there is in it, that is inconvenient, nay indeed unmaintainable, ſince that it preſuppoſed, that from the body of St. *Victor*, beheaded at *Milan*, the eighth of *May*, 303. under *Maximian*, and from that time, ſhut up in a *Tomb*, the Blood ſhould, eighty years after, iſſue out in ſuch quantity, as to *penetrate the Ground all about*, and *moiſten the body of* Satyrus, though encloſed alſo in his *Grave*, and communicate its Virtue to him. But, if beheaded Bodies muſt neceſſarily be Bloodleſs, and, if that Blood be naturally fixed into a conſiſtency, as ſoon as it is iſſued out of the Veins, what poſſibility was there in the Suppoſition, which St. *Ambroſe* made of that, which Saint *Victor* had ſpilt eighty years before, repreſenting it onely liquid, but ſtreaming in ſuch quantity, as might *penetrate the adjacent Ground?* And, if it be pretended, he grounded it on the Conception of ſome *Miracle*, whence did he derive it, unleſs from his own voluntary Devotion, or Will-worſhip, which inclined him to believe, as actually exiſtent, what he thought poſſible to the power of God?

Beſides this inconvenience, whereto the *Opinion* of St. *Paulinus*, writing the *Epitaph* of *Celſus*, lies open, and that the more expreſly, the more likely it is, he conceived, or pretended to conceive, that, from the Bodies of *Juſtus*, and *Paſtor*, who had their Throats cut, and conſequently loſt

loſt all their Blood, at *Complutum*, on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, 303. that is to ſay, ninety years at leaſt, before the Death of *Celſus*, the Body of that young man ſhould derive *Blood, that purges ſouls*; as if, of any other *blood*, then that of the (b) *Lamb of God*, (c) *who of God hath been made unto us Sanctification, and Redemption*, and hath (d) *himſelf purged our Sins*, it could be truly, and in good ſence, ſaid, that it *taketh away the Sin of the World*, and (e) *cleanſeth us from Sins*: thoſe Imaginations, which, taken rigorouſly, would be found *Diametrically* oppoſite to the *Doctrine* of *Faith*, do ſtand ſo much in need of a candid *Reader*, who muſt do his Judgment ſome violence, to draw them into a good ſenſe, that without the Byas, which a forced *Interpretation* may give them, it were impoſſible to deduce thence, I will not ſay, any thing good, but any thing excuſable.

(b) Jo. i. 29.
(c) 1 Cor. i. 30.
(d) Hebr. i. 3.
(e) 1 Jo. i. 7.

About nine years after, the ſame *Paulinus*, writing the *Epitaph* of *Clarus*, Diſciple of St. *Martin*, and a *Prieſt* of *Tours*, deceaſed the eighth of *November*, 401. in as much as his Body was to be *Interred* at the foot of the *Altar*, takes a new Fancy, and ſays.

Sancta ſub æternis Altaribus oſſa quieſcunt,
Vt, dum noſtra Pio referuntur munera Chriſto;
Divinæ è ſacris animæ jungantur odores, &c.
His ſacred Bones now undiſturbed lie,
Under Eternal Altars, that, when we
To Chriſt *our Preſents offer, his Soul may*
Be joyn'd to th' odours Sacred things convey.

He pretended (as you ſee) that the placing of the Body of the Faithfull *Perſon* departed, near the *Altar*, would be of ſuch advantage to the Soul, that ſome increaſe of Grace might accrue to her thereby: and all this, with much ſincerity, and good meaning, which is wont to open a ſpacious Gap to thoſe, that conſult it. But upon what grounded? What place of *Holy Scripture* can be produced to Authoriſe the Advice thereof? Accordingly, the ſame *Paulinus*, to let us know that he found not himſelf any way ſatisfied with either of thoſe two Preſuppoſitions, with much confidence, and aſſeveration, acknowledged, that he was yet to be adviſed therein in the year 419. wherein two freſh Accidents, to wit, the *Interrment* of *Flora*'s Son, and that of *Cynegius*, a young man, who had, at his Death, required, that his *Body* might be Buried in the *Church* of Saint *Felix* of *Nola*, had reduced him to confeſs his Perplexity. For, though he had commended the Affection as well of the deceaſed, as of their Mothers, yet, as it were, acknowledging he knew not why, and that he was not very well aſſured of what he did; he deſires to be informed by St. *Auguſtine*, asking him: *Vtrùm proſit cuiquam poſt mortem, quòd corpus ejus apud Sancti alicujus memoriam ſepeliatur*, &c. *Whether it be beneficial to any one after Death, that his Body be buried in the Memorial of ſome Saint?* which ſignifies no leſs, in Effect, then to be reduced to the ſame *Predicament*, as St. *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem*, *Denys* the pretended *Areopagite*, and *Athanaſius* of *Antioch*, who before, and after *Paulinus*, made this Queſtion, *Of what benefit to the Dead were the Prayers made by the ſurviving for them?*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Sentiment *of* St. Auguſtine, *concerning the Burial of the* Faithfull *in* Churches *enquired into.*

SAint *Auguſtine*, in his Treatiſe, *De cura pro mortuis*, to give greater ſatisfaction to his (a) Brother, lays down, that the Care, which is taken of the dead Body, the manner of *Sepulture*, and the Funeral *Solemnities*, are rather *Alleviations* of the grief of the *Living*, then of (b) any aſſiſtance, or *benefit to the Dead.*

(a) *Paulinus*, mentioned in the precedent *Chapter.*

(b) Cap. 2. ex lib. 1. *De Civit. Dei*, cap. 12.

Secondly, That the (c) care taken of the Funeral, and the choice of the place for Burial, are *Effects of the Piety* of the ſurviving towards the *Dead.*

(c) Cap. 3.

(d) Cap. 4, 5. Thirdly, That the (d) advantage, which may be drawn from the *Interrment* of the deceaſed Perſon in the *Church* of ſome *Saint*, can be no other, then that of *recommending* him more commodiouſly, and affectionately to the *Saint*, *as* to a kinde of *Patron*; that that *Office* might be done to the deceaſed Party, though his Body were not preſent in the ſame place, and that the *Sepulture* of it in the ſame place, is to no other end, then to excite a deſire, and affection to pray for him.

(e) Cap. 10. Fourthly, That (e) what is ſaid of the *Viſions* of *Souls* is to be underſtood in the ſame manner, as we do the Dreams we have of thoſe, who are yet alive, and think not in the leaſt of what the Imagination of ſuch as are aſleep attribute to them, (f) as when *Evodius*, afterwards *Biſhop* of *Uzalis*, dreamed, that St. *Auguſtine* ſhewed him the ſence of a Paſſage in (g) *Cicero*'s *Rhetoricks*; and when (g) *Curmas Curialis* dreamed of the death of *Curmas* the *Lock-Smith*, and imagined, that he ſaw St. *Auguſtine*, and the *Prieſts* of his City, exhorting him to receive *Baptiſm.*

(f) Cap. 11.

(g) Cap. 12.

(h) Cap. 13. Fifthly, That the (h) Souls of the *Departed* neither know, nor concern themſelves about what is done here; that if they did, St. *Monica*, his Mother, would often diſcourſe with him, and God himſelf would not have ſaid of his children, whom he calleth hence, before he exerciſes his Judgments on thoſe which remain, that he calls them, *Leſt they might ſee Evil.*

(i) Cap. 15. Sixthly, That the (i) Souls *Departed* may know ſomewhat, that concerns the *Living*, either from the report of ſuch as *Die*, or from that of *Angels*, or by *Revelation* from God.

Seventhly, That the perſwaſion, which we have of the aſſiſtance given by the *Martyrs* to thoſe, who implore it, may be taken in the ſame ſence, as that, which the *Living* have of aſſiſting the *Dead* by their *Prayers*, though they know not any thing in particular of their Condition, and onely deſire of God for them, and on their behalf, Grace, and Reſt: Or that of the aſſiſtances, which the *Living* think they receive from them, there may be made the ſame Judgment, as of the *Opinion*, which the People of *Nola* had of the Apparition of St. *Felix*, during the time they were beſieged by the *Barbarians*, or (k) of the Promiſe,

(k) Cap. 18.

which

which *John* the *Monk* made, to shew himself the *Night* following to a certain Woman, who thought she really saw him, though he stirred not from the place, where he was.

Eightly, That we must not be overy-ready, upon the clamours of *Evil Spirits*, complaining, that they are *tormented* by the *Martyrs*, to infer, that the *Martyrs* have in Effect *tormented* them, since that in the *Church* of the *Saints*, *Gervasius*, and *Protasius*, they said as much of St. *Ambrose* then living, who yet never attributed to himself any thing of what they imputed to him.

Ninthly, That in fine, (l) what may be thought of the *Sepulture* bestowed on the *Departed*, is, that it is an *Office* of Humanity towards them, and not any assistance, and that *Prayers*, and *Oblations* may be beneficial to them, if by the Life they led before, they were in a capacity of receiving the benefit thereof. (l) Cap. 18.

From this Abridgment of the afore-said *Treatise* of St. *Augustine* it is manifest, that that Great Man, who had been *Disciple* to St. *Ambrose*, and continued even to his Death, an intimate Friend to St. *Paulinus*, held nothing of the *Hypotheses*, which those two famous *Prelates* had advanced, with a kinde of Emulation, and which the later had afterwards *tacitely* disacknowledged, as such, as whereof he himself was not satisfied. But, though his *Conceptions* are much more Rational, and less Subject to Contradiction, yet does it not hinder, but they have this *palpable Default*, that he lays down as a thing confessed, what he might justly have disputed, and what would be at this day actually denied him by the *Protestants*; to wit, *That he was assured, that there accrues a benefit to the Dead from the Prayers, and Offerings, made for them by the Living*; and that the Living, have a sufficient ground to dedicate to the Dead those two *Offices*, and to suppose (upon Authority of the *Custom*, which hath introduced the Exercise thereof into the *Church*) that they effectually relieve them.

Julian, *Arch-Bishop* of *Toledo*, who, in the *Preface* of his *Prognostick* to *Idalius*, *Bishop* of *Barcelona*, ingenuously (m) confesses, that neither of them thought himself able to resolve the *Difficulties* arising from the consideration of the *State* of the *Dead*, chose rather to follow the Track of St. *Augustine*, then of his Master St. *Ambrose*, and that not without reason. (m) *De hac ipsa ultimâ salutationis, vel definitione sensus breviter te, non valentes attingere.*

CHAP. XLIX.

The Sentiment *of* Maximus Tyrius, *concerning the* Interment *of the* Faithfull *Departed, in* Churches, *Considered.*

BUt, notwithstanding the Authority of that great *Luminary* of *Africk*, which was not received every where, *Maximus*, who held the *See* of *Turin*, in the year 465. and on the eighteenth of *November*, the same year, was present at the *Councel* of *Rome*, under *Pope Hilarus*, discovers a Presupposition beyond that of St. *Ambrose*, and *Paulinus*, writing; *Ideo à Majoribus provisum est, ut Sanctorum corporibus nostra corpora sociemus*;

ut, dum illos Tartarus metuit, nos pœna non tangat, dum illos Chriſtus *illuminat, nobis tenebrarum caligo diffugiat: cùm ſanctis ergo* Martyribus *quieſcentes evadimus Inferni tenebras, eorum propriis meritis, attamen conſocii ſanctitate,* &c. *For this Reaſon have our Anceſtours made proviſion, that we ſhould joyn our Bodies to thoſe of the Saints; to the end, that while Hell ſtands in fear of them, no Pain might come near us; that while* Chriſt *illuminates them, the obſcurity of darkneſs may flie away from us: reſting therefore with the Holy* Martyrs, *we eſcape the darkneſs of Hell, through their Merits indeed, yet as their Companions in Sanctity.* From which words it is manifeſt;

Firſt, That maintaining, as *Tertullian* did, the firſt *Hypotheſis* of the pretended *Sibylline Writing*, he conceived, that all the Souls of the *Faithfull*, thoſe onely of *Martyrs* excepted, deſcended into *Hell*, where, *by the Merit of the Saints*, with whom their Bodies were *Interred*, they remain without any *Torment* till the day of Reſurrection.

Secondly, That (according to the *Sentiment* of St. *Ambroſe*, and *Paulinus*) he thought, that, from the Bodies of *Saints*, there iſſues a certain Virtue, which preſerves, and exempts from *Torment* the Faithfull *Interred* near them. Which *Prejudications* we are ſo much the more ſtrictly obliged to oppoſe, in as much as even thoſe, who have followed them (as *Paulinus*) were aſhamed thereof, confeſſing, that, in effect, they were never ſatisfied thereof. Beſides, the *Church* of *Rome* her ſelf, Teaching at this day, that (a) our *Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *by his Paſſion upon the Croſs hath merited juſtification for us, and, on our behalf, ſatisfied God the Father,* who, for his ſake, *forgives, with the Guilt, the eternal Pains of Hell,* to lay down, after *Maximus*, that, *by the Merit of the Saints, we eſcape the darkneſs of Hell, which ſtands in fear of them,* were to lay down the *Contradictory Affirmative* of the *Negative*, which God himſelf writ with the Hand of St. *Peter*, ſaying, (b) *There is no ſalvation in any other; for there is no other Name under Heaven given among men, whereby we muſt be ſaved,* and on the contrary, to maintain, *There is ſalvation in ſome other; for there are other names under Heaven, whereby we muſt be ſaved,* to wit, thoſe of the *Martyrs*.

(a) *Conc. Trid. Seſs. 6. cap. 13. & 14.*

(b) Acts iv. 12.

CHAP. L.

A Reflection *on certain Followers of the* Sentiment *of the foreſaid* Maximus.

I Am willing to Believe, that *Maximus* was ſo deſirous to comply with the *Cuſtom* of his *Predeceſſours*, that he took not the Leiſure to conſider what might be the conſequence thereof. Others have Imitated him in that Particular, relying on the *Example* of their *Anceſtours*, without examining the juſt weight of its *Authority*, as *Theodimus*, a *Spaniſh Sub-Deacon*, upon whoſe *Tomb* are to be read theſe Words, addreſſed to St. *Andrew*, *Tuis adjutus auxiliis, diſruptis vinculis Inferni, hinc reſurgere caro miſera poſſit, & in die examinationis, calcatis facinoroſis peccatis, gaudia divina percipiat, te interprecante, Martyr* Andrea, &c. *O Martyr* Andrew,

aſſiſted

assisted by thy help, having broken in pieces the Chains of Hell, may his wretched body be raised hence, and in the day of Examination, his deadly sins being trod under foot, may he take possession of divine glory, through the intermediation of thy Prayers. And *Kindasvind*, King of the *West-Goths*, in the Epitaph of his Wife *Reciverga*.

——Ego te (conjux) quia vincere fata nequivi,
Funere perfunctam Sanctis commendo tuendam;
Ut cum flamma vorax veniet comburere terras,
Cœtibus ipsorum merito sociata, resurgas, &c.

Since death on my desires would not thee spare,
Of thee departed may the Saints take care;
That thou with them mayst rise again that day,
When of the fire the earth shall be the prey.

And *Paul* the Deacon, in the Epitaph of *Arichis*, Duke of *Beneventum*,

Prosit huic sacro membra dedisse lari, &c.

May't be to's good his body to have laid
Within this sacred place.

And *Dungalus*, who in the year 826. objected to *Claudius*, Bishop of *Turin*, the before-mentioned Epitaph of *Satyrus*, acquiescing in the Sentiment, which St. *Ambrose* seems to have been of, concerning the sanctification of his Brother's body, by its nearness to that of the Martyr *Victor*, and the affluence of his blood, and clearly justifying, that that *Hypothesis* (though inconvenient, and unmaintainable in it self, and notwithstanding that it had been disavowed 36. years after by *Paulinus*, and refuted by St. *Augustine*) had not yet lost its credit 540. years after; the name and memory of St. *Ambrose* acquiring it such Sectatours, as took it from his good meaning without any examination, and by a kind of implicit submission, which ought not at this day be any hinderance, but that the Lovers of Truth should open their eyes to her light, to follow her with their hearts, and confess with their mouths, that it sometimes happens even to the greatest men, to speak with less caution, then was consistent with their reputation, whether they were transported by heat of dispute, or that their spirits were charmed by their partiality to the matter they treated, as it should seem St. *Ambrose* was prepossessed in this particular, and St. *Gregory Nazianzene* in his first *Invective* against *Julian*, when he says, *That the Souls of Martyrs, and their bodies* considered severally, *and every drop of their blood, and the least Signs of their passion chace away evil spirits, and heal diseased persons*; and St. *Basil*, cited by Pope *Adrian* in his Treatise for *Images*, when upon the 115. *Psalm* he maintains, that *whoever touches the bones of a Martyr derives some participation of sanctity, by the grace residing in the body of the said Martyr*; and St. *Chrysostome*, when in the 26th *Homily* on the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he says, that *the bones of Saints allay, and torment evil Spirits, and unbind those, that are bound in those unhappy fetters*; and St. *Hierome*, when he maintains to *Vigilantius*, that, *if the Lamb be every where, they therefore* (the Saints) *who are*

with the Lamb, are to be believed to be alſo every where; and St. *Gregory* of *Rome*, chap. 21ſt. of the third Book of his *Dialogues*, that *the dead bones of the Saints live in the many miracles wrought by them*; and chap. 14th. of the twelfth of his *Morals* upon *Job*, *That it is not to be believed, that thoſe, who, within them, ſee the clearneſs of Almighty God, ſhould be ignorant of any thing without them*; and chap. 33d. of the fourth of his *Dialogues*, that *there is nothing, which they know not, who know him, that knows all things*. For there is not any one of theſe kinds of ſpeaking but is chargeable with inconvenience and falſity, if underſtood according to its literal ſenſe, and without acknowledging what there may be in them of *abuſe* and *hyperbole*. For,

1. The vertue of *Sanctifying* and *healing Diſeaſes*, without any application of Remedies operating naturally, as alſo that of *driving away*, and *tormenting evil Spirits*, does not properly, and of it ſelf, belong to any but to God alone, and is not a quality, that any nature, in it ſelf corporeal, can be affected with.

2. It is abſolutely impoſſible, the Spirit of any Saint can be *every where*, as St. *Hierome* ſeems to affirm, whoſe diſcourſe therefore is to be explicated with the help of the ſame moderation, as is uſed by him, when he ſpeaks of *evil ſpirits*, who *wandering all over the World, and that with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs, are preſent every where*, to inſinuate, that ſome as well as others are every where, not in the ſame moment, but in paſſing ſucceſſively from one place to another, and in different moments: which yet (according to the judgment of St. *Auguſtine* in his Book, *De curâ pro mortuis*, chap. 16th.) cannot be abſolutely affirmed: the Miracles attributed to the Saints (it being granted they are true) being haply done either by Angels, or by the immediate operation of God's power, ſo as that there is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that the Spirits, which God hath taken to himſelf, actually leaving their heavenly manſions, ſhould walk up and down on earth.

3. What St. *Gregory* of *Rome* ſaid, that the *bones of Martyrs live*, taken litterally, would imply a palpable contradiction, which we ſhould endeavour to take away, ſaying, that (according to the ſenſe of that great *Pope*) the virtue, which he thought produced its effects in the preſence of the Saints bones, and when they are touched by men, though it be not in them, but in God alone, is to them, inſtead of a kind of life.

4. What he ſays, that *thoſe, who know God, who knows all things, do alſo know all things*, and that *having his light within them, they are not ignorant of any thing without*, does ſo much the more ſtand in need of moderation, that, without it, it is abſolutely falſe, in the judgment even of the (a) Doctours of the Church of *Rome*, who make it their buſineſs, to refute their conceipt, who think the *Eſſence of God a Mirrour, wherein all things are ſeen*.

(a) *Vaſquez*, diſp. 50. capp. 4, 5.

It muſt therefore be, that all expreſſions of this nature are to be born with, upon the accompt of their intention, who have uſed them, rather then rigorouſly examined, or taken as the natural ſignification of the Terms, whereof they conſiſt, might ſeem to require, and that we ſhould be content to ſay of any ſuch what St. (b) *Auguſtine* conceived ought to be

(b) *De Gratia Chriſti*, c. 49.

be ſaid of the expreſſion of St. *Ambroſe*, affirming that *Zacharias*, and *Elizabeth*, either *had been*, or *might have been* without ſin; *either that was ſaid according to ſome probable manner, but ſuch as had not paſſed examination, or* if the Authour *meant it ſo, he hath retracted his Sentiment by bringing it to a more rigorous tryal.* But however, whether we are, or are not inclined to this candor, we ſhall be ſtill obliged to confeſs, how hard it is to warrant thoſe imaginations and diſcourſes, which, being deſtitute of the authority of God ſpeaking in his word, have no other ground, then the probabilities, which by the beauty of their outward appearance have dazled the greateſt Wits, of which number, not any one but hath made it appear, how ſlightly he was informed of the ſtate of the Faithfull departed in the Lord, ſince they have all of them expreſſed themſelves with ſo much inconvenience, both in their ratiocinations, and words, that to reconcile them to a ſonnd ſenſe, they muſt be half-deſtroyed.

CHAP. LI.

Of the Leſſons *of* Scripture *contained in the* Miſſal, *and* Breviary, *in what regards the Office of the* Dead.

IF ever *Antiquity* had been either imbued with the belief of *Purgatory*, which the Church of *Rome* accompts at this day among the Articles of her *Faith*, or had found any track of it in the holy Scriptures, there would have been ſome remark to inſinuate as much, Firſt, In the *Publick Service*, eſpecially in the *Office of the ſecond day of* November, devoted 650. years after to the *commemoration of the departed.* Secondly, In the *Maſs of the Dead;* Thirdly, In the *Office of the Dead*, which is ſaid by all, that are in communion with the Church of *Rome*, on the firſt day, not being a Feſtival, of every month, the time of *Eaſter* onely excepted, and on every *Munday*, not appointed otherwiſe, of the *Advent*, and *Lent*, except *Munday* in the Paſſion-week. Let us then caſt our eye on all the *Leſſons* extracted out of the holy *Scriptures*, and, in the fear of his Name, who is the Authour of them, conſider, whether there be any thing therein, that may, in the leaſt, countenance ſo ſtrange an *Opinion.*

Upon the ſecond of *November*, after the ſinging of the ſecond and third Verſes of the ſixty fifth Pſalm, according to the *Hebrews*, or ſixty four, according to the *Greeks*, where there is not a word concerning either the Dead, or their ſtate, or the cuſtom of praying for them, or the need, it is pretended, they ſtand in to get out of their pains; there is read the twelfth Chapter of the ſecond of *Maccabees*, from the forty third verſe to the end, a title which the antient Church never conſidered, and which (a) amounts to nothing at all in order to the proof, as well of the firſt *Hypotheſes*, upon which the *Chriſtians* of the ſecond Age grounded the cuſtom of *praying for the Dead*, as of *Purgatory*, which came into credit four hundred years after. Then is ſung the fourth Verſe of the (b) twenty third Pſalm, where the Prophet, relying on the paternal care of God, his *Shepheard*, rejoices in the aſſurance of his *Protection*; and the ſecond,

(a) See chapp. 24, 25, 31.

(b) Or twenty ſecond, according to the *Greeks* and *Latines.*

(c) Or XLI. according to the *Greeks*.

second, third, and fourth *Verses* of the XLII. *Psalm*, (c) where he makes protestation of his *Zeal*, & the desire he had to be highly sensible of the consolations of his God, which no way induces, either that the *Dead* do ever stand in need of the *Prayers* of the *Living*, or that those *Prayers* are any way beneficial to them. From thence they pass to the twenty fifth, twenty sixth, twenty seventh, twenty eighth, and twenty ninth *Verses* of the fifth *Chapter* of St. *John*, at the head whereof some Body, I know not who, hath, I know not how, nor when, thrust in, of his own head, these words, (d) *Then Jesus said to his Disciples*; where it is to be noted, that that place of the *Gospel*, teaching onely, that the Son of God hath been appointed *Judge* of men, and that he will raise them all up again by his power, does not any way prove, that those, who *Die*, in any manner whatsoever, are ever to hope for any benefit from the *Prayers* of the surviving; since it does not follow, *The dead shall be called out of their Graves by the voice of the Son of God, to rise again, and receive their Judgment*; Therefore, *They are in a place of Torments, we must pray for them after their death, and the Prayers made for them will contribute to their deliverance out of Pain.*

(d) *In illo tempore dixit* Jesus *Discipulis.*

In the *Mass for the Dead* there are recited, in the first place, the words of the second *Book* of *Maccabees*, which make so much the less for their Design, who read them, by how much they contain a corrupt Interpretation of the Fact of *Judas Maccabæus*, and suppose *Hypotheses*, which they themselves grant not at this day.

Secondly, There is read, from the thirteenth *Verse* of the fourth *Chapter* of the *First Epistle* to the *Thessalonians*, to the end of the *Chapter*; where the *Apostle*, forbidding *Lamentations* for the *Dead*, Treats, as well of the Certainty, as Order, of their *Resurrection*; the Presupposition whereof does not induce, either that the *Faithfull* depart this *Life*, to go into a place of *Torments*, or, that there is any necessity of *Bewailing* them, or *Praying* for them after their *Death*; the consequence being not good, *He shall rise up in Glory*, therefore, *He is in a place of Pains, and must be delivered thence by Prayers.*

(e) There is read the *Text* of Saint *John* with the addition of these three words, *In diebus illis*, which are not in his *Text*.

Thirdly, (e) There is read the thirteenth *Verse* of the fourteenth *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*, where the Spirit of God, advertising St. *John* by a *voyce from Heaven*, that, *from henceforth those, who die in the Lord, are blessed, and rest from their Labours*, demolishes the very Foundation, as well of *Prayer* for the *Faithfull* departed, as of *Purgatory*, where it is pretended they suffer the temporal Punishment due to their Sins. For, if they are *Blessed*, and, upon that accompt, in *possession of what might be desired on their behalf*, they stand in no further need, that any thing should be desired for them; And again, if they are *Blessed, and rest from their Labours from henceforth*, they are *from henceforth exempted from Pain*; it being impossible, that, *to be Blessed*, and to *rest*, should signifie *to be Tormented*, and on the contrary, that to *endure the burning of an infernal Fire*, should be *to rest from one's labour*, and enjoy the *Bliss* consequent thereto.

Fourthly, There is read from the one and fiftieth *Verse* of the fifteenth *Chapter* of the *First Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, to the fifty seventh, inclusively, expressing the *Assurance*, which the *Apostle* gives the *Church*, of her *Blessed Resurrection*, whereby *Death shall be swallowed up in Victory*, and every

every Believer *cloathed with Immortality*; and every one knows, that, from this Propoſition, *he ſhall riſe again in Incorruption*, the Law of *Ratiocination* will never ſuffer this Inference to be drawn: *Therefore he is tormented, and ſtands in need of being prayed for, before he riſes again.*

Fifthly, There is read the fourth *Verſe* of the three and twentieth *Pſalm*, and the ſecond, third, and fourth of the *Two and fourtieth*, which onely repreſent the *State* of the *Faithfull* Perſon, during the courſe of this *Life*, and not, that which is to follow, upon his departure hence.

Sixthly, There is read out of the eleventh *Chapter* of St. *John*, from the one and twentieth *Verſe*, to the ſeven & twentieth incluſively; where the Son of God, calling himſelf *the Reſurrection, and the Life*, teſtifies, that *he, who believes in him, ſhall live, and ſhall never die*: which to a Perſon, that hath but the leaſt uſe of Reaſon, will never give any ground to Inferr, that he, who *ſhall live, and ſhall never die*, ſhall for a certain time, after the diſſolution of his Body, be confined to a place of *Torment*, where he ſhall ſtand extremely in need of the *Prayers* of the ſurviving.

Seventhly, There is read out of the 6th *Chapter* of (f) St. *John*, the three and fiftieth, and four and fiftieth *Verſes*, where the Son of God, recommending the *Eating* of his *Fleſh*, and the *Drinking* of his *Blood*, promiſes *him, who ſhall eat, and drink thereof*, that he ſhall *have eternal Life*, and ſhall be *raiſed up again at the Laſt day.*

(f) At the beginning of the fifty third *Verſe*, theſe words, though not of the *Text*, are put in, *In illo tempore dixit* Jeſus *Diſcipulis ſuis.*

Eighthly, Immediately after, there are read, the ſecond time, as well the ſame Words, as the precedent, beginning from the one and fiftieth *Verſe*, which hath, I know not how, made ſhift to gather this Preface: *In illo tempore dixit* Jeſus *Diſcipulis ſuis, & turbis Judæorum*, &c. *Then* Jeſus *ſaid to his Diſciples, and to the multitude of the* Jews: upon which I have further to obſerve, that there is not the leaſt neceſsity of concluding, from the Promiſe made by the Son of God, that thoſe, who participate of *his Fleſh, and of his Blood*, ſhould, after Death, be deſtined to endure the Puniſhment of a *Subterranean Fire*, and, therein *tormented*, expect to be relieved by the *Prayers* of their ſurviving *Brethren.*

Ninethly, There are read, with the ſame *Preface*, which yet is not to be found in any Part of the *Chapter*, the 21, 22, 23, and 24th *Verſes* of the fifth *Chapter* of St. *John*, where our *Saviour*, in as much as he affirms (by Virtue of the power of Judging, which he received of his Father) that he, *who believes in him, hath eternal life, and ſhall not come into Judgment, but ſhall paſs*, or rather (as the *Greek*, the *Syriack*, and the *Latine Verſion*, recommended by the *Councel* of *Trent*, have it) *is paſſed from Death to Life*, in as much, I ſay, as our *Saviour* obliges the *Believer*, to be certainly perſwaded, that he ſhall not, after this Life, be liable to any Pains whatſoever for his Sins, ſince they are things abſolutely incompatible, that, being *paſſed from Death*, he ſhould have *eternal Life* (as the inviolable Promiſe of his *Saviour* expreſſes) and, that he ſhould be to endure, for ever ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, the *Torments of Death and Hell*, as the preſent *Church* of *Rome* ſuppoſes: that he *ſhall not come into Judgment*, as the *Goſpel* expreſly declares; and that he *ſhall come to Judgment*, to be therein condemned for a time, according to what the *Church* of *Rome* teaches thoſe of her *Communion.*

Tenthly, and Laſtly, With a (g) *Preface*, taken up, I know not whence,

(g) *In illo tempore dixit* Jeſus *Diſcipulis ſuis.*

whence, there are read the thirty ſeventh, the thirty eighth, the thirty ninth, and the fourtieth *Verſes* of the ſixth *Chapter* of St. *John*, where our *Saviour*, promiſing to *raiſe up, at the Laſt day*, thoſe, who *believe in him*, gives them ſuch comfort, by the aſſurance of their final felicity, as might raiſe them out of all fear, that between the Moment of their Death, and the day of Judgment, they ſhould ſuffer any Puniſhment, and be ſenſible of any need they ſhould ſtand in, of the *Suffrages* of the Living. In fine, there are read (as on the ſecond of *November*, and with the ſame *Preface*) the twenty fifth, the twenty ſixth, the twenty ſeventh, the twenty eighth, and the twenty ninth *Verſes* of the fifth *Chapter* of Saint *John*, which we have already obſerved, to make nothing to the Buſineſs, either of *Purgatory*, or *Prayer for the Dead*. On the Contrary, from all theſe *Leſſons*, it is neceſſarily manifeſt;

Firſt, That the *Church of Rome*, who at the preſent make uſe of them, as inducements to the *Living*, to take care of the *Dead*, hath not haply any thing more Anſwerable to her Intentions, and makes a ſilent Confeſſion, that her *Service for the Departed*, and the Belief of her *Purgatory*, have not any Foundation in the Word of God, are the *voluntary Devotions* of men, *intruding into thoſe things, which they have not ſeen*; and for that Reaſon, branded with the Cenſure of the *Holy Spirit*, ſpeaking by the mouth of St. *Paul*, 2 *Coloſ.* xviii. 22, 23.

Secondly, That the *Primitive Church*, who had introduced into her *Liturgie* the *Commemoration of the Faithfull Departed*, many *Ages* before any of her children had conceived the leaſt thought of *Purgatory*, which is at this day maintained by *Superſtition*, and *Intereſt*, had no other Deſign in it, then, by all theſe *Leſſons*, which Treat of the general *Reſurrection* of the *Saints*, to comfort the *Faithfull* caſt down at the death of their Brethren, ſetting before their eyes ſo many Certificates of the future Reſurrection of him, whoſe Memory they celebrated, and inclining every one of them, by the Meditation of ſo many celeſtial Documents, to the expectation of that laſt deliverance, wherein their Lord, making them to triumph over Death, ſhall *cloath them with incorruption*, and crown their heads with eternal Glory.

If then the *ſet Form* of the *Maſs for the Dead* cannot afford us any *Text* of *Holy Scripture*, which may ſerve, either for the confirmation of the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, or the inſinuation of the Cuſtom of *praying for the dead*, we are not to promiſe our ſelves, that the *Office of the Dead*, contained in the *Breviary*, ſhould furniſh us with any thing more expreſs. In this later, we meet with ſeveral *Leſſons* out of the *Book* of *Job*; the *Firſt* taken out of the ſeventh *Chapter*, from the ſixteenth *Verſe*, to the end; the *Second*, out of the tenth *Chapter*, from the firſt *Verſe*, to the ſeventh, incluſively; the *Third*, out of the ſame *Chapter*, from the eighth *Verſe* to the twelfth; the *Fourth*, out of the thirteenth *Chapter*, from the twenty ſecond *Verſe*, to the twenty eighth; the *Fifth*, out of the fourteenth *Chapter*, from the firſt *Verſe* to the ſixth; the *Sixth* Leſſon, out of the ſame *Chapter*, from the thirteenth *Verſe*, to the eighteenth; the *Seventh*, out of the ſeventeenth *Chapter*, from the firſt *Verſe* to the third, and from the eleventh, to the fifteenth *Verſe*; the *Eighth*, out of the nineteenth *Chapter*, from the twentieth *Verſe*, to the twenty ſeventh;

and

and the *Ninth*, out of the tenth *Chapter*, from the eighteenth *Verſe* to the two and twentieth. We finde there alſo the ſeventh, and eighth *Verſes* of the ſeventh *Chapter*; and every where we have certain *bewailings* of that great *Example* of *Patience*, groaning under the Scourge of God, and forced to *Lamentations* under the greatneſs of his Chaſtiſements; but who, from the cries and complaints of a man alive, forcing their way from the Bottom of his Heart, through the violence of his Anguiſh, and the Dread he was in of the Judgment of God, will conclude, either that there is *Purgatory*, or any neceſſity of *Prayer for the dead?* Muſt the Expreſſions, uſed by afflicted Perſons reduced to *bemoan* themſelves in this *Life*, ſerve for a Precedent to the ſeparated Souls, which are ſuppoſed not ſimply to paſs through, but to be melted again, after a certain manner, in the *Fire* appointed to *purge* them? Were it granted, that ſome *Bleſſed Soul*, cruſhed, after its departure out of the Body, under the Hand of the great *Judge*, might make to her ſelf ſome certain Application of the grievances of *Job*, ſhall the *Church of Rome* take upon her, without falling into the inconvenience of making her ſelf ridiculous, to attribute unto it the *Leſſons* ſhe hath extracted out of his Diſcourſes, which cannot ſuit, but with the Condition of a man languiſhing in this World? For example, what he ſays in the *Firſt*, (i) *My days are vanity*, &c. (k) *How long wilt thou not let me alone, till I ſwallow down my ſpittle?* &c. (l) *Now ſhall I ſleep in the duſt*, &c. In the *Second*, (m) *My Soul is weary of my life*, &c. In the *Third*, (n) *Thou haſt made me as Clay, and wilt thou bring me into duſt again?* (o) *Thou haſt cloathed me with skin, and fleſh*, &c. In the *Fourth*, (p) *I am to be conſumed as a thing, that is rotten, and as a Garment, that is Moth-eaten.* In the *Fifth*, (q) *Man, that is born of a woman, is of few days.* In the *Sixth*, (r) *If a man die, ſhall he live again?* In the *Seventh*, (ſ) *My days are extinct, the Graves are ready for me*; In the *Eighth*, (t) *My bone cleaveth to my skin, and to my fleſh; hardly am I eſcaped with the skin of my Teeth.* And in the *Ninth*, (u) *Are not my days few? ceaſe then*, &c. Theſe complaints proceed not from a Spirit deſtitute of Body, but may well fall from a diſeaſed Perſon, ſuffering, as well in Body, as Spirit, who makes accompt to die without any reſpite, and who conſiders with horrour, that his languiſhing life is, as it were, ſwallowed up in a Gulf of miſery. It is to be conſidered alſo, that there are ſome Paſſages, which diſcover ſo much diſorder, that *Job*, being come to himſelf, after he had been reproved, not onely by (x) *Elihu*, but by *God* himſelf, condemned them, acknowledging, that (y) *he ſpoke what he knew not, abhorred himſelf, and repented in duſt and aſhes.* For who could endure, in the ſecond *Leſſon*, the bitter reproaches againſt *God*, (z) *Is it good unto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt oppreſs me, that thou ſhouldeſt deſpiſe the work of thine hands, and ſhine upon the counſel of the wicked?* And in the *Seventh*, (a) *I have not ſinned, and my eye is faſtened on bitterneſs.* To ſpeak ſincerely, could the *Church* of *Rome*, who holds as a thing (b) decided by the *Scripture*, and the *Fathers*, that the Souls of the *Faithfull* are *Impeccable* from the moment of their departure out of the Bodies they animated, without extravagance, mold her Devotions on thoſe ſlips of Diſcourſe, which God himſelf hath charged with Sin? She hath therefore made an *Extract* of theſe *Nine Leſſons*, taken out of the *Book* of *Job*, not to ſerve for a Draught of

(i) *Job*, Chap. vii. 16.
(k) Verſe 19.
(l) Verſe 21.
(m) Cap. x. 1.
(n) Verſe 9.
(o) Verſe 11.
(p) Cap. xiii. 28.
(q) Cap. xiv. 1.
(r) Verſe. 14.
(ſ) Cap. xvii. 1.
(t) Cap. xix. 20.
(u) Cap. x. 20.
(x) Job 33. 34, 35, 38.
(y) xlii. 3, 6.
(z) Job x. 3. *Numquid bonum tibi videtur, ſi calumnieris me, & opprimas me, opus manuum tuarum, & conſilium impiorum adjuves?*
(a) *Non peccavi, & amaritudinibus moratur oculus meus.*
(b) *Bellarm. De Purgat.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

the dolefull ſtate of the Souls, which ſhe pretends condemned into her *Purgatory*, but to inſtruct every one of thoſe, whom ſhe exhorts to relieve them with their *Suffrages*, that, to be well diſpoſed to render them that office, he ſhould view himſelf in the example of *Job*, religiouſly imitate his *Virtues*, and *Faith*, and be always carefull to avoid his miſcarriages.

Upon the ſame accompt hath ſhe inſerted into the *Office of the Dead* abundance of *Pſalms*, containing not onely Leſſons of *Penance*, as the 6. 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143. called upon that occaſion the *ſeven Penitential Pſalms*; but alſo of *Prayer*, as the 5, 7, 25, 42, 67, 120, 123. of *Praiſe*, as the 65, 121, 126, 127, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 146, 148, 149, 150. of *Thanksgiving*, as the 23, 27, 40, 63, 116, 124, 129, 136. the *Canticles* of *Ezechias*, and *Zacharies* of *Bleſſing*, and *Exhortations*, as the 41, 122, 125, 131. the firſt verſe of the 95th *Pſalm*, and the 8th Verſe of the 113th. For who could ever be perſwaded, that the Proteſtations, which we make in the preſence of God, of our mortification, and the Prayers, whereby we beg his Protection and Favour towards our ſelves, and the Praiſes, whereby we celebrate the glory of his ſacred Majeſty, and the Thanks we give him for the benefits, which he daily communicates to us, and the Benedictions, which we pour out with joy, being to publiſh the welfare as well of the whole State of his Church, as of the Members, whereof it conſiſts, and the Exhortations, whereby we encourage them to well doing, ſhould rationally be looked on as *Suffrages*, whereby we relieve our departed Brethren, and afford them our aſſiſtance to deliver them out of the pretended *Purgatory*? And yet theſe are in a manner all the materials, which have been ſhuffled into the compoſure of all that piece of Worſhip, which goes under the name of *The Office of the Dead*, though they have not any relation to their ſtate, and do no more induce a neceſſity of *praying for them*, or believing a *Purgatory*, that ſhould purifie them, as is pretended, then they do that of making boaſt of our own praiſes, a vanity (even though we were tempted thereto) *Chriſtian* moderation would not ſuffer us to be guilty of. Nor can it be ſaid with any more reaſon, that the words of the *Pſalms*, which are recited in the ſaid *Office*, are to be conſidered as *Proſopopœias*, whereby the Faithfull deceaſed are repreſented ſpeaking of their condition after death: I. In as much, as the whole Contexture of every *Pſalm* requires, that the words of it be applyed to thoſe, who live in the fleſh, ſo as that it were a manifeſt abuſe to wreſt them to any other ſence. II. For that it was never allowed any one to caſt into the divine Worſhip Fictions, whereby men of quick Imaginations might preſume to become the mouths of their *Brethren departed*, not having, to that end, either order from them, or calling from God. And laſtly, for that, though it were left to any man's diſcretion, to make, after his own fancy, repreſentations of thoſe, whom God hath called to himſelf, yet ſhould not any one take the liberty to do it, e're he were well informed, and ſatisfied whether they might paſs for true and certain, eſpecially ſeeing that when they ſhould be urged out of a deſign to infer thence the neceſſity of praying for them, they would prove ſo much the more unmaintainable, for as much as in the ſame *Office*, where it is pretended they

they are employed, to that end there are those *Texts* alledged, which absolutely destroy the use thereof. For instance, that of the 14th *Chapter* of the *Apocalyps*, Verse 13. where the holy Spirit declares, *Blessed are those, that die in the Lord*; for what rational inducement is there, either to desire bliss absolutely for those, who are already possessed thereof, or the cessation of torments for those, who do not onely not suffer any, but are not subject to suffer any, in as much as *from henceforth they are blessed, and in rest?* That of the sixth *Chapter* of St. *John*, and the thirty seventh *Verse*, where the Son of *God* attests, that he will *in no wise cast out him, that cometh to him*; and that of the eleventh *Chapter*, and the five and twentieth, and six and twentieth *Verses*, where, calling himself the *Resurrection and the Life*, he promises life, and exemption from eternal death, to whosoever *believes in him*. For if he does not cast out any of the Faithfull; if, on the contrary, he saves them all from death, and puts them into possession of life; the surviving believers, who (to express their belief of his words) insert them into their publick *Form* of *Service*, do thereby confess, that they are obliged to give him thanks for them, and not to make Requests, which presuppose, that they enjoy not the effect of his promise. Thus is there not any *Lesson* in the *Service* of the Church of *Rome*, which effectually induces, or hath so much as the appearance of inducing, any thing of what those of her *Communion* at this day pretend to.

Chap. LII.

Of the Prayers *contained in the* Missal, *and* Breviary *used by the Church of* Rome; *and that* Purgatory *cannot be necessarily inferred from any one of them.*

For as much as in the Book, intituled *Ordo Romanus*, there is not any mention made of the *Dead*: that in the *Canon of the Mass*, which is inserted into it, the *Memento* is not to be found; and that in the other *Ritual Books* of the *Latines*, there is not any *Lesson*, obliging to the belief of *Purgatory*, screwed up, since the year 1439. by the *Councels* of *Florence*, and *Trent*, into an *Article of Faith*: the *Church* of *Rome*, who hath at this day, in favour of *Prayer for the Dead*, but one onely *Lesson*, to wit that of the second of *Maccabees*, a Book held by her self to be *Apocryphal*, till after the year 590. the Church of *Rome*, I say, is forced to confess, that it must have been inserted so much the later into her *Missals*, and *Breviaries*, though upon no other accompt then this, that the *Greeks* use it not in their *Office* even to this day, and that from her whole service it necessarily results, that she met not, in the *holy Scriptures*, with any *foundation* of the *opinion* either of *Purgatory*, which she maintains, or of the *custom*, which she practises in *praying for the Dead*, upon Motives unknown to *Primitive Antiquity*. It remains therefore, that we see what can be gathered, of any consequence, from the Prayers,

which we read in the publick *Forms* of *Service*, of her preſcription.

We have, in the firſt place, ſuch as deſire of God, that the ſins of the (a) deceaſed Perſon may be pardoned: as, for inſtance, this, *Fidelium Deus omnium conditor, & Redemptor, animabus famulorum famularúmque tuarum remiſſionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum, ut indulgentiam, quam ſemper optaverunt, piis ſupplicationibus conſequantur*, &c. *O God, Creatour and Redeemer of all the Faithfull, grant unto the Souls of thy Servants of the one and the other Sex, the remiſſion of all their ſins, that by pious Supplications they may obtain the indulgence they have ever deſired.* And this, *We beſeech thee, O Lord, that this Supplication of ours may be beneficial to the Souls of thy Servants of both Sexes, intreating thee, that thou wouldeſt cleanſe them of all their ſins, and make them partakers of thy Redemption.* And this, *We beſeech thee, O Almighty God, that the Soul of thy Servant, purged by theſe Sacrifices, may obtain admiſſion to indulgence, and eternal remedy.* And this, *Vouchſafe, O Lord, we beſeech thee, that the Soul of thy Servant, and the Souls of thy Servants of both Sexes, the Anniverſarie-day of whoſe Interment we now commemorate, being purged by theſe Sacrifices, may be received as well into indulgence, as eternal reſt.* And this, *O God, who haſt commanded that we ſhould honour our Father and Mother, be pleaſed out of thy mercy, to have compaſſion on the Souls of my Father and Mother, and pardon their ſins, and make me to live with them in the joy of eternal light.* And this, *We beſeech thee, O Lord, be mercifull unto the Soul of thy Servant, and being freed from the contagion of Mortality, reſtore her to the portion of eternal ſalvation.* And this, *We beſeech thee, O Lord, that by theſe Sacrifices, without which no man is guiltleſs, the Soul of thy Servant may be cleanſed from all ſins, that by theſe offices of pious placation, ſhe may obtain eternal mercy.* And this, *O God, in whoſe mercy the Souls of the faithfull are at reſt, be graciouſly pleaſed to pardon the ſins of thy Servants of both Sexes, whereever reſting in Chriſt, that, being freed from all their ſins, they may rejoyce with thee world without end.* And this, *O mercifull God, receive this Hoaſt offered for the Souls of thy Servants of both Sexes, whereever reſting in Chriſt, that, delivered by this ſuper-excellent Sacrifice out of the Chains of dreadfull death, they may obtain eternal life.* And this, *O God, whoſe property it is ever to have mercy, and to forgive, be favourable unto the Souls of thy Servants of both Sexes, and pardon all their ſins; that, being looſed from the Chains of Death, they may obtain paſſage into life.* And this, *Free, O Lord, we beſeech thee, the Souls of thy Servants of both Sexes from all the bands of ſin, that, being raiſed up among thy Saints and Elect, they may live again in the glory of the Reſurrection.* And this, *O Almighty and everlaſting God, who ruleſt as well over the living as the dead, and ſheweſt mercy unto all thoſe, whom thy fore-knowledge ſeeth will be thine in faith and good works, we humbly beſeech thee, that thoſe, for whom we have appointed to pour out our Prayers, and whom either this world does ſtill detain in the fleſh, or the next hath already received uncloathed of the body, may through the greatneſs of thy clemency be made worthy to obtain the forgiveneſs of all their ſins, and joy everlaſting.* And this, *O Almighty and moſt mercifull God, we humbly beſeech thee, that the Sacraments, which we have received, may purifie us, and grant, that this thy Sacrament be not unto us an obligation to puniſhment, but a comfortable interceſſion for pardon; that it be the cleanſing of crimes; that it be the ſtrength of the fainting; that it be a Bulwark againſt the dangers of the World; that it be the*

(a) Prayers for Remiſſion of the ſins of the Deceaſed.

the remiſſion of all the ſins of the faithfull living, and dead, through Jeſus Chriſt.

It might ſeem, at the firſt ſight, that all theſe Prayers in general, and every one in particular, upon this very accompt, that they ſpeak of the *forgiveneſs of ſins* for thoſe, who are departed this life, do preſuppoſe, if not a *Purgatory*, ſuch as the Church of *Rome* hath imagined, and deſcribed it ſome Ages ſince, at leaſt, a certain neceſſity incumbent on the deceaſed, to make ſatisfaction to the juſtice of God after their death. But we muſt neceſſarily infer the contrary. For (not to take notice that to *puniſh* an evil doer is not to *purge* him) if, according to the tenour of the Prayers contained in the *Maſs of the Dead*, God *forgives the ſin* of the deceaſed, he does not require he ſhould be *puniſhed* for it; if he *looſe the Chains*, he ſuffers him not to be ſtill *bound* thereby; if he exerciſes towards him his *mercy through Jeſus Chriſt*, he does not execute againſt him the rigour of his *Juſtice*, ſuch, as it is conceived, is felt by the Souls, which they pretend are to paſs through the fire of *Purgatory*. Whence it follows, that the deſign of thoſe prayers, which deſire of God the effect of his mercy in the remiſſion of their ſins, whom he hath called hence, never was, nor could be to procure their deliverance out of the torment, which they are imagined at this day to ſuffer; and whoever would finde the true meaning thereof, is to reflect on the perſwaſions of thoſe, who were the firſt Authours thereof; for they held, that all thoſe, of whom they made a Commemoration, were (in as much as they were (b) dead in the Lord) gathered by him into (c) *Abraham's Boſom*, where they reſted in a *ſleep of peace*, as it is expreſly ſet down in the *Memento*. So that no man well-informed prayed for them, as for wretched *Criminals*, and ſuch as are deprived of the felicity, which God hath prepared for his Saints, but as for *Champions* already triumphant and glorious. And yet (out of a conſideration, that the perpetuity of the bliſs, into which every one preſuppoſed them introduced, proceeded from the continuation of the mercy, according to which God had at firſt beſtowed it, and that it comprehended in it ſelf the ratification of the pardon once granted to the deceaſed, in purſuance whereof they were entred into, and continued in the poſſeſſion of celeſtial peace and joy) the ſurviving thought fit to deſire on their behalf *mercy*, and *remiſſion of ſins*, not abſolutely, as if they were ſtill under the weight of God's wrath; but upon a certain accompt, to wit, in as much as it is neceſſary, that even in Heaven the mercy of God ſhould be perpetually communicated to thoſe, whom it had already viſited, inceſſantly aſſuring them of the free gift he had made them, firſt of his grace, and afterwards, of his glory, as believing that thoſe, who enjoy ſo great a happineſs, are nevertheleſs, to expect a more ſolemn ſentence of *Remiſſion*, and *Abſolution*, in that great Day, whereof we are all obliged, both for our ſelves, and on the behalf of our Brethren living upon Earth, and reigning in Heaven, to deſire the bleſſed coming.

(b) Apoc. xiv. 13.
(c) Luc. xvi. 22.

In this ſence, indeed, the *Antients* never made any difficulty, to deſire, on the behalf of the *Bleſſed* in *Heaven*, the *Pardon* they had already obtained, in as much as they were to obtain it again, after a more glorious manner at the *Day of Judgment*; whereto are particularly referred

many

many of their *Prayers*: As for instance, that which we have already cited, wherein they desire, that their Souls, (d) *freed from all the Bands of sin, may be raised up again among the Saints in the Glory of the Resurrection.* And again, thus; *Non intres*, &c. (e) *Enter not into Judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight, shal no man be justified, unless thou grantest him the remission of all his sins. We beseech therefore, that the Sentence of thy Judgment may not lie heavy on him, whom the sincere supplication of Christian Faith recommends, but grant, that he, who, while he lived, was signed with the Sign of the blessed Trinity, may, by the assistance of thy Grace, avoid the Judgment of Vengeance.* Again, *Oremus, Fratres charissimi*, &c. *Let us pray, dear Brethren, for the spirit of our Brother, whom the Lord God hath been pleased to deliver out of the snares of this world, whose body is this day put into the Ground, that the Lord would, out of his goodness, vouchsafe to place him in the Bosom of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *that, when the day of Judgment comes, he may be placed among the Saints and Elect, raised up again on the right hand.* And this, taken out of the *Ceremonial*, *Deus, cui omnia vivunt*, &c. *O God, to whom all things live, and to whom our bodies, though they die, perish not, but are changed for the better, we humbly beseech thee, that thou command, that the soul of thy servant* N. *be carried into the bosom of the Patriarch* Abraham, *by the hands of thy holy Angels, to be raised up again, the last day of the great Judgment, that what imperfections soever it hath, through the deceit of the Devil, contracted, thou out of thy goodness and compassion mayst mercifully wash away.*

(d) Prayers for the Absolution of the departed at the day of Judgment.

(e) Psal. cxliii. 2.

To the same end are referred also the following *Prosopopœias*, wherein the Soul of every deceased Person is represented with motions of fear suitable to such, as it might have had, during the course of this Life: As, for instance, *Libera me, Domine*, &c. *O Lord, deliver me from eternal death, in that dreadfull day, when* (f) *the heavens, and the earth shall be shaken, when thou shalt come to Judge the World by Fire; I am become trembling, and fear, till the discussion, and wrath to come shall be over. That day is a day of wrath, calamity, and misery, a great day, and very bitter, when thou shalt come.* Again, this; *Domine, quando veneris*, &c. *O Lord, where shall I hide my self from the countenance of thy wrath, when thou comest to Judge the Earth? For I have sinned extremely, during my life; I am frightened at the things I have committed, and blush before thee; when thou comest to Judge, do not condemn me.* And this, *Memento mei, Deus*, &c. *O God, have me in remembrance, because* (g) *my life is but wind, let the eye of him that hath seen me, see me no more,* (h) *Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord;* (i) *Hear, O Lord, when I cry with my voice.* And this, *Hei mihi!* &c. *Wo unto me, O Lord, for I have sinned overmuch in my life! What shall I do, Wretch that I am? Whither shall I flie, if not unto my God? Have compassion on me, when thou shalt come at the Last day;* (k) *My soul is sore vexed, but do thou, Lord, deliver it, be merciful*, &c. And this, *Legem pone*, &c. (l) *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Commandments,* (m) *and lead me in a plain path, because of mine enemies;* (n) *Deliver me not into the will of mine enemies, for false Witnesses are risen up against me, and iniquity hath belyed it self, yet I believe to see the goodness of the Lord, in the land of the living.* And this, *Peccantem me quotidie*, &c. *Sinning daily, and not repenting, the fear of death distracts me, in regard* (o) *There is no redemption in Hell,* (p) *O God, be merciful unto me, and save me;* (q) *O God, save me,*

(f) Joel iii. 16.

(g) Job vii. 7, 8.

(h) Psal. cxxx. 1.

(i) Psal. xxvii. 7.

(k) Psal. vi. 3.

(l) Psal. cxix. 33.

(m) Psal. xxvii. 11.

(n) Psal. xxvii. 12, 13.

(o) Eccl. xli. 7.

(p) Psal.

(q) Psal.

for

for thy Name ſake, and deliver me in thy Power. And this other, *Domine, ſecundùm actum meum noli me judicare,* &c. *O Lord, Judge me not according to what I have done, I have done nothing in thy preſence worthy it; I therefore beſeech thy Majeſty, to do away mine iniquity;* (r) *O Lord, waſh me from my injuſtice more, and more, and cleanſe me from my ſin.* And this other, *Sitivit anima mea,* &c. (ſ) *My ſoul thirſteth for God, when ſhall I come, and appear before the Lord?* (t) *Deliver not the ſoul of thy Turtle-dove unto the multitude, forget not the Congregation of thy poor for ever. Our Father,* &c. And Laſtly this, *Libera me, Domine,* &c. *O Lord,* (u) *who haſt broken the Gates of Braſs, and viſited Hell, and given light, that they might ſee thee, to thoſe, who were in the Torments of darkneſs, crying, and ſaying, Thou art come, O our Redeemer, deliver me out of the ways of Hell.* For there is not any Body ſo weakly inſtructed, as not eaſily to comprehend, that the *Authours* of theſe *Complaints,* and *Lamentations,* meant them rather for the advantage, and edification of the *living,* by putting them in mind of the *fear,* and *trembling,* wherein they ſhould be in the preſence of their Lord, then to repreſent the State of the *Dead,* which they have been forced to expreſs after their Fancy as ſuch as had ſome reſemblance with that of poor Wayfaring-men, who yet walk in the Fleſh, becauſe they had not any manifeſt knowledg thereof, but onely Conjectures, and preſumptions, and thoſe many times, not very conformable to the Rule of *Faith,* and the Sentiments of the pureſt *Antiquity:* Since it is abſolutely impoſſible, that he, who makes a *Prayer for his Soul,* ſhould be any other thing, then that *Soul,* for which he *Prays,* and that the Wiſh he makes, that God would *teach him the way of his Statutes,* (which is onely in this Life) and the *Confeſſion* of *ſinning daily,* and the *Prayer,* to be *delivered out of the ways of Hell,* ſhould ſuit with any but *Travellers,* who walk yet *in the Fleſh,* ſtruggling, as they go, with their own imperfections, and the *Infernal Powers,* and by continued endeavours tending to their reſt, whereof the ſeparated Souls of the *Faithfull* departed, who have finiſhed their courſe in *Faith,* and *Hope,* muſt neceſſarily be poſſeſſed, from the very moment of their ſeparation.

(r) Pſal.li.1,2. (ſ) Pſal.xlii. 2. (t) Pſal.lxxiv. 19. (u) Pſal. cvii. 16.

The ſame moderation is required, to finde out the true ſenſe of the Prayers, which ſeem to preſuppoſe a certain deliverance out of Infernal pains, wherein the deceaſed are ready to be tormented, as when we read in the *Miſſal; Domine Jeſu Chriſte,* &c. *O Lord Jeſus* Chriſt, *King of Glory, deliver the Souls of all the Faithfull departed out of the power of Hell, and out of the bottomleſs Lake; deliver them out of the mouth of the Lyon; Let not Hell ſwallow them up; let them not fall into the obſcure places of darkneſs; but let the Standard-bearer, St.* Michael, *bring them into that holy light, which thou didſt ſometime promiſe to* Abraham, *and to his Seed. We offer unto thee, O Lord, Hoaſts and Prayers for them, receive the ſame for thoſe Souls, whom we this day commemorate, grant them, O Lord, to paſs from Death to an holy life.* And in the *Office of the Dead, A portâ inferni erue, Domine, animas eorum, requieſcant in pace,* Amen, &c. O Lord, *deliver their Souls from the Gate of Hell, may they reſt in peace, Amen.* For though, upon the firſt glance, theſe words ſeem to revive the *Hypotheſis,* which *Juſtin Martyr* had drawn up out of the Quagmire of the counterfeit *Sibyl,* imagining, that the Souls of the greateſt Saints were, after their departure out of the body,

ſent

ſent to Hell, and were ſubject to the power of evil Spirits; yet muſt they neceſſarily have another ſignification, and onely induce, that God alone preſerves thoſe, whom he calls, ſo as that they fall not into the power of Hell, but are, by the Miniſtery of his holy Angels, introduced into celeſtial light, and that they are delivered, not as eſcaping out of ſome Torment, which they had for ſome time indured, but as avoiding the neceſſity of enduring it. And whereas it is ſaid, that the *Hoaſts*, mentioned in thoſe Prayers, are offered to *Jeſus Chriſt*, it neceſſarily induces, that they neither are, nor can be *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, as the Church of *Rome* imagines at this day, but Gifts preſented to God by his people, as an expreſſion of their gratitude. And ſince, what is ſaid, without any exception, *viz.* That they are offered *for the Souls of all the departed, whoſe commemoration is celebrated*, it demonſtratively proves, that they are, and were (according to the intention of the Antients) offered for the bleſſed then ſleeping a *ſleep of Peace*, in as much as the *Commemoration* made in the Church comprehends *all*. Which is further confirmed in that St. (x) *Cyprian* expreſly obſerves, that that of his time *always offered Sacrifices for the Martyrs*, of whoſe glory ſhe neither made, nor could make any queſtion; that St. (y) *Auguſtine* both offered, and cauſed to be offered the like for his Mother, of whoſe bliſs he thought himſelf ſo confident, that he ſaid to God, *I believe, that thou haſt already done it*; and that Saint *Ambroſe*, comforting *Fauſtinus*, afflicted at the death of his Siſter, gave him this advice, (z) *Non tam deplorandam*, &c. *I think ſhe ought not to be ſo much lamented, as attended with Prayers; I conceive we ought not to condole at thy Tears, but rather by Oblations recommend her ſoul to the* Lord, *&c. What ſhould oblige us to ſigh for the dead, when the reconciliation of the World hath been already made with God the Father by the Lord Jeſus?* For from all this, and particularly from *Fauſtinus*'s affirmation, that he was (a) *confident of the Works and Faith of his Siſter*, for whom St. *Ambroſe* exhorted him to make *Prayers*, and *Oblations*, it neceſſarily reſults, that thoſe Oblations were not properly *Propitiations*, but *Thanksgivings* for, and *Acknowledgments* of the Propitiation made by *Jeſus Chriſt* on the Croſs, and, as the *Forms* uſed by the Church of *Rome* expreſs it, (b) *Sacrifices of Praiſe*. So that, if they were ſometimes called *Hoſtiæ placationis, Hoaſts of appeaſment*, and if it be ſaid, that the Souls are *per hujus virtutem Sacramenti à peccatis omnibus expiatæ, expiated from all ſin by the virtue of this Sacrament*; which it is deſired ſhould be to him, who participates thereof, *ablutio ſcelerum*, &c. *the waſhing away of his offences*, preſuppoſing that it is celebrated by the Faithfull *pro redemptione animarum ſuarum*, &c. *for the redemption of their ſouls*; this is to be underſtood rationally, and in the ſame ſenſe, as when St. *Peter* teaches us concerning *Baptiſm*, that it *ſaves* us, and Antiquity ſayes, that it *waſhes away ſins*, in as much as it is the ſacred *Sign*, and the *Pledge* of the waſhing away, which was made thereof once by the onely blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* ſpilt on the Croſs. For, according to the Sentiment of the primitive *Chriſtians*, the *Sacraments* received by the Faithfull *crimina omnia detergunt*, &c. *do away all offences*, in as much as they are Memorials of the blood of *Chriſt*, by the aſperſion whereof mens (c) *Conſciences are purged from dead works to ſerve the living God*, and are ſaid to be (d) *offered for their ſalvation*, not to be purchaſed

(x) Epiſt. xxxiv. xxxvii.

(y) *Confeſ.* lib. ix. c. 13.

(z) Lib. 2. Epiſt. 8.

(a) *Verum forte aſſeras certum ie de meritis ejus, ac fide.*

(b) *In* Canone. *Qui tibi afferunt hoc* Sacrificium Laudis, &c. *placatus accipias*, &c. *Præſta, ut hoc* Sacrificium Laudis, *quod oculis Majeſtatis tuæ indignus obtuli*, &c. *pro anima famuli tui, pro qua offerimus hoc* Sacrificium Laudis, &c. *pro quibus tibi offerimus* hoc Sacrificium Laudis.

(c) Heb. ix. 14.

(d) 1 Pet. iii. 21.

chaſed, but already purchaſed by the price of the ſame blood, and for *the Redemption of their Souls* already accompliſhed in the death of the Son of God, but whereof the Application is continually made in the preaching of the Goſpel, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to all thoſe, who embrace it through Faith.

There are alſo other (e) Prayers, wherein is deſired, for the Faithfull departed, the felicity, which they have hoped, and wiſhed for, during the courſe of their life, as appears by theſe following Forms; *Vitam æternam habere mereantur in cœlis*, &c. *In tuæ redemptionis parte numerentur*, &c. *May they obtain eternal life in Heaven*, &c. *May they be numbred in the part of thy Redemption*, &c. *O Lord, give them eternal reſt, and let everlaſting light ſhine upon them*, &c. *Place him in the Region of Peace, and Light, and grant him the Fellowſhip of thy Saints*, &c. *Grant him admittance into the ſociety of eternal bliſs*, &c. *To thoſe, on whom thou didſt beſtow the Merit, or Honour, of* Chriſtian *Faith, give alſo the Reward*, &c. *that, through thy Compaſſion, they may receive the bliſs of eternal light*, &c. *Make them partakers of thy Redemption, let them be added to the number of thy Saints*, &c. *Let them have their reward in the Life to come*, &c. *Let them be conveyed into the Habitations, which thou haſt prepared for the Bleſſed: let them have the perpetual enjoyment of their Society*, &c. *Command, that they have eternal joys in the Region of the Living*, &c. *Grant them the Habitation of refreſhment, bleſſed reſt, and the cleareſt light*, &c. *Vouchſafe to aſſociate them to thy Saints*, &c. *May they receive eternal reſt*, &c. *Grant them eternal joy in the Region of the living*, &c. *May he obtain eternal reſt, and light*, &c. *Reſtore them to the Portion of eternal ſalvation*, &c. *We beſeech thee, O Lord, that he may come into the Fellowſhip of Eternal light*, &c. *That they may rejoyce with thee, World without end*, &c. *May they obtain paſſage into life*, &c. *That they may obtain eternal joys.*

(e) *Prayers deſiring the Deceaſed may be received into Bliß.*

Though it might ſeem, that thoſe, for whom theſe Prayers are made, were conſidered, as deprived of *Peace, Light, Joy, Bliſs, Reſt*, the *Society of the Saints in Glory*, and the *Eternal Reward* promiſed their good Works, and that, to facilitate their entrance into the poſſeſſion of future happineſs, ſome had conceived, and inſerted the foregoing Prayers into the *Service* of the Churches; yet that it never was the intention of thoſe, who drew the firſt draught thereof, to inſinuate, that the dead were actually excluded the things demanded for them, is manifeſt, in as much, as the *Memento* was made onely in favour of thoſe, who *reſt in a ſleep of Peace*, and, conſequently, are already in *Peace and Joy with the Lord*. For the ſurviving Believers thought it became them to ſpeak of the Beatitude of their Brethren deceaſed before them with a kind of heſitation, as if it were delayed, and that not without ſome colour, for as much the good things, prepared by the Lord for thoſe, who love him, conſiſt in things, which (f) *Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of Man*, and that they had not any evident knowledg thereof, and could not frame to themſelves any *Idea* ſuitable to the ſtate, whereto thoſe are advanced, who enjoy them, they repreſented it after their manner, with ſome conformity, and proportion to that, wherein they had left this World; and as they have been for the moſt part forced thereto by the Imaginations, wherewith the counterfeit *Sibyl* had dazled

(f) 1 Cor. ii. 9.

their minds, ſo from the ſame hand is it alſo come, that among thoſe, who, ſome time after, took the courage to diſclaim them, ſome did it not ſo reſolutely, as they ſhould have done, but thought it enough to compare their departed Brethren, tranſlated into the reſt of God, to (g) *Travellers*, who want ſomewhat of compleating their Journey. Others, conſidering, that the enjoyment of the good things, which follow this life, and the exemption from the evils, which ſinners are to expect, are for all eternity, and that the continuance of that enjoyment to thoſe, who are once entred thereinto, does ſo far depend on the goodneſs and favour of God ever faithful in his promiſes, and whoſe (h) *Gifts are without Repentance*; that in this very regard, that he continually conſerves them, he ſeems to make a new diſtribution thereof every moment, and by the perpetual influence of his benediction on thoſe, whom he hath received into glory, to aſſure them more and more of their poſſeſſion thereof: others, I ſay, out of ſuch, or the like Conſiderations, were perſwaded, that there was no inconvenience in demanding, for the departed, what they already had, their own reaſon telling them, that the Authour of ſo good a gift ceaſes not to give it, in continuing, and conſerving it to thoſe, whom he had once made partakers thereof. For as thoſe, on whom he here below beſtows abundance of temporal goods, are not leſs obliged to beg of him every day their (i) *daily Bread*, then if (as he ſometime did to the *Iſraelites* in the *Deſert*) he dealt them onely one day's Proviſion at a time; the plenty, which they had ſo liberally received from his hand, though ſuch as might ſuffice for their whole life, and that with ſo much certainty in appearance, as nothing could reduce them to want, no way hindring, but that they ſhould acknowledg their indigence, and natural inſufficiency, and have a conſtant recourſe to his Grace, to deſire (as the moſt unworthy) that he would give them their *Bread*, for as much as though they have enough lying by them, yet is it their evident concernment, that he, who hath given them, ſhould every day renew his Donation, in conſerving them, and ſanctifying them to their uſe: So the *Saints*, who in the other life are poſſeſſed of Celeſtial goods, are (by the neceſsity of the ſame reaſon) obliged to make perpetual acknowledgments, notwithſtanding that the immutability of the Counſel, according to which he beſtows them for ever, and the nature of thoſe very goods, not ſubject to periſh, and decay, ſeems not any way to hinder, but that they ſhould, every one for himſelf, and the ſurviving upon Earth for them all, deſire the conſervation and continuance of them, though that be ſo much the more certain, and infallible, in as much as it is grounded on the unchangeable Decree of (k) *the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableneſs, neither ſhadow of turning*. In this ſenſe it might be thought, that (l) *Jeſus, the Head and finiſher of our Faith, who was yeſterday, is to day, and ſhall be the ſame for ever*, though he were confident of the iſſue of his combats, and was ſo much the more certain, that nothing could prevail againſt him, that he (m) *ſuſtained himſelf by his own Power*, yet forbore not to recommend himſelf to his Father, and to deſire of him the (n) *glory* he was poſſeſſed of, and *had had with him before the World was*: and conſequently, that the antient Church neither made, nor ought to have made any difficulty to pray for all the bleſſed, whoſe

(g) *Epiphan.*

(h) Rom. xi. 29.

(i) Matth. vi. 11.

(k) Jam. i. 17.

(l) Heb. xiii. 8.

(m) Iſa. lix. 16.

(n) Joh. xvii. 5.

State

State she knew to be unchangeable, and whose Felicity unalterable; and accordingly is it, that, as she does in general make a Commemoration of all those, who *sleep the Sleep of Peace*; so hath she particularly comprehended in her *Prayers* the *Patriarchs*, *Prophets*, *Apostles*, *Martyrs*, without any regard to the inconvenience, which some have alledged since, that (o) *to pray for a Martyr, is to be injurious to him.* Nay, the *Church* of *Rome* her self, to shew that she could not recede from the Sentiment of *Primitive Antiquity*, as we have above represented it, hath not ceased, nor does, to this day, cease to make this *Prayer*, contained in her *Missal*; *Deus, cui soli cognitus est numerus Electorum in superna felicitate locandus, tribue, quæsumus, ut universorum, quos Oratione* (p) *commendatos suscepimus, & omnium fidelium vivorum, atque mortuorum nomina beatæ prædestinationis liber adscripta retineat, per Dominum*, &c *O God, to whom alone is known the number of the Elect, who are to be placed above in Felicity, we beseech thee to grant, that the Book of blessed Predestination may retain written the name of all those, whom we have taken upon us to recommend in our Prayers, as also those of all the Faithfull, both dead, and living, through our Lord*, &c. I seriously ask, whether it be possible any thing should be (q) *blotted out of the Book of Life*, which is God himself, (r) *whose Counsel shall stand eternally?* And since there is no danger should make us fear, that (f) *God will deny himself*, and that the *Book* of his *Predestination* should not retain the Names, which his Hand hath written in it, to desire of him, that it might retain them, is it not to pray him to do what it is absolutely impossible but he should, and (after the Example of the *Antient Christians*) to make a *Prayer* for the Blessed, that they might be blessed, not indeed, as if they were to pass from misery to the possession of Bliss; but in persisting (as it must of necessity be) in the enjoyment of the Bliss, which hath been once for all communicated to them?

(o) *Augustine.*

(p) I think it should be *commendandos.*

(q) Apoc. xxi. 27.

(r) Isa. xlvi. 10.

(f) 2 Tim. ii. 13.

Lastly, The *Antients*, considering that the Felicity, which the *Faithfull* enjoy from the instant of their departure, is not that absolute Fulness of Glory, wherewith they expect to be Crowned at (t) *the Resurrection of the Just*, and that they might justly desire of God the accomplishment of what is expected (according to the Word of his Grace) as well for themselves, as for others, since it is a signification of the (u) *coming of his Kingdom*; that we are all taught by the Lord himself, earnestly to desire, and hasten it, as much as may be, by our Wishes.

(t) Luc. xiv. 14.

(u) Matth. vi. 10.

Secondly, That the Motion (x) *of all the Creation, groaning, and travelling* till such time, as it is *delivered from the bondage of Corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Children of God*, is expressed to us by St. *Paul*, as a *great* and *violent desire* inclining the Creatures to *expect the manifestation of the Sons of God*, and incites us so much the more, by how much we, *who have the first fruits of the Spirit*, are all together waiting for the Redemption of our Body.

(x) Rom. viii. 19, &c.

Thirdly, That in that Noble desire is shewn the principal Effect of the *Sympathy*, which ought to be beween all the Saints, *Members of the same mystical Body, and Members one of another* (for if the *Holy Spirit*, to rejoyce the spirits of the Just in Glory, and (y) *crying with a loud voyce, that the Lord would judge, and revenge their Blood on them, that dwell on the Earth*, proposes to them, as the principal Subject of their Joy, the ap-

(y) Apoc. vi. 10.

proaching accompliſhment of their Fellow-ſervants, and Brethren, yet engaged againſt the *Militia* of *Satan*, & the *world*, here below, why ſhould not theſe Champions, who are ſtill ſweating, and out of breath in the Field, where they are all covered with Blood, and Duſt, have their courage heigthned, by reflecting on their advantages, who had gone before them; that, as they aſpire to thoſe *White Robes* of Glory, wherein their Brethren are for a little Seaſon *to reſt* above, and further conſider, as the higheſt point of their pretenſion, that admirable perfection, which the firſt ſhall not attain without the laſt, one and the ſame day (to wit, that of the General Reſurrection, and the Laſt Judgment) being appointed to make an eternal aſſurance of the full Perfection of their Glory? The *Antients*, I ſay, upon theſe Conſiderations, might, and, after their Example, the *Faithfull* ſtill may, and do, continually deſire, and beg it, as well for themſelves, as for all thoſe, who before them, (z) had *ſerved their generations by the will of God*, and happily (a) *finiſhed their courſe in this life.*

(z) Acts xiii. 36.
(a) 2 Tim. iv. 7.

Fourthly, It may be obſerved, that, in this kinde of *Prayer*, they (b) ſeem to follow the Example of the *Apoſtle*, praying for *Oneſiphorus*, (b) that the *Lord would grant, that he might finde mercy with the Lord in that day*, in which (c) *he ſhall come to be glorified in his Saints, and to be admired in all them, that believe*. For whatever may be preſuppoſed concerning the State of *Oneſiphorus*, and whether it be ſaid, that that good Perſon was, or was not diſcharged, as to the neceſſities of this *life*, when the *Wiſh*, ſet down in the *Second Epiſtle* to *Timothy*, was made for him, it will make no difference in the main, and it will ſtill be certain, that the good, expreſſed by St. *Paul*'s *Prayer*, hath not been hitherto accompliſhed in any one; that it is of no leſs importance at this day to *Oneſiphorus*, then when St. *Paul* prayed for him; that St. *Paul*, and *Oneſiphorus*, and all the *Saints*, who are with God, wait for, as much as we do, who (d) *are ſaved by Hope onely*, the Day of the Lord, and the Mercy, which *Oneſiphorus*, and all the reſt of the *Elect* ſhall finde, when that day comes; and that he, who prays his Friend may obtain what cannot be conferred on him, till many *Ages* after his Introduction into celeſtial *Beatitude*, ſeems neceſſarily to pray for one, that is *Bleſſed*, if not effectually, when he conceived his *Prayer*, at leaſt, for one conſidered, as ſuch, when he ſhall ſee the Effect thereof: ſo that whenſoever a man undertakes to pray for him, whether while he is alive, or after his death, or both before, and after his death, he ſtill makes the ſame *Prayer* for him, which not onely does not, but canot change its nature in the revolution of *Ages*, ſince that its foundation ſtill unchangeably ſubſiſts, and that it is impoſſible it ſhall have its Effect in any, but a Perſon, that hath been already a long time in Glory with God, and who ſtands in need, not of *Beatitude*, in it ſelf, which he is already poſſeſſed of, but the laſt Perfection of it, and, as it may be expreſſed in vulgar Terms, the *Over-weight*, which is neceſſarily to be added thereunto.

(b) 2 Tim. i. 18.
(c) 2 Theſſ. i. 10.
(d) Rom. viii. 24.

Thus the *Fathers* (not without ſome Ground) conceived they had pertinent Reaſons to pray for thoſe, whom they thought gathered into the eternal Reſt of God; nay, ſome (out of a Motive of extraordinary compaſſion) took the liberty to pray, and adviſed others to make

Prayers,

Prayers, and give *Alms* for the Damned; yet ſo, as that, (for ought we know) it hath not happened, that, for the ſpace of ſix hundred years together, any one of them laid it down as a *Tenent* of *Catholique Faith*, That the Souls of thoſe, who ended their Lives in the Profeſſion of that *Faith*, were reduced, immediately upon their departure, to endure any temporal Puniſhment for their ſins, and to make full ſatisfaction to the Juſtice of God, before they took poſſeſſion of their *Bliß*. The *Antient Liturgies* are ſo far from teaching any ſuch thing, that they have formally expreſſed the contrary, and, even to this day, the Form of *Prayer* for the Recommendation of Perſons in *Agony*, expreſly preſuppoſes, that their Souls, at their departure out of the Bodies, are to be carried by the *Angels* into *Abraham*'s Boſom, a Manſion of Reſt, and Felicity, and not of Torment. For after the *Litanies*, whereby the Mercy of God is implored, they ſay to the ſick Perſon: *Proficiſcere, anima Chriſtiana, de hoc Mundo*, &c. *Depart out of this World, O Chriſtian Soul, in the Name of God, the Father Almighty, who hath created thee; in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, who hath ſuffered for thee; in the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, which is ſhed into thee*, &c. *May thy place be this day in Peace, and thy habitation in Holy Sion, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord.* Amen. To this *Wiſh* there is added a *Prayer*, which demands for the ſick Perſon the Remiſſion of his ſins, the Renewing of whatever there was corrupt in him, and his reconciliation with God: and then this Diſcourſe is addreſſed to him, *Commendo te*, &c. *I recommend thee, moſt dear Brother, to God Almighty, and cõmit thee to him, whoſe creature thou art, that when, by the interpoſition of death, thou ſhalt have cancelled the Obligation of humanity, thou mayſt return to thy Authour, who hath formed thee out of the ſlime of the Earth. May therefore a bright Aſſembly of Angels meet thy ſoul at its departure out of the body*, &c. *May the embraces of the Patriarchs confine thee to the Boſom of a bliſſfull reſt*, &c. *Mayeſt thou be delivered from* (e) *Torment by Chriſt, who was crucified for thee; mayſt thou be delivered from eternal death by Chriſt, who vouchſafed to die for thee; May Chriſt the Son of the living God place thee in the ever-pleaſant verdures of his Paradiſe, and may that true Shepheard own thee among his Sheep; May he forgive thee all thy ſins, and place thee in the portion of his Elect on his right hand; Mayſt thou, face to face, ſee thy Redeemer, and being ever preſent behold with thy bleſſed eyes the moſt manifeſt truth. Being then placed among the Quires of the bleſſed; mayſt thou enjoy the ſweetneß of divine contemplation, world without end. Amen.* After ſuch a Diſcourſe, there is made this *Prayer*; *Suſcipe, Domine, ſervum tuum*, &c. *O Lord, Receive thy ſervant into the place, where he is to hope ſalvation from thy mercy*, Amen. *O Lord, deliver the ſoul of thy ſervant from all dangers of Hell, and from the ſnares of Torments, and from all Tribulations.* Amen. Then, having made a recital of the Deliverances of *Enoch*, and *Elias*, of *Noë*, *Abraham*, *Joab*, *Iſaac*, *Lot*, *Moſes*, *Daniel*, and his three Companions, *David*, Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul*, they conclude with theſe words: *And, as thou haſt delivered from three moſt grievous Torments the moſt bleſſed Virgin, and Martyr*, Thecla; *in like manner, mayeſt thou be pleaſed to deliver the ſoul of this thy ſervant, and grant, that he may rejoyce with thee in the enjoyment of celeſtial goods.* Amen. At laſt, follow two *Prayers*; whereof the former begins with theſe words: *Commendamus animam Famuli tui*, &c. *O Lord,*

(e) *Viz.* that of the Agony.

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we recommend unto thee the ſoul of thy ſervant, and we humbly beſeech thee, O Jeſus Chriſt, *Saviour of the World, that thou wouldeſt not refuſe to place in the boſoms of thy* Patriarchs *her, for whoſe ſake thou mercifully didſt deſcend upon Earth.* In the later it is ſaid, *Be mindfull of him, O* Lord, *in the glory of thy brightneſs; let the Heavens be open to him; let the Angels rejoyce with him.* Lord, *receive thy Servant into thy Kingdom; Let St.* Michael, *the Arch-angel of God, and General of the Celeſtial Militia, entertain him; let the holy Angels of God meet him, and carry him into the Heavenly* Jeruſalem, &c. *Looſed from the Chains of fleſh, may he be received into the glory of the celeſtial Kingdom,* &c. If, after all theſe Prayers, the Agony continue, there are at ſeveral times read the one hundred and ſixth, and one hundred and eighteenth *Pſalms*, according to the *Greeks*, and *Latines*, that is, the one hundred and ſeventh, and one hundred and nineteenth, according to the *Hebrews*, who are therein followed by the *Proteſtants*; and, when the Soul is departed, they ſay, *Afford your aſſiſtance, O ye Saints of God, meet him, O ye Angels of the* Lord, *receiving his Soul, and preſenting it to the moſt high. May* Chriſt, *who hath called thee, entertain thee, and may the* Angels *conduct thee into the Boſom of* Abraham, *&c. O* Lord, *give him eternal reſt, and let everlaſting light ſhine upon him;* Lord, *deliver his Soul from the Gate of Hell, let him reſt in peace.*

In the *Maſs for the ſick, who are in Agony*, beſides two *Leſſons* out of the *Scripture*, whereof the former comprehends from the ſixth *Verſe* of the five and fiftieth *Chapter* of *Iſaiah*, to the twelfth, with theſe words faſtened in the beginning by I know not whom, *In diebus illis locutus eſt* Eſaias *Propheta dicens*, and at the end, *Ait Dominus omnipotens*; and the later conſiſts of the twentieth, twenty firſt, and twenty ſecond *Verſes* of the ſixteenth *Chapter* of St. *John*, with theſe words added at the beginning, *In illo tempore dixit* Jeſus *Diſcipulis ſuis.* We have ſeveral Texts alledged, containing Thanksgiving to God for his deliverances, as the ſecond, ſixth, and ſeventh *Verſes* of the eighteenth *Pſalm*, according to the *Hebrews*, the fourth of the fifty ſeventh, with Confeſſions of ſins, and Implorations of his mercy, and aſſiſtance, as the ſecond *Verſe* of the fifty ſeventh *Pſalm*, the firſt and ſecond of the one hundred and thirtieth, the eighth and ninth of the ſeventy ninth, the firſt of the fifty firſt, and the two and twentieth of the five and twentieth, and, in concluſion, three Prayers, in the firſt whereof we read theſe words, *Grant him, O Lord, thy grace, that his Soul, at the hour of its departure out of the body, may be repreſented without the blemiſh of any ſin, by the hands of the holy Angels, to thee, who art the proper beſtower thereof, through our* Lord, *&c.* The ſecond is cloſed with this concluſion, not much unlike the former, *That, received by the Angels, he may arrive at the Kingdom of thy glory, through our* Lord. And the third is laid down in theſe Terms, *O* Lord, *we give thee thanks for thy manifold kindneſſes, wherewith thou art wont to ſatisfie the Souls of thoſe, who put their truſt in thee; we, now confident of thy compaſſion, do humbly beſeech thee, that thou wouldeſt vouchſafe to ſhew mercy on thy Servant, leſt, at the hour of his departure out of the body, the enemy, prevail againſt him, but that he may be thought worthy to paſs to life, through our* Lord.

If the *Latine* Church had from the beginning been imbued with this Sentiment, that the Souls of the Faithfull are, for the moſt part, at their departure

departure out of the Body, confined to a place of Torment, where they perfect the expiation of their ſins, through what misfortune is it come to paſs, that ſhe ſo far forgot her ſelf, as not to have expreſsed any ſuch thing in all their *Service*, and that her Encouragements, and Remonſtrances to thoſe, that lie at the point of death, who are (as it is at this day preſuppoſed) in ſo great a neceſſity to prepare themſelves for it, and the *Wiſhes*, and *Prayers*, which ſhe makes, and appoints to be made, as well for them, as for the Dead, whom a Superſtitious perſwaſion imagines already ſet upon, and invaded by Infernal flames in *Purgatory*, do not onely not contain any remark thereof, but formally teach the contrary? And that they do ſo, we are onely to inſtance out of what hath been newly alledged, what they ſay of all without exception, *viz.* that, after death, they have their place in *Holy Sion*, that the *Angels come to meet them*; that they convey them into the *Kingdom of Glory*, into the *boſom of a bleſſed Reſt*, into the *boſom of* Abraham, into the *pleaſant Verdures of Paradiſe*, that they might with the Quires of the Bleſſed *contemplate Truth* with their bleſſed eyes, and enjoy the *ſweetneſs of divine contemplation eternally*; that the Lord places them in the *Portion of the Elect*, in the place where they *boped for ſalvation*, opens the *heavens to them*, gives them an *eternal Reſt*, and makes them *paſs into life*; which Expreſsions are ſuch, as that the *Proteſtants* could not (according to the *Hypotheſes* of their Belief) either ſay, or think any thing beyond them. Shall we imagine her unfortunately ſeiſed by a *Vertigo* ſo extraordinary, as that ſhe would be guilty of ſuch an *Extravagance* in favour of the Adverſaries of her *Sentiment*, ſo far as to furniſh them with all the Expreſsions capable to ruine it, and that ſhe ſhould be ſo unnatural, and cruel towards thoſe of her children, whom death ſnatched away daily from her, as not to vouchſafe to let them know, by the laſt word, that ſhe had a Reſentment of their Trouble, or that it was her deſire to procure their Deliverance out of it by her *Prayers*, and to fortifie others, whom ſhe ſaw to fall into the like, by communicating to them her Advertiſements, and Remonſtrances, and repreſenting to them on the one ſide the neceſsity, which the *Juſtice* of God impoſed on them, as is pretended, to paſs through the *Fire*, and, on the other, the Hope, which his *Promiſe* gave them to be preſerved therein by his care till ſuch time, as his Goodneſs ſhould grant them a glorious deliverance out of it? Nay, though we ſhould be inclined to excuſe in her ſo ſhamefull a want of compaſsion, and memory, could we free her from Prevarication, charging her, that, inſtead of ſtirring up in her children the care of preparing themſelves for Death, and the temporal Pains, which (according to the *Opinion* of *Purgatory*) were to follow upon it, ſhe hath treacherouſly permitted, that (to be rid of it with more eaſe) they ſhould run into erroneous perſwaſions, and preſume to promiſe themſelves, upon the very ſtart out of this Life, a paſſage into *Abraham's* Boſom, and the Paradiſe of God; or rather, that ſhe was reſolved to lay them aſleep her ſelf, by deceitfull Expreſſions, in the Boſom of a prejudicial Security, which ſmothers the apprehenſion they ſhould have conceived of the Severity of that great Judg, who intends to examine them with all rigour? And though we ſhould endeavour to reconcile theſe kinds of Expreſsions, which mutually

tually deſtroy one the other, would it be in our power to perſwade any, that thoſe, who, after they have ſaid of the Dead, that they are, immediately upon their departure, *carried by the Angels into the Boſom of the* Patriarchs, hold withall, that they are before-hand ſent into a place of *Torments*, ſpeak more rationally, then thoſe, who durſt affirm, that the King *lodges near himſelf in his Palace*, the *Malefactours*, whom he keeps in reſtraint, *in the moſt loathſom Dungeons, and holes of his Priſons?*

And that no man may imagine that this Wiſh, *May* Chriſt, *who was crucified for thee, deliver thee out of Torment*, hath any relation to the Torment of the pretended *Purgatory*, we need onely to obſerve, that it is made for a ſick Perſon, overwhelmed with the *Torment* of the laſt *Agony*, immediately preceding his Death. To which may be added, that, though it were underſtood of the *Torments*, which wicked Spirits are to expect after Death, Reaſon would force us to avow, that the Believer, recommended to the Grace of God, is exempted from them after Death, in the ſame manner, as he is *delivered from eternal Death*, from the *dangers of Hell*, and from the *ſnares of his Torments*, which he never felt, nor ever ſhall feel, for as much as *Chriſt, crucified, and dead for him*, preſerves, and frees him from them. And as to the *Prayers*, which the *Church* of *Rome* makes, and appoints to be made, for the Dead, deſiring, that God would *pardon their Sins*, deliver them *from the Gates of Hell*, and from the *Laſt Judgment*, and put them into the poſſeſſion of *eternal Bliſs*, they cannot (according to the intention of *Antiquity*) be taken in any other ſence, then what we have already alledged; nay, this very Circumſtance, that the Modern *Greeks*, and others, who deny *Purgatory* no leſs, then the *Proteſtants*, do daily make thoſe *Prayers*, irrefutably proves, that *Purgatory* cannot neceſſarily be inferred from them.

CHAP. LIII.

The Sentiment *of the Modern* Greeks, *concerning the State of the* Dead.

FOr as much as the *Church* of *Rome*, and thoſe of her Communion, are not any way ſatisfied with the *Sentiment* of the *Greeks* at this day, who ſo joyn with her in the *Cuſtom* of *Praying for the Dead*, that they joyn with the *Proteſtants* againſt her, in denying *Purgatory*; and that, upon that accompt, ſhe cenſures them, as Deſertours of the *Faith* delivered by the *Holy Fathers*, whom ſhe pretends to be of her ſide, and reproaches them with a ſhamefull breach of the Promiſe they had made on *Friday*, the ſixth of *July*, 1274. at the *Councel* of *Lions*, and on *Munday*, the ſixth of *July*, 1439. at that of *Florence*, to embrace her Belief; we are to conſider theſe two things diſtinctly: *Firſt*, What *Ground* ſhe may have to complain of their inconſtancy; and, *Secondly*, In what *Opinion* they have continued to the preſent.

The *Latines*, who had taken *Conſtantinople* by aſſault, on *Munday* the twelfth of *April*, 1204. having been driven thence by *Michael Palæologus*,

logus, on *Wedneſday* the twelfth of *July*, 1261. This *Prince*, to ſettle himſelf in his Poſſeſſion, againſt the attempts, as well of the *Turks*, as the Emperour *Baldwin de Courtenay*, (who was then in League with *Charles* of *Anjou*, King of the two *Sicilies*, the *Republique* of *Venice*, and *Theobald*, King of *Navarr*, and *Count* of *Champagne*, to whom he had promiſed the fourth part of the loſt State, in caſe he might recover it) took (what according to the advice of his deſpair ſeemed beſt) a reſolution to caſt himſelf into the arms of Pope *Gregory the Tenth*, and to grant him any thing he ſhould deſire. For perceiving that *Baldwin*, his Competitour, had in the year 1267. affianced; and in the year 1273. Married his onely Son *Philip* to *Beatrix*, the Daughter of *Charles*; that *Charles*, not thinking it enough that his Son-in-Law had taken the Imperial Crown, had alſo raiſed a powerfull Army to carry on his *Deſign*; and that the *Councel* of *Lions*, Convocated by Pope *Gregory*, to meet on the firſt of *May*, 1274. threatned him with no leſs, then abſolute ruin; he haſtened to conjure, and lay it by the onely means he had left him, ſending to him, in whoſe hands it lay, to prevent the Storm. The *Pope*, flattered by a great Confidence of eſtabliſhing his Power in the *Eaſt*, immediately diſpatched thither *Hierome d' Aſcoli*, *Reimond Beranger*, *Bonagratia* of Saint *John*'s in *Perſiceto*, and *Bonaventure de Mugello*, *Franciſcan Friers*, who entred into conference with the *Greek* Emperour, got from him what they deſired, and cauſed him to write concerning the State of the Dead in theſe Terms; Ἐὰν δὲ ὅτι, &c. *If thoſe, who are truly penitent, depart hence in Charity, before they have, by Works worthy Repentance, made ſatisfaction for that, wherein they have ſinned, and failed; the ſouls of ſuch are, after death, purged by the Pains of Purgatory, according to what Brother* (a) John *hath declared unto us. And to mitigate thoſe Pains, the Congregation of the Faithfull ſurviving is beneficial, I mean, the ſacred Celebration of Services, Prayers, and Alms, and other works of Piety, which are ordinarily performed by the Faithfull for others of the Faithfull, according to the Ordinance of the Church.*

(a) Brother *John* of Conſtantinople, a Franciſcan, Penitentiary to *Gregory the Tenth.*

Theſe *Letters*, which tended onely to gain the Affection of the *Pope*, and traverſe the Deſigns of the King of *Sicily*, had ſtruck the *Patriarch Joſeph* ſo to the Heart, that, after he had boldly proteſted againſt them, he withdrew, chooſing rather, to continue the reſt of his days a private Perſon, then to enjoy the *Prelacy*, with the remorſe, and ſhame of having countenanced, by his conſent, an Agreement, which he thought concluded by Counſels, carried on by worldly Deſigns, and Intereſts; and indeed, the greateſt part of the *Eaſt*, conſpiring in the ſame *Sentiment*, had ſuch a deteſtation for the Peace with *Rome*, that there was a neceſſity of employing force, to ſmother the diſſatisfactions of thoſe, who were ſcandalized thereat. *John*, ſirnamed *Bec*, High *Chancellour* of the Empire, had been impriſoned, and roughly dealt with upon that Occaſion; but not long after, either weary of ſuffering, or *Cajolled*, and drawn in by a Promiſe of the *Patriarchate*, joyning with his *Prince*, he came, with ſome other *Greek Prelates*, to the *Councel* of *Lions*, where he made his firſt entrance on the 24th of *June*, and while the Emperour lived, helped him to keep in his Country-men, extremely exaſperated, to ſee themſelves forced to a *Profeſſion*, which they approved not of.

Michael, dying towards the end of the year 1285. after he had eluded all the Storms of the King of *Sicily*, *Andronicus* his Son, and Succeſſour, who had, with much *impatience*, born with the violence done to the common *Sentiment* of his Nation, not onely reſtored it to its former Liberty, as ſoon as he was gotten into the Throne, but re-eſtabliſhed the *Patriarch Joſeph*, put *Bec*, who had taken his Place, into ſuch a Fright, that he was forced to withdraw ſecretly, fearing he ſhould be torn in Pieces by the People, and proceeded with ſo much the more confidence in all this change, in as much as the *Sicilian Veſpers*, adviſed by his Father, and ſung by the tumultuous People on *Eaſter-Day*, the twenty ninth of *March*, 1282. had ſet *Sicily*, and *Arragon* againſt the *Pope*, and *France*. Beſides, *Philip de Courtenay*, and *Baldwin* his Father, being come near the End of their unfortunate Lives, had no further thoughts of revenge againſt him; that *Charles the Firſt*, King of *Sicily*, dying of Grief, the ſeventh of *January*, 1285. left *Charles the Second* his Son, a Priſoner to the *Sicilians*, and *Arragonois*, who kept him from the two and twentieth of *June*, 1284. to the twenty ninth of *October*, 1288. So as that he had not, during that time, any means, either to help himſelf, or prejudice others; and that none, that had Relation to the *Latines*, was in any capacity to diſturb the *Eaſt*.

Michael thought to have done much for himſelf, by his ſubmiſſion to, and taking from the *Church* of *Rome* the Model of his *Belief*, and (by his Compliance with her) diſarming the *Princes* combined againſt his Dignity; but from that Counſel, ſuggeſted by the Prudence of this World, he reaped onely ſhame, and misfortune, as well during his Life, as after his Death. For both his *Eccleſiaſtical*, and *Secular* Subjects conſpired together to put the affront upon him, fruſtrate his Intentions, and confidently to ſubvert the Deſign of his Treaty by a formal Oppoſition, and ſo unanimous a Rejection of the Expedient which he had taken to ſettle his Peace, that his Cruelty againſt the moſt reſolute, and the ſetting up of a new *Patriarch*, who took the *Catechiſm* of his *Belief* from the *Court*, prevailed nothing upon ſpirits, ſo much the more exaſperated, the more ſenſible they were of the violence done them. *Pope Martin the Fourth*, taking it heinouſly that he was fallen off, in as much as he bore with ſome of his Subjects, who were contrary to his *Opinion*, (a) in the firſt year of his ſitting in the Chair, upon the day of the Dedication of Saint *Peter*'s *Church*, falling on the eighteenth of *November*, 1281. pronounced him, *in Orvieto*, Excommunicated, as a favourer of the *Antient Schiſm*, and *Hereſie* of the *Greeks*. And after his Death, which happened at the beginning of the fourteenth *Indiction*, 1285. near *Selybria*, the publick Averſion was ſo violent againſt his Memory, that his own Son was forced to leave it expoſed to a kinde of Infamy, (b) *Nicephorus Gregoras* having left us his remarkable Accompt of him; Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς, ὁ Βασιλεὺς, &c. *The Emperour* Andronicus, *his Son, who was preſent, not onely honoured not his Father with the Sepulture ordinarily beſtowed on Kings, but vouchſafed him not that, which was fit for Smiths, and Pioners: He onely ordered, that a ſmall number of men, having carried him away in the Night, ſome diſtance from the Camp, ſhould caſt a quantity of Earth upon him, out of a fear, leſt the Royal Body might be torn in pieces by the wilde Beaſts.*

(a) *Eberardi Ratisbonenſis* Chron.

(b) Lib. 5.

Thus

Thus have we a great *Prince*, for having forced the Conſciences of his People, reduced to the burial of a Dog, and finde the *Church* of *Rome*, who would have made her advantage of his *Deſpair*, to ſpread her Authority into the *Eaſt*, become, through this kinde of proceeding, ſo odious, that the Oſtentation of her Power did onely ſtir up the contradiction of thoſe minds, which ſhe was in hope to enſlave, and animated them in a reſolution, not to receed in the leaſt from their former *Sentiment*.

About 150. years after, the *Empire* of the *Eaſt* falling under the Power of the *Turks*, who had taken away from it, on the one ſide, all *Natolia*, except *Trebiſonda*, where there was kept up a little *Empire* apart; and, on the other, ſuch a part of *Thrace*, that *Conſtantinople* was, as it were, blocked up between both, *Johannes Palæologus*, deſcended from *Michael*, was (though much againſt his Humour) forced to call to minde the Advertiſement of his Father *Manuel*, who had not left him any other Hope of recovery in the Land, then what was to be procured by the Aſſiſtances of the *Latines*: Which to obtain (contrary to the Advice of *Sultan Amurath*, who knew, that in the Concord of the *Chriſtians* conſiſted the onely means to oppoſe his Tyranny) he took a reſolution in the year 1430. to make his Addreſſes to the *Weſt*, and (after the Example of his Father, who had in Perſon ſollicited *Italy*, *France*, *England*, and other *Kingdoms*) ſent ſeveral *Embaſſies* to *Martin*, and *Eugenius the Fourth*, to deſire the calling of a *Councel*, to conſiſt of the *Prelates* of both the *Greek*, and *Latine Churches*, and, by means of the *Councel*, to engage the *Latine Church* in the defence of the *Greek*. We do not finde how far *Martin* beſtirred himſelf to do any thing in that Cauſe; but God having taken him out of this World the one and twentieth of *February*, 1431. and *Eugenius the Fourth* being choſen in his ſtead, on the third of *March* following, the Jealouſie he took at the *Councel*, which had been appointed to meet at *Baſil*, by that of *Sienna*, in the year 1424. and began on *Thurſday*, the nineteenth of *July*, 1431. and the high, and violent Procedures of it towards the *Greeks* in *Florence* ruined the ſucceſs of what ever he had undertaken. He had ever ſince the twelfth of *March* appointed *Julian*, *Cardinal* of St. *Angelo*, to preſide at the *Councel* of *Baſil*; eight Moneths after, ſeiſed with an apprehenſion, that that *Aſſembly* would offer to diminiſh his Power, he repealed the *Commiſſion* of his *Legat*, and (under pretence of gratifying the *Greeks*) appointed the eighteenth of *December*, for the *Prelates* to ſeparate, and ſummoned another *Councel* at *Boulogne la Graß*, for the year 1433. Now, that of *Baſil*, thinking the affront indigeſtible, and to be revenged, reſolving to queſtion him, put him into ſuch a fright, that he thought himſelf obliged to grant what it would have, to iſſue out his *Bull* of the fifteenth of *December* 1433. to repeal three others, contrary thereto, given the twenty ſeventh of *July*, and the thirteenth of *September* before, and to joyn with the *Cardinal* of St. *Angelo*, four other *Legats*, to wit, *Nicholas*, *Cardinal* of Saint *Croix*, *John*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Tarentum*, *Peter*, *Biſhop* of *Padua*, and *Lewis*, *Abbot* of Saint *Juſtina* of *Padua*, who were admitted the ſix and twentieth of *April*, 1434.

From the fifteenth of *October*, and the eleventh of *November*, 1433.

the *Greeks*, answering to the Summons of the *Council*, who had Deputed to them *Anthony*, Bishop of *Tuy* in *Galicia*, and *B. Albert de Crespes*, Master in *Theologie*, had sent on their behalf *Demetrius Palæologus*, Proto-vestiary, *Isidore*, *Abbot* of St. *Demetrius*, and *Johannes Lascaris*, sirnamed *Dispatus*, to Treat of the Conditions of the Interview of both Parties; and the *Pope*, for his Part, had, towards the end of the same year, offered by *Christopher Garathon*, one of his *Secretaries*, to send his *Legats* into the *East*, to prosecute the affair of the Re-union. But, when he saw him returned, and understood that the *Council*, who was not of his *Opinion*, and had reduced him to quit it, and by a second Deputation, sent Brother *John de Raguse*, a *Dominican*, afterwards *Bishop* of *Argos*, *Henry Menger*, *Canon* of *Constance*, and *Simon Freron*, *Canon* of *Orleans*, who, as to his particular, had Order to pass through *Rome*, to aquaint the *Court* with the occasion of his Message, instead of being satisfied with this submission, which seemed absolutely to secure his Interest, he conceived a greater jealousie thereof, and taking it very ill, that (as he thought) the *Council* should think to get the glory of the Reconciliation with the *Greeks*, he so far prevailed with them by his sollicitations, and the sums of Money he paid them out of his own Purse, which was better furnished, then that of the *Council*, that they broke their Word with the Deputies, suffered the House, where *John de Raguse*, the chiefest among them, was lodged, to be set upon by a Party of *Cross-bowsiers*, who attempted to force it, and openly took their resolution to go to *Ferrara*, where the *Pope* was in Person, and was drawing together all his *Partisans*. It were impossible to avoid being importunate to the *Reader*, if we should trouble our selves to give a particular Relation of all the complaints reciprocally made by the *Pope*, and *Council*. It shall therefore suffice to observe, that the *Council*, defeated of their Hope, saw another convened, as it were, in defiance of it, at *Ferrara*, where the *Greeks*, to the number of about twenty *Metropolitanes*, and a dozen others of their *Clergie*, made their appearance, with their Emperour, at the *Pope*'s Charges, upon the fourth, and eighth of *March*, 1438. sojourned there, without any thing done, till *Wednesday* the fourth of *June*, at which time were begun some private Conferences, upon the Questions of *Purgatory*, and the State of Souls after their departure out of the Body, yet so, as that on the Part of the *Greeks*, till *Thursday* the seventeenth of *July*, there passed no other decision, save that the Souls of the *Saints* enjoy, immediately after Death, the perfect felicity competent to them, though they expect, upon the compleating of their Persons, a more full perfection. After two Moneths delay, laying aside that kinde of Dispute, when the General *Sessions* of the new *Council* began, they were taken up in debating concerning the Addition made by the *Latines* to the *Creed*, and the manner of the Procession of the *Holy Ghost*, which they pretend to be, not *from the Father, and the Son*, but *from the Father by the Son*. About this, there passed at *Ferrara*, from that time, to the eighth of *January*, 1439. sixteen *Sessions*, and the Plague having made the place not onely incommodious, but also dangerous, the *Pope* resolved to leave it, transferred the *Assembly* to *Florence*, on the eleventh, defrayed the charges of the *Greeks*, by paying nineteen thousand *Florens*

for

for the Garison of *Constantinople*; and, on the nineteenth following, departed with the *Greeks*, who made their entrance into *Florence* on *Friday* the fourteenth, and *Sunday* the sixteenth of *February*, began their *Sessions* on *Thursday* the twenty sixth of the same Moneth, and continued them to no purpose, till the seventeenth of *March*. Two days after, the *Emperour*, weary of Disputing, and seised with an apprehension of his own danger, pressed his People to capitulate with the *Latines*, addressing himself to them in these pitifull Terms; Πλημμελῶ οὖν ὁ κακὸς, &c. *Time is spent to no purpose, and we have done nothing, as to the furtherance of our Affair; remember our House, what hazard it runs among st the wicked. If any thing happen, alas! how heavy will it fall upon us? I hold the Persecution will be more intolerable, then that of* Diocletian, *and* Maximian; *wherefore let us lay aside Discourses, and Debates, and finde out some Mean, so to pass into the same Sentiment.* *Mark*, and *Anthony*, *Arch-Bishops* of *Ephesus*, and *Heraclea*, notwithstanding those Deplorations, making some difficulty to comply, were by him forbidden to come into the two following *Congregations*; and, the rest yielding, the *Pope* was not awanting to take his advantage, and to extort from those poor People a forced *Acquiescence*; the Patriarch *Joseph* having, upon the thirtieth of *March*, being *Munday*, in the *Passion-Week*, given them this sad accompt of the *Pope*'s Pleasure; Βελευσώμεθα ποιῆσαι ἓν τῶν δύο θάτερον, ἢ εὑρεῖν τρόπον ἑνώσεως ἕως τῆς Πάσχα, ἢ εὑρεῖν μέθοδον ὅπως ἐπιστρέψωμεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον. *That we should resolve to do of two things one, either finde out by* Easter (falling that year on the fifth of *April*) *the means of an Union* (with him) *or take some course to return into our Countrey.* And notwithstanding, that *Isidore*, and *Bessarion*, *Arch-Bishops* of *Russia*, and *Nicæa*, who had engaged in the Party of the *Latines*, and given their Hands, saying; Σύμφερον ἡμᾶς ἑνωθῶναι ψυχικῶς τε, καὶ σωματικῶς, ἢ ἀπελθεῖν ἀπράκτους· τὸ γὰρ ἀπελθεῖν ἐύκολόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ πῶς μέλλομεν ἀπελθεῖν, ἢ πῆ, ἢ πότε, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. *It is more expedient for us to unite in body, and soul, then to go hence without having done any thing; for it is no hard matter to be gone, but how we should go, or to what place, or when, I know not:* Dositheus, Bishop of *Monembasia*, cried out immediately, Καὶ τί βέλεσθε; διὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων τῆς Πάσχα, θέλετε ἵνα προδώσωμεν τὸ δόγμα ἡμῶν; ἐγὼ βέλομαι ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ Λατινίσαι ποτέ. *What would you? that our departure hence may be defrayed by the* Pope, *would you have us betray our Doctrine? I will die rather, then ever Latinize.* The *Arch-bishop* of *Heraclea* added, that the *Antient Fathers* were for his *Opinion*; that of *Ephesus*, that the (c) *Latines* were not onely *Schismaticks*, but also *Hereticks*. And the *Nobility*, who had an Aversion for the Agreement, so exasperated those of their Party, that being met the first of *April* at the *Patriarch*'s Lodgings, who was then so indisposed, that, on the *Saturday* following, they were forced to administer the *Extreme Unction* to him, as soon as the poor Patient had opened his Mouth, to ask what they had to say, made him this *short* answer, by the *Arch-bishop* of *Heraclea*, Τέσσαρά ἐισι τὰ ζητέμενα ὑμῖν, &c. *There are four things demanded of you; First, Whether you are satisfied with the most clear and solid Demonstration, according to which, we have shewn you by the Scriptures, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and by the Son; if you are, so be it: if not, tell us what you doubt of, and why you are not satisfied, that we may finde out some remedy, and way, clearly*

(c) Οὐ μόνον ἐισὶν οἱ Λατῖνοι Σχισματικοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱρετικοί.

clearly, and purely eſtabliſh, that, in very truth, the ſame Proceſſion is alſo from the Son. Secondly, If you have any (d) *Proofs from the Holy Scriptures, maintaining the contrary to what we affirm, Produce them. Thirdly, If you have any ſtrong places out of the Scriptures, proving that what you hold is better, and more holy, then our Doctrine. Fourthly, If you will not ſtand to theſe things; let us meet together in an Aſſembly; Let the* Hierarch *celebrate the Divine Service; Let us all, as well* Latines, *as* Greeks, *take an Oath; Let the Truth be boldly diſcovered by the Oath, and what ſhall appear moſt clear to the* (e) *Major part, be embraced by both ſides: For among* Chriſtians *an Oath is not violated.*

(d) *Note*, that the *Pope* directly contrary to what is practiſed at this day, draws the *Greeks* to the Tribunal of the *Scriptures*.

(e) The *Latines* were the greater number, by three to one.

After this Overture, all that remained, was to preſs thoſe poor People by bitter Reproaches, and to make thoſe, who had complied, inſtrumental to draw in thoſe, who were unwilling to do it. Accordingly, upon the fourteenth of *April*, *Beſſarion* made a long *Speech* in favour of the Sentiment of the *Latines*, and *George*, ſirnamed *Scholarius*, afterwards *Patriarch*, preſented no leſs then three *Orations* upon the ſame Subject. The *Emperour*, who, on *Whitſunday*, the twenty fourth of *May*, was gone to the *Pope*, upon a Meſſage he had received from him to that purpoſe, when he heard him ſay, that the great Charges he had been at came to (f) nothing, that he ſquandered away his Money, and done all he thought convenient, vindicating himſelf the beſt he could, replied, *I am not the Maſter of the* Synod, *and I will not be ſo Tyrannical, as to force my* Synod *to ſay any thing.* And, on the *Wedneſday* following, the *Greeks*, being admitted to *Audience*, underſtood that they were reduced to an impoſſibility, the *Pope* making this *Diſcourſe* to them; Θεωρῶ μὲν καλὰ πάντα, &c. *Which way ſoever I look, I ſee diviſion before mine eys, and much wonder how diviſion can be advantageous to you. If it be ſo, how will the* Weſtern *Princes take it? And what ſadneſs ſhall we conceive thereat? Beſides, how will you return into your Countrey?* As if he had ſaid, You muſt either come to our *Opinion*, and, upon that Condition, obtain the conveniences of returning into your Countrey, or quit all hope of ever getting thither, as being a thing not to be attempted, but with our Leave, and upon our Charge. Whereupon all, *Mark Arch-biſhop* of *Epheſus* onely excepted, being at an abſolute loſs of all courage, bethought themſelves how they might be diſ-engaged upon the beſt Terms they could; and the *Emperour*, having, on *Tueſday* the ſecond of *June*, ſent to the *Pope* by the *Arch-biſhop* of *Ruſſia*, to know what aſſiſtance he would afford him, had this Anſwer brought him by three *Cardinals*; Πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὁρίζει ὁ ἁγιώτατος Πάπας, &c. *Firſt, as to the preſent, the moſt Holy Father makes accompt to furniſh you with what ſhall ſufficiently defray your Charges, as alſo to finde you Galleys, that all your People, and the Church of the* Eaſt, *may return to* Conſtantinople. *Secondly, To maintain conſtantly, at his own charge, three hundred Souldiers, for the ſafety of the City. Thirdly, To have upon his accompt two Galleys, as a Guard unto it, and to keep a Watch near it. Fourthly, To procure that the Devotion of* Jeruſalem *be exerciſed at* Conſtantinople, *and that the* Galeaſſes, *which go for the Veneration of the enlivening Sepulchre come to* Conſtantinople. *Fifthly, To finde* (*when the* Emperour *ſhould ſtand in need of Galleys for his aſſiſtance*) *twenty Galleys, armed upon his own accompt, for the ſpace of ſix Moneths, and, in caſe there ſhould*

(f) Τὰς ἐξόδους εἰς ἅδην ἐλο γιζόμεθα, &c. ῥίπτουτες τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν, τί τῶν δεόντων οὐκ ἐποιήσαμεν, &c. Ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ αὐθέντης τῆς Συνόδου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τυραννικῶς βούλομαι ποιῆσαν τῶν Σύνοδον μὲ ἐπιθυμίαν τι.

should be need onely often, for a year. Sixthly, To endeavour, as in the presence of Christ, *that the Nations of* Christendom *may come in to his relief, when he should be necessitated to have an Army by Land.*

Thus the extream necessity of that conjuncture having destroyed the concernments of *Religion* by those of *Policy*, which seemed to smother, if not the *disagreements*, at least the *Disputes*, that were between them, the Union of the *Latines* and *Greeks* is concluded. And, as the *Pope* discovered what accompt he made of the *Pilgrimage* to *Jerusalem*, and the *visitation* and *adoration* of the holy *Sepulchre*, when he spoke of discrediting them in favour of *Constantinople*, and to transfer thither the most celebrious Devotions of the *Latines*, together with the advantages accrewing to the places where they are exercised, depriving *Palæstina* of the profits she had derived from them for the space of 350. years together, and condemning, as fruitless, the Expeditions, which had raised them to the greatest heighth: So the *Greeks* made it appear, that the fear of loosing their temporall good, was able to perswade them to sell the liberty of their Consciences, and that the onely Argument, which induced them to comply with the Sentiment of the *Latines*, was taken from Earth, and not from Heaven. So, that if the *Poet* had reason to say of *Daws*, *Pies*, and *Parrats*, when brought to the pronunciation of what words they heard, that the *Belly* had been their *Master*, and had given them the ingenuity to *imitate the words which nature had denyed them*, the Church of *Rome* might well acknowledge, that the *Greeks* were overcome, not by the force of her proofs, but by the sound of her fair promises, and that her purse and credit had been the true bait, whereby they had been caught, and that they had not been instructed in the *Latine* Opinions, but under the direction of *Fear* and *Despair*, the most wretched Masters that ever were.

The Patriarch *Joseph*, who, during all these *Intrigues*, grew weaker and weaker, had on *Tuesday*, *June* the ninth, the *Eve* of his departure out of this World, signed the Profession, which he was desirous to make for the advantage of the Church of *Rome*, and all remained to be done, was, that the *Prelates*, who had accompanied him, should do the like. But the *Pope*, not willing to come to any capitulation with them, but at discretion, gave them, on the sixteenth following, a Paper, which might have startled the Emperour, if *Julianus Cæsarinus*, Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, had not appeased him by these words, *Send your* (g) *Commander and us Letters, that the Galleys may be provided, but we desire you to stay, and the Commander with you, till it shall have pleased God to bring the busines to some issue, that then he may return along with you with much glory: We shall bear all your charges as far as* Venice, *and guard you to the City* [*of* Constantinople] *let not your* Majesty *be troubled as to that particular.* After which, they trifled away the time, till the two and twentieth of the moneth, and then the *Pope* sent by three *Cardinals* this Message, *That he would have all the priviledges of his Church, and the prerogative of Appeals, and would direct, and feed the whole Church of Christ, as the Shepherd of the Sheep; and withall, the right and power to call a general Councel, when there should be any necessity, and that all the* Patriarchs *should submit to his will*, which put the Emperour (h) *out of all hope*, and surprized him, so as that he made onely this answer,

(g) Ἀρχοντα.

(h) Ἀπήλπισε.

swer, (i) *Give order for your departure, if you think good.* Yet to prevent an absolute rupture, the *Pope* entred into further conference with him, and entertained both him, and his, upon *Friday* the six and twentieth following, with a Collation of Sweet-meats and Wine, after which, and his retirement out of the place, those, whom he had brought with him, unanimously writ these words, Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῦ Πάπα, &c. *We acknowledge, concerning the dignity of the* Pope, *that he is High-Priest, and Bishop, and Lieutenant, and Vicar of* Christ, *Pastor and Teacher of all* Christians, *and that he directs and governs the Church of God, the priviledges, and rights of the* Patriarchs *of the* East, *being observed; that the* Patriarch *of* Constantinople *is the second next the* Pope; *then he of* Alexandria; *after him that of* Antioch, *then that of* Jerusalem. They had resolved not to acknowledge any thing further, and to break off rather, then be brought to it; but the *Pope* delivered them out of all fear as to that, accepting (at least in appearance) what they had written, though granting him onely a *primacy of Order* over the other *Patriarchs*, and absolutely quashing the dispute of his Predecessor *Leo the First* against *Anatolius*, raised by the Councel of *Chalcedon* (seconding in that the first of *Constantinople)* to the second place.

(i) Οἰκονομήσατε ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ περ ἔχετε θέλημα.

This acceptation passed, there seemed to be nothing to do, but to sign and publish the Concordate (or Agreement) between both parties; but there arises yet new difficulties. For the *Pope* would have the Instrument drawn up in his own name onely, but was therein formally opposed by the *Greeks*, who after these words, *Eugenius Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God*, required, on *Munday* the nine and twentieth of *June*, there should be added, *with the consent of the most serene Emperour, of the Patriarch of* Constantinople, *and the other Patriarchs.* He seemed also desirous to get inserted into it this Clause, *That he would have his priviledges, according as the Holy Scripture defines, and the expressions of the Saints*; which the Emperour withstood, saying, if any one of the Saints honour the *Pope* in a Letter, he might write to him, shall he take that for a priviledge? Yet the next day it was granted him, that he should have his priviledges, *according to the Canons, the expressions of the Saints, the holy Scripture, and the Acts of Synods*; the *Greeks*, on the other side, having got into the same Decree, *that all the priviledges of their Patriarchs should be inviolably observed*, the *Latines* made no small difficulty on the second of *July*, to let pass the word *All*, which two days after they admitted. Upon the fifth of the Moneth aforesaid, the *Concordate* was signed by (k) the *Pope*, nine *Cardinals*, two *Titulary Patriarchs*, nine *Arch-bishops*, forty nine *Bishops*, and forty six *Abbots* on the one part; and the (l) *Emperour*, seventeen *Metropolitanes*, five *Deacons*, one *Arch-Priest*, and six *Abbots* and Religious Persons, on the other. On the sixth, it was publickly read. Eight days after, the *Pope*, having desired the *Greeks* to proceed to the Election of a *Patriarch*, that might come into the place of the *Patriarch Joseph*, deceased twenty six days before, and that he, whom they should choose, might receive the Imposition of his hands, was denyed, as to both particulars, and forced to suffer the *Greeks* to depart, forsaken by *Bessarion*, and *Isidore*, *Arch-bishops* of *Nicca*, and *Russia*, and not long after *Cardinals*. The rest, heightned by the Example, and Encou-

(k) The *Latines* were in number 116.
(l) The *Greeks* 30.

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tagements of *Mark* of *Ephesus*, who would not by any means be drawn to subscribe, or consent to the *Concordate*; and withall troubled in Conscience, that they had prostituted their Sentiment in the business of Religion for Bread, prevented the disacknowledgment of the Body of their Countrey-men, as soon as they were got to *Constantinople*; declaring null all they had done, and re-assuming their former Opinions with so much the greater readiness, by how much they had onely quitted them in outward shew, and to the regret of their whole Nation, which would have treated them very harshly, for having been so perfidious to them.

From which proceedings it necessarily follows; First, That, if the *Church* of *Rome* hath any reproach of Inconstancy, wherewith to charge those among the *Greeks*, who (having received money from the *Latines*, to acknowledg what they desired) have since broken the Promises they had made them, and disclaimed what they had done; She hath nothing to say against *Mark*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Ephesus*, who never approved the management of that Affair; nor yet against the others, who had stay'd in the *East*, without whose knowledg, and contrary to whose intention, the *Concordate* of *Florence* was drawn up; as also that the said Church hath given them all great occasion to alienate themselves from Her, inasmuch as, instead of proving to them that they were in an errour, Her design was to circumvent, and surprise them, and had so little regard, I will not say, to the glory of God, to the Interest of his Truth, and to that of Sincerity, and publick Edification, but even to her own Reputation and theirs, that she thought it a business of greater concernment, to be defray'd the charges she had been at with them; and, in requital of that little Temporal Assistance, which she offered them, to draw them to an abjuration of the Belief, which they had professed from Father to Son, before they were convinced in Conscience. Will it ever be thought just, by the profusion of the things of this World, to purchase Souls, called by the Gospel to the hope of a Celestial Inheritance? And, if they prove more hard to be drawn in, then was imagined, will it be thought a rational kind of proceeding, to frighten them by violences yet more inhumane; and, by the fears and tryals of those disgraces, which may occasion the loss of the Body, and its advantages, boldly to thrust them upon the Precipices of Damnation, as if it were ever left to our choice to force Religion by Religion, to imprint the Sentiments thereof in the minds of men with Iron Bars, and to promise our selves, that we may bring men to Salvation by the shipwrack of good Conscience?

In the second place it is apparent, that neither the *Greeks*, nor *Latines*, assembled at *Florence*, have, by their proceedings there, discovered, that they were very confident of what they should believe concerning the state of Souls after Death; the former having, as to that point, quitted it without any Dispute, and expressed their Union, with the others, in uncertain, and indeterminate Terms, as we have shewn (m) before; and the Latter, who made account to bring over to them such, as were of the contrary Opinion, contenting themselves with what they were pleased to say, though well examined, it were such, as could not give them any

(m) Chap. 29.

juſt ſatisfaction; and that the *Formulary* of their Concurrence conſiſted onely in three words of a double meaning.

Laſtly, that the Church of *Rome*, who had firſt ſet afoot the Conferences, out of a conſideration of the Queſtion of *Purgatory*, brought by her firſt upon the Stage, hath made it appear by the event, that her own perſwaſion of it was not very great; foraſmuch, as immediatly after ſhe, in a manner, ſhook off all further thoughts of it; and, towards the end of the Aſſembly, thought it concerned her more to diſpute the Privileges of her *Pope*; thereby clearly diſcovering, that it took up her thoughts more to plead for his Dignity, then for the Salvation of the *Greeks*, and that her endeavour was to enſlave them to her ſelf rather, then to convert them to God.

However it be, after their return into the *Eaſt*, there was no difficulty made of taking the *Concordate* of *Florence* for a *Tablature* of their Sentiment: The (n) *Oration*, which *Beſſarion* had made on their behalf at *Ferrara*, on *Saturday*, *June* xiv. One Thouſand Four Hundred Thirty Eight, is (as to what concerns them) ſtill in force; and though they prayed, even at that time, for their Dead, and (preſuppoſing, as the Church of *Rome* would have it, that ſome ſins were *venial*, and ſome Souls in *the midſt between Virtue and Vice*) made it a queſtion, whether God, granting them the *remiſsion of their ſins after this life*, makes uſe of any *puniſhment*; or, out of his Clemency, gives *abſolution* to men, as inclined to mercy by the Prayers of the Church: and whether (in caſe he does make uſe of puniſhment) it conſiſts in Purgation by Fire, and not rather in reſtraint, obſcurity, and grief; yet did they ſufficiently determine themſelves in theſe words, *We ſay that it ſtands more with the goodneſs of God not to deſpiſe a ſmall good, then to account worthy puniſhment a ſmall ſin*, leaving it to be inferred, that he freely pardoned it.

(n) *It was printed at* Heidelberg, *under the name of* Nilus, *in the year* 1608.

Immediately after, *Mark* of *Epheſus*, in his *Manifeſto*, addreſſed *To all Chriſtians, as well of the Continent, as the Iſlands*, having made his complaint, that ſome endeavours had been uſed to reduce his Countrey-men into a baſe Captivity, (o) and to bring them down to the *Babylon* of the Cuſtoms, and Opinions of the *Latines*, propoſes their *Sentiment*, concerning the Dead in theſe Terms; *We affirm, that neither the Saints obtain the Kingdom prepared for them, and the ineffable good things, neither do Sinners fall into Hell, but both expect, their own Lot; and that belongs to the time to come after the Reſurrection, and laſt Judgment.*

(o) Πρὸς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τῶν Λατινικῶν ἐθῶν, &c.

But *Gregorius Proto-Syncellus*, who was for the *Concordate*, charges the ſaid *Mark* with contradicting, in that, not onely the Fathers, as St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Gregory* of *Rome*, *Damaſcene*, and *Maximus*, but even himſelf; for as much, as in one of his *Sermons*, in honour of *Elias* the Prophet, he had maintained, that he *enjoyed the clear Viſion of God, and was in the preſence of his Majeſty in the Heavens, with the Angels, and Saints*, who have put off the garment of the body. And, indeed, it is poſſible, that *Mark*, either to diſcover the greater alienation from the Opinions of the *Latines*, or to ſhew himſelf to be of their number, among thoſe of his Nation, who (as is expreſſed in the *Acts* of *Florence*) hold, that the Saints departed *are in, and enjoy bliſs, in their proper place, expecting*

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the perfect Crown, which hath been promised them, may have said it; and that the more common Opinion of the *Greeks* may have been from that time such, as the same *Acts* represent it, saying, Οἱ Ἕλληνοι ἐν, &c. *The* Greeks *conceive, that there may be a fire, and partial punishment of Souls, and that the Souls of Sinners go to an obscure place, a place of grief, and that they are afflicted, and punished in part, being deprived of Divine Light; and that by Prayers, and the Services of the Priests, and Alms, they are purged, or rather delivered out of that dark Place, and Tribulation, and that they are freed; And the* Greeks *(contrary to the* Italians *confess, that they are purged, not by fire, or the action of fire; but that onely Prayer, and Supplication, and Alms, have that effect.* Accordingly the *Greeks* living in *Venice*, in the year, 1560. declared their Sentiment in Terms, much to that purpose, when they made answer to the Tenth of the *Cardinal* of *Guise*'s Questions, as hath been already (p) observed. And it is likely enough, that whoever (as they did) imagines to himself Souls, which are neither good, nor bad, runs into a necessity of feigning some such thing concerning the Treatment they are to receive, after their departure out of the Body.

(p) Chap. 29.

But there is not any thing can give us a more certain accompt of their Opinion, then the (q) *Forms* of *Service* daily used by them at the Enterment of their Dead; for we have in them (as in those of the *Latines*) Lessons out of the Scripture; as for instance, the first Verse of the fifty first *Psalm*, all the ninety first; the first part of the hundred and nineteenth, the twelfth, seventy second, and seventy third Verses, to the hundred thirty third; and the hundred seventy fifth, and hundred seventy sixth; the fourty second of the twenty third *Chapter* of St. *Luke*; out of the fifth of St. *Matthew*, from the third Verse, to the tenth inclusively; out of the fourth of the first to the *Thessalonians*, from the thirteenth Verse, to the seventeenth inclusively; the twenty fourth, and thirtieth Verses of the fifth of S. *John*; the sixth Verse of the hundred and twenty sixth *Psalm*; the seventh of the hundred and sixteenth; the fifteenth of the hundred and third; the whole twenty third *Psalm*; the fifth Verse of the sixty fifth; the twelfth and seventeenth Verses of the fifth *Chapter* of the Epistle to the *Romanes*; the seventeenth of the fifth of St. *John*; the first of the twenty fourth *Psalm*; out of the fifteenth of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, from the beginning, to the eleventh Verse; the thirty fifth of the sixth of S. *John*; the first *Verse* of *Psalm* the eighty fourth; the thirteenth of the twenty fifth; the seventh Verse of the sixth to the *Romanes*; the thirty ninth of the sixth of St. *John*; the sixth of the fourteenth to the *Romanes*: which contain either Lessons of *Piety*, and *Humility*, for the Living; as the places of the hundred and third, and hundred and nineteenth *Psalms*, and of the fifth of St. *Matthew*: or *Descriptions* of the Goodness of God towards those, that fear Him; as the twenty third, and ninety first *Psalm*: or *Implorations* of His Mercy for the last Day; as the forty second of the twenty fourth of St. *Luke*, and the first *Verse* of the fifty first *Psalm*: or *Assurances* of the *Beatitude*, *Immortality*, and *Glorious Resurrection* of the *Faithful*; as all the other places: among which, there is nothing alledged out of the second Book of *Maccabees*, which the Church of *Rome* takes at this day for one of its principal Grounds; nor yet out of any other of the *Apocryphal* Books. Whence it evidently results,

(q) In the *Eucologie* printed at *Paris*, in the year 1647. whereof there are six; to wit, the common Form, from *pag.* 126. to *p.* 539. That of *Monks*, from *p.* 544. to *p.* 547. That of *Priests*, *p.* 561. That of *Secklars*, *p.* 583. That of *women*, *p.* 588. That of *Children*, *p.* 592.

sults, that those, who compiled the *Office* of the *Greeks*, and put into it those *Texts* of *Scripture*, had not in that any apprehension, contrary to the Sentiment of the *Protestants*.

There are also in the said Forms abundance of *Prayers*, stuffed with Invocations to the Blessed *Virgin*, and to *Martyrs*, all which are irrefragable marks of the alteration of the *antient Service*, and insoluble *Arguments* of the adulteration of belief among the *Greeks*, whose first *Liturgies* contained *Prayers* for all the *Saints*, without any exception; and the *Fathers* held as a Principle of *Religion*, that *God alone was to be invocated*,

(r) *August. De vera Religione, cap. 55.*

(r) that *the worship of Persons departed is not to be accounted by us for Religion; for as much as, if they lived piously, they are not for that to be so looked on, as if they sought such Honours, but will, that he should be served by us, by whom we being illuminated, they rejoyce that we are made partakers of their Dignity*; that *they are to be honoured by way of imitation, and not adored upon any religious accompt*. In a word, that neither the *Blessed Virgin*, Mother of our Saviour, nor any of the *Saints* of either *Sex* can pretend to any part of that religious homage, Saint *Epiphanius*, one of the most earnest maintainers of *Prayer* for the Dead, hath left to them, and the whole Church of these last times, these remarkable Precepts;

(s) *Hæres. 79. Sect. 4, &c.*

(s) Ναὶ μὲν ἅγιον ἦν τὸ σῶμα τῆς Μαρίας, &c. *Indeed the Body of* Mary *was holy, but it was not God; the Virgin was indeed a Virgin, and honoured, but she was not given us to be adored; on the contrary, she adored him, who was begotten of her, as to the flesh*, &c. *If* God *will not have the Angels to be adored, how much rather will he not, that she, who was born of* Ann *should be?* &c. *God came from Heaven, and the Word was clad in flesh taken from the holy Virgin, but the Virgin is not adored*, &c. *Let* Mary *be honoured, but let the* Father, Son, *and* Holy Spirit *be adored; Let no man adore* Mary; *though* Mary *be excellent, and holy, and honoured, it is not that she should be adored*, &c. *Let* Mary *be honoured, but let the Lord be adored.*

But not to press any further this notorious defect, which we finde at present in the *Service* of the *Greeks*, we are to observe, that among them the *Office of the Dead* is full of *Prayers*, whereby is desired (as in the *Latine* Service) the *mercy* of God, the *remission of the sins of the deceased, his absolution, his blessed resurrection, his introduction into rest, into* Abraham's *Bosom, into the Mansion of the blessed, into refreshment, into Paradise, into the Tabernacle of God, into his Kingdom, glory, light, to the right hand of the great Judge, into the Society of the Saints and Angels*; all which *Expressions* (according to the *Hypotheses* of *Antiquity*) may be applied to the *Spirits* already received into glory? Which is so much the more evident, for that the particular *Office*, which concerns the Obsequies of Children, is full of these Prayers, that God would *number the deceased among the Children, to whom he hath promised his Kingdom*, that he would *place him among the just*, who are acceptable in his sight, that he would *make him partaker of the good things, which are above this World*, that he would let him *enter into the joys of the Saints*, that in his holy Mountain he would *gratifie him with celestial goods*, that he would *write his name in the Book of those, who shall be saved*, that he would *make his face to shine upon him*, that he would *lodge him in* Abraham's *Bosom*, that he would *grant him the enjoyment of his Kingdom*, &c. Yet were not these Desires made without a presupposition of

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his Beatitude: as, First, when it is said to him, *He, who hath taken thee from the Earth, and gives thee place among his Saints, shews that thou (O truly blessed Childe) art a Citizen of* Paradise. *The Sword of Death falling on thee hath cut thee off as a tender Branch, (O blessed art thou, who hast made no tryal of worldly pleasures) but behold* Christ *opening the Gates of Heaven to thee, numbring thee, out of his great goodness, among the Elect.* Secondly, When he is brought in making this Discourse, *Why do you bewail me, a Childe translated out of the World? for I am not a Subject to be bewailed. The joy of all the just is required for those Children, who have not done works worthy Tears.* Thirdly, When he acknowledges, that *Death is a freedom to Children, that they are thereby exempted from the miseries of life, and that they are gone to rest, that they rejoyce in* Abraham's *Bosom, in the divine Quires of Blessed Children, and assuredly dance, because their departure hence was a deliverance from the corruption, which loves sin.*

If then the *Ritual* of the *Greeks* be full of Prayers for the Children, whom they unanimously acknowledge to be among the Blessed, what inconvenience can there be to attribute to them, that they had the same apprehension for persons of age, of whose felicity they no way doubted? But though reason should not lead us to think so, yet does their formal confession obliges us to believe as much: for there is not any deceased person, for whom they say not to God, (t) *Mercifully receive the faithfull person departed, who hath holily quitted this life, and is (O Lord) passed towards thee;* and whose Funeral Solemnities they do not conclude, saying to him three several times, (u) *Our Brother, worthy to be ever blessed, and always remembred, thy memory is eternal.* To every *Monk*, without any exception, they address these words, (w) *Brother, the way thou art in is that of bliss, for that a place of rest is prepared for thee:* adding to that purpose the sixteenth *Verse* of the one hundred and sixteenth *Psalm*, *Return unto thy rest, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt kindly with thee*; and a little after, (x) *He, who is taken hence, hath passed through the ever-troubled Sea of Life, and by Faith is arrived at his Port: conduct him, O* Christ, *with the Saints into thy tranquillity, and ever-living pleasures.* In like manner to every *Priest*, (y) *Thou hast piously signalized thy self in Faith, Charity, Hope, Gentleness, Purity of life, and in the Sacerdotal dignity; and therefore (O Brother of eternal memory)* God, *who is before all Ages, whom thou hast served, will himself dispose thy Spirit into a place full of light, and pleasure, where the just are in rest, and will make thee obtain of* Christ, *at the day of Judgment, pardon, and great mercy.* And the deceased Person is introduced, using these words, (z) *I am now at rest, and have found great favour, for that I have been transferred from the corruption of life, glory be to thee, O Lord,* &c. (a) *Thy divine Servant, Deified in his Transportation, by thy now-enlivening Mystery is come towards thee.* To every Woman departed, *Detain not any longer, O malicious Hell, the Souls of the Elect, in the condemnation of the Transgression; for all, being now made assuredly conformable to* Christ, *instead of Death, receive divine life.* In a word, she is made to say the same words, as had been attributed to the *Priest*, *I am now at rest*, &c.

(t) *Euchology.* Pag. 531.
(u) Pag. 538.
(w) Pag. 554.
(x) Pag. 555.
(y) Pag. 563.
(z) Pag. 573.
(a) Pag. 574.

All these Confessions, grounded on the *Lessons* of *Scripture*, which, for the most part, contain assurances of the Love of God towards those, who

who ſerve him, and promiſes of their future Beatitude, and glorious Reſurrection, demonſtratively prove, that the firſt Compilers of the *Greek Office*, agreeing, in what is moſt ſubſtantial, with the *Proteſtants*, believed, that whoever dies in the Faith of the Lord does, from the moment of his Death, enjoy reſt, and glory in him, and with him. But, for as much, as from time to time, the purity of belief, and worſhip, receiving adulteration among them, there roſe up a ſort of people, apt to feign any thing, and to affirm for true all they had feigned, and that from that ſource are derived abundance of things inconvenient, and contradictory, which are, at this day, as ſo many Black-Patches in the face of their *Service*, reaſon calls upon us, to direct our hand to the moſt remarkable, and diſcover the Scars, and Imperfections, which lie under them.

For as much then as the *Greek* Fathers, taught by St. *Paul*, even in that very place, which is copied in the *Ritual*, advertiſed the *Chriſtian* People committed to their charge, *not to be ſad for their Brethren departed, after the manner of the Heathens, who are without hope*; and St. *Chryſoſtome* threatned to *excommunicate*, as impious, thoſe, who took a glory in *grieving upon ſuch occaſions:* it is impoſſible thoſe ſhould have been well informed in their duty, and the Sentiments of their fore-Fathers, who, (making a *Virtue* of a *Vice*, and ſtuffing the publick *Forms* of *Service* with their *Deplorations*) have had the boldneſs to introduce the Faithfull deceaſed, preſſing thoſe, whom they left behind them, to lamentations at their misfortune, that is to ſay, at what (according to the *Scriptures*) neither is, nor can be. As for inſtance, when they inſerted, at the end of the common *Formulary*, this extravagant, half-Heatheniſh Diſcourſe, abſolutely contradictory to the Exhortation of St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians*; (b) *Brethren and Friends, Kinred and Acquaintance, now that you ſee me laid without Voice, and without Breath, lament all over me; for yeſterday I ſpoke with you, and ſuddenly the dreadfull hour of Death ſurprized me. But come ye all, who are deſirous of my Company, and kiſs me with the laſt kiſs: for I ſhall have no further converſation with you, nor ever ſpeak to you again. I am going to the Judg, with whom there is no reſpect of perſons, ſince the Servant and the Maſter, the King and the common Souldier, the rich man and the begger, are to appear before him in an equal condition, and every one ſhall be either glorified, or made aſhamed by his works. But I intreat and conjure you all without ceaſing, to pray for me to* Chriſt *God, &c.* And in the *Office* of the *Prieſt*, (c) *My Brethren, Children, and Friends, I remember you before the Lord, forget me not, when you pray, learn (I conjure, beſeech, and require you) theſe things, that they may ſerve you for a memorial, and bewail me night and day.* Again, *In great compaſſion weep for me (O ye Lovers of* Chriſt*) and earneſtly petition the God of all, that he would grant me to reſt with the Saints.* And in that of the *Woman*, *Come Fathers, and behold how Beauty fades; come Mothers, and ſee how the Fleſh moulders away, and cry with Tears,* Lord, *grant, that, by thy Command, ſhe may reſt, whom thou haſt taken hence.* But as thoſe carnal ſallies of Spirit are palpably contrary to the advice of the *Apoſtle*, and upon that accompt not to be endured; ſo the abſurdity thereof is ſo evident, that the *Author* of the *Ritual* could not forbear expreſſing the diſlike it might occaſion, ſaying in the *Office* of the *Prieſt*, (d) *O men, why do you ſo earneſtly bewail me? Why do you give your ſelves this vain trouble? He,*

(b) *Euchol.* Pag. 537.

(c) Pag. 570.

(d) Pag. 565.

who

who is transferred from Life, ſaith to all, Death is become a Reſt to all.

Nor do I think it ſtrange, the *Formulary* ſhould ſwell with the (e) deſcriptions of the Miſeries, and Vanity of this Life; for ſince the *Prophet* hath vouchſafed to give us a Draught thereof to the end, that, (f) *Learning to number our days, we might apply our hearts to Wiſdom,* we cannot be too often touched with the ſting of ſo neceſſary an Advertiſement; yet is it not expected from us, that to ſhew our ſelves ſmitten, and humbled before God, we ſhould preſume to act the Diſconſolate, contrary to the Inſtruction of St. *Paul*, and make ſuch Diſcourſes, as theſe, notoriouſly falſe, in reſpect of any one of the Faithfull. (g) *Alaſs! What a combat is the Soul, ſeparated from the Body, engaged in? Alaſs! How does ſhe then lament, and there is not any Body hath pity on her? Turning her eyes to the Angels, ſhe beſeeches to no purpoſe; and reaching forth her hands to men, no body relieves her.* For, if there be any *Combat* in the Soul, before its ſeparation, as ſoon, as that is over, ſhe is paſſed from the *Combat* to the *Triumph*, ſince that (according to the Inſtruction of the Spirit) her being with the Lord is upon this accompt, that ſhe (h) *abſent from the body*. *Secondly*, There is not, from thence forward, any *Tears* to be ſhed for her, in as much as ſhe is in (i) *fulneſs of joy, and pleaſures*; and that his Goodneſs promiſes, to *wipe away all Tears* from the eyes of thoſe, who ſtand *before his Throne*. *Thirdly*, There is no further neceſſity, ſhe ſhould call upon either *Angels*, or *Men*, in regard ſhe is in the bleſſed Society of *Millions of* (k) *Angels*, and in the *Congregation, and Aſſembly of the Firſt-born, who are written in Heaven*. And, ſhould ſhe ſtand in any need of Relief, ſhe would remember, that her (l) *Help* was, even during this Life, *in the Name of the Lord, who made Heaven, and Earth*; that he alone is our *Refuge, Glory*, and the *Rock* of our *Srength*; that we are at all times to *put our Truſt in him*; and that, if all the men in the World ſhould be *put together into a balance*, they would be found lighter, then *Vanity it ſelf*.

(e) Pag. 535, 536, 537, 575.

(f) Pſal. xc. 12.

(g) Pag 575.

(h) 2 Cor. v. 8.

(i) Pſal. xvi. 11.

(k) Hebr. xii. 22, 23.

(l) Pſal. cxxiv. 8.

But (to excuſe the frequent *Proſopopœias*, which, in theſe *Forms* of *Service*, repreſent ſeparated Souls, as ſeiſed with horrour, and reduced to deplorations, and deſires of Relief) it may be pretended, that theſe Deſcriptions made at diſcretion are Inſtructions to the Living, as to what lies upon them to do. To anſwer that, and whatever elſe may be alledged to extenuate their Offence, who have ſhuffled thoſe things into the *Greek Service*, it need onely be ſaid, that we are to take for Leſſons of our Duty, not Imaginations of what never, either was, or will be; but the pure Will of God, our onely Rule in Life, and Death: and if it were lawfull for us to uſe Fiction, it were but requiſite we had the Judgment, not to advance any thing abſurd, and contrary to our *Principles*, ſhewing our ſelves in that more Prudent, then the Modern *Greeks*, who (tranſported by I know not what Stupidity) do almoſt every where run againſt their own *Hypotheſes*. But to make it clear, by certain Examples. Their common *Principle* is; "That good Souls paſs, "at the very Inſtant of their ſeparation, into the poſſeſſion of their *Reſt*, "the bad are immediately confined to *Hell*; of thoſe in a middle Condi-"tion, onely the Salvation is deferred. Let us now hear, what pretty Diſcourſes they attribute to them: *I beſeech you all, and conjure you, that, without*

out ceasing, you pray for me unto Christ, *God, to the end, that I may not (according to my sins) be confined to place of Torment, but that he would place me where is light of Life.* The middle-conditioned Souls are they, ever (according to them) at such a point, as, immediately after their departure out of the Body, to be at the self-same time exempted from the *Pains* of *Restraint*, Obscurity, or Grief (through which it is affirmed they are to pass) and deprived of the *Rest*, which, after the *Pains*, they are to obtain, so as that they are (for the least space of time imaginable) in a Neutral State, which admits not the qualification of either Good or Bad, of either Light or Darkness, Rest or Torment, and consequently, of either Joy or Grief, if not by accident? And in Case that by the *Place of Torment*, where it is feigned, they fear being confined, some may understand the *Hell of the Damned*; is it possible they should ever be exposed thereto, since it is presupposed they are of a middle Condition, and upon that very accompt (as being chargeable onely with Venial Sins) neither do, nor can, deserve Eternal damnation? Be this therefore one unmaintainable, and unimaginable Absurdity, which must needs press hard upon our *Forgers* of Descriptions, according to the Dictates of their own Fancies.

(m) Page 570. They make the deceased *Priest* further say (m) *Why, O man, dost thou trouble thy self thus unseasonably? There is one onely hour, and all passes away; for in Hell there is no Repentance. There is no Releasment in that place; there is the Worm, which never sleeps; there is the darksom land, and the obscure matter, to which I am to be condemned*, &c. Is this Discourse attributible to a Faithfull Person, that had had here in this World the least taste of the Promise made by the Son of God, assuring us, that whoever believes in him is in such manner, *passed from death to life*, as that, *though he be dead, yet shall he live through him*; that he shall not *come into Condemnation*; and that there is *not indeed any for those, that are in him?* Are the Souls, imagined to be in a middle Condition, subject to the stingings of the *Worm*, which never dies, and liable to Damnation? Which if it be supposed they neither are, nor can, why should they be feigned to say so, and necessarily Lie in saying so? This must then be a *second Impertinence*, and a new Piece of *Forgery*, committed by the *Corrupters* of the *Ritual*, not onely against the *Word of God*, but also against their *Sentiment*, who (in the same *Ritual*) inserted this *Confession*, which is both most true, and Diametrically contrary to the Discourse before confuted; *Lament not all you, who are departed in the Faith, for as much as* Christ *hath suffered the Cross, and was buried for us in the Flesh, and hath made all those, who call upon him, children of Immortality.* For this once lay'd down, does it signifie less, then a total Eclipse of understanding, and circumspection, to make the *children of Immortality* (for whom the *Saviour* of the World died, and who consequently cannot perish) say, that they shall be *Damned.*

(n) *Euchol.* page 573. (o) Page 556. Nay, the *Prayers* of the Living for their departed Brethren would be still chargeable with inconvenience, even though they were taken literally: For instance, this, (n) *O Lord, as thou saidst unto* Martha, (o) I am the Resurrection, *by the Effect accomplishing thy Word, and calling* Lazarus *out of Hell; so also mercifully raise this thy servant out of Hell.* For besides that, it is a little *too freely* supposed, that our *Lord*'s Friend was confined

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in *Hell* from the moment of the Death of his Body, to that of his Resurrection; it is also false, that our *Saviour raises out of Hell* (whence the *Ritual* confesses, that (p) *none is delivered*) any of his *Servants*. Whoever once enters there, never comes out again, nor is there any raising up to be expected by him. But these words may be maintained, if they meet with a favourable Interpretation, which might admit *Hell* to signifie, not the place of the *Damned*, in which sence it is ordinarily taken, but the *Grave*, whence our *Saviour*, who *called forth* Lazarus, will, at the Last day, *raise up* the Bodies of all his *Servants*. (p) Jo. 11.25.

With the help of the same favourable way of Interpreting, it were possible, to finde a sence conformable to the apprehension of *Antiquity*, in those *Prayers* whereby the *Greeks* do at this day, Beg the Remission of Sins for their *Dead*, taking care to make them to relate to the Absolution which shall be solemnly pronounced by the Great Judg at the last day, as may be deduced from this, that most of them expresly mention it: among others, this, (q) *Vouchsafe, O Redeemer, that, when thou shalt come with ineffable glory in the Clouds, after a dreadfull manner, to Judge the whole World, that thy Faithfull Servant, whom thou hast taken from the Earth, may joyfully meet thee*; which words are Grounded on 1 *Thess. Chap.* iv. *Verse* 17. In like manner this, (r) *Vouchsafe, O God, to be mindfull of our Father, who is now at rest, and be pleased to deliver him from the corruption of sin at the day of Judgment, through the good odour of thy goodness, mercy, and love towards men.* Again, *O Lord, from whom the Spirits of those, who serve thee, do come, and to whom they return, we beseech thee, to cause to rest in a place of light, in the Region of the Just, the Spirit of* N. *thy Servant, now lying in his Grave, and raise him up at thy second, and dreadfull coming, not to be condemned after the Resurrection, but to be Absolved, for no man living, shall be justified in thy sight.* Again, (s) *Let not thy Servant, O Lord, be confounded at thy coming.* (t) *When thou shalt discover all things that are hidden, and shalt (O Christ) reprove our sins, spare him whom thou hast taken hence, being mindfull of his Preaching.* Again, (u) *Forgive, O Saviour, the sins of him, who hath been translated hence in Faith, and vouchsafe to admit him to thy Kingdom; there, shall not any escape the dreadfull Tribunal of thy judgment; Kings, and Potentates, and the Hireling, all shall appear together, and the dreadfull Voice of the Judge shall call the People that have sinned, to the condemnation of Hell, from which, O Christ, deliver thy servant.* Again, (x) *Out of thy mercy, O Christ, exempt from the Fire of Hell, and the dreadfull Sentence, thy Servant, whom thou hast now taken hence in Faith: and let thy Domestick praise thee, as God the mercifull Redeemer,* &c. *Brethren, how dreadfull is the hour which sinners are to expect! O what fear is there! Then the Fire of Hell devours, and the ravenous Serpent swallows; wherefore (mercifull Lord Christ) deliver him from the day of dreadfull* Gehenna. *O how great shall be the Joy of the Just, which they shall be possessed of, when the Judge comes! for the Nuptial room is prepared, and Paradise, and the whole Kingdom of Christ, into which (O Christ) receive thy Domesticks to rejoyce with thy Saints eternally. Who (O Christ) shall bear the dreadfull threatning of thy coming? Then shall Heaven be rolled up together, as a Book, after a dreadfull manner, and the Stars will fall, the whole Creation shall be shaken with fear, and then shall the light be changed. O Word, spare him who is translated hence.* Again, (y) *I beseech you all, who* (q) Pag. 573. (r) Pag. 530. (s) Pag. 539. (t) Pag. 558. (u) Pag. 567. (x) Pag. 568. (y) Pag. 571.

were of my acquaintance, and who love me, be mindful of me at the Day of Judg-
(y) Pag. 575. *ment, that I may finde mercy before the Dreadful Tribunal.* Again, (y) *Let us cry to the Immortal King, when thou ſhalt come to make inquiſition into the ſecret things of men, ſpare thy Servant, whom thou haſt taken to thy ſelf, O Mankind-loving God.* Again, *I am dead, after that I have paſſed away my life with ſecurity, and I lye without voice in the Grave, and now I expect the laſt* Trumpet *to awake me,* cries he, who is dead; *but (my Friends,) pray unto* Chriſt, *that he would number me among the Sheep on his right hand,* &c. *I have conſumed my life in great negligence, and being tranſlated from it, I expect the dreadfull Tribunal, before which, O* Jeſu, *preſerve me free from condemnation,*
(z) Pag. 584. *cries thy Servant.* Again, (z) *O Lord, who art the onely King, entertain into the Celeſtial Kingdom thy Faithfull Servant, whom thou haſt now transferred hence, and, we beſeech thee, preſerve him free from condemnation, at the hour, when all mortal men, being to be judged, ſhall make their appearance before the Judge,* &c. *Diſacknowledged by my Brethren, and ſequeſtred from my Friends, I cry in ſpirit, from the noiſomneſs of the Grave. Examine not my failings at the day of Judgment; deſpiſe not my Tears, thou, who art the joy of Angels; but grant me reſt, O Lord, even me, whom, out of thy great mercy, thou haſt taken to thy ſelf,* &c. *Stuck faſt in the Myrineſs of ſin, and deveſted of good actions, I, who am a prey to Worms, cry to thee in Spirit, caſt me not behind thee, wretch that I am, place me not at thy left hand, thou, who haſt framed me with thy Hands; but, out of thy great mercy, grant him reſt, whom thou haſt taken to thy ſelf, by thy Ordinance. Having now quitted my Kinred, and Countrey, I am come into a ſtrange way, and am as ſtinking rottenneſs in the Grave: Alaſs! none ſhall afford me any aſſiſtance in that hour; but, O Lord, becauſe of thy great mercy,*
(*) Pag. 586. *grant him reſt, whom thou haſt taken to thy ſelf by thy Ordinance.* Again, (*) *O what an inquiſition, and judgment are we to expect! what fear, and trembling, in which (Brethren) the Elements themſelves ſhall be moved, and the creation ſhake! come now, and let us caſt our ſelves at the feet of* Chriſt, *that he may ſave the Soul he hath transferred. An intolerable fire, and external obſcurity, and the Worm which never dies, is prepared for us ſinners, in the day of inevitable neceſſity; then ſpare thy Servant, whom thou haſt transferred.*

For as much then, as the Prayers for the remiſsion of ſins, made by the *Greeks* under the names as well of the Surviving, praying for the Dead, as of the Dead, putting up their Requeſts for themſelves, are, for the moſt part, reſtrained to the day of Judgement, we are ſo far from having any thing, that might oblige us to take them in ſuch a ſence, as that they ſhould inſinuate, that the Faithfull, between the moment of their death, and that of the Laſt Judgment, were reduced to the ſuffering of any pains, that the *Hypotheſes* of Antiquity ſeem clearly to exact the contrary. And the reſult thence is, that the Modern *Greeks* (though great oppoſers of the *Purgatory* maintained by the *Church* of *Rome*) have not kept within the Terms preſcribed them by their Forefathers; but have changed their Sentiments by the Introduction of Novelties, which none of them would ever have imagined.

It will be demanded, whence they derived the perſwaſion that there were *Souls* of a *middle condition*, which being, properly, neither good, nor bad, could not, after their ſeparation from the Body, enter into the poſſeſſion of *Paradiſe*, without having, for a certain time, lain drooping in

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I know not what place of Sequestration, where they were to endure grief, terrour, and the incommodity of darkness, which, as is pretended, covered them: when nothing of all this, either hath, or could have any ground in Scripture, which does every where make as immediate an opposition between *Paradise* and *Hell*, the *good* and the *bad*, the *Faithfull* and the *Reprobate*, the Children of *God* (redeemed (a) and consecrated for ever by *one onely Oblation*, and that *once made with the blood of the Covenant*) and the children of the *Devil*, who have held as prophane that precious blood, as between *life* and *death*, *light* and *darkness*, the *right* hand and the *left* of the great Judge; teaching us expressly, that all the faithfull (b) dying in the Lord, are *blessed, rest from thenceforth*, (c) *come not into condemnation*, are *passed from death to life*, are, at their departure out of the body, (d) *with the Lord*; and that all the rest, without any exception, dying in *Adam*, and (e) having not believed, are already condemned.

(a) Hebr. x. 14, 29.
(b) Apoc. xiv. 13.
(c) Joh. v. 24.
(d) 2 Cor v. 8.
(e) Joh. iii. 18.

2. That Antiquity, having happily shaken of the strange imagination, which the *Fathers* of the *Second Age* had swallowed out of the pretended *Sibylline* Writing, insinuating to them, that the Spirits of all men, as well good, as bad, necessarily descended into Hell, and were to be there detained under the power of Devils, till the Resurrection of the Bodies they had animated, it thereupon formally maintained, that, immediately (f) *upon the Death of the Faithfull*, are the *Nuptials of the Spouse*; that it remains onely for the surviving, (g) *to give thanks to God, that he hath crowned him, who is departed from them*, and, having delivered him out of all fear, receives him to himself; that to all the good (h) *Death is an assured Port*, (i) a deliverance from the *combat and bonds*, a Transportation to *better things*; and that, as soon as it happens (k) *the Cabinets are sealed, and the time accomplished, and the combat at an end, and the race run, and the Crowns bestowed, and all is manifestly brought to perfection.*

(f) *Chrysost. in* Matth. *Homil.* 70.
(g) *Ad* Hebr. *Hom.* 4.
(h) *In* Matth. *Hom.* 33.
(i) *In* Gen. *Hom.* 36.
(k) Epiph. *Hær.* 59.

3. That the *Ritual* it self, as it were endeavouring to bring into discredit, as well the distinction of the *middle-conditioned Souls*, as their pretended banishment for a time into a dark place, indifferently affirms of all those, who die in the Faith of *Christ*, men, and women, *Ecclesiasticks*, those of Religious Professions, and *Laicks*, that they are *gone to the Lord*, that *they rest*, that *Hell detains them not*, that *they exchange Death for the divine life*, and are made the *Children of immortality*; absolutely denying all, that the vulgar Opinion, temerariously, and without any reason shewn, affirms of some, and wholly destroying it by so formal a contradiction.

But we are not to imagine our selves reduced to a necessity of being over-Critical in discovering the Origine of this errour, since the *falsificatour* as well of the *Ritual*, as of the Sentiment of those of his Nation, hath done it so palpably to our hands, that he hath not made any scruple to publish his own ignorance, even in things evident, and such as the word of God, the best Antiquity, and Reason, assisted by both, teach so clearly, that there can be onely those, who are unwilling to learn of them, that are not informed thereof. Take the draught he gives us of it, with his own hand, introducing the *Priest*, whose Funeral Obsequies are

celebrated, making at his death this Diſcourſe, ſtrange indeed, and more ſuitable with the Principles of a *Pagan* without hope, then to thoſe of a *Chriſtian* illuminated by Faith. (l) *Brethren, I am baniſhed from my Brethren, I leave all my Friends, and go my ways: yet I know not whither I am going, and am ignorant what condition I ſhall be in there; God onely, who calls me, knows: but make a commemoration of me with the Antients.* Hallelujah. *Whither do Souls now go? And after what manner do they now converſe together in that place? I would gladly underſtand that Secret, but there is no body able to declare it to me,* &c. *None of thoſe, that are there, ever returned to life again, to give us an accompt in what manner they behave themſelves, who were ſometime our Brethren, and Nephews, who are gone before us to the Lord,* &c. *It is a bad way, that I go in, and I never went it before, and that Region, where no body knows me, I have not any account, or knowledge of. It is a horrour to ſee thoſe, who are carried away, and he, who calls me, is worthy to be dreaded, he, who is Lord of Life and Death, and who calls us away, when he pleaſes.* Hallelujah. *Removing out of one Region into another, we ſtand in need of ſome Guids: what ſhall we do where we go in a Region, in which we have no acquaintance?*

(l) Pag. 569.

Of the ſame ſtrain are the Diſcourſes in the *Office* of the Soul in Agony, for ſhe is made to ſpeak, as one in the depth of deſpair, begging aſſiſtance of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, of Angels, and of Men, and complaining, that ſhe is forſaken of all, that (m) *eſtranged from the Glory of God, ſhe ſerved unclean Devils, who, holding the Schedules of her ſins, and crying with vehemence, would impudently have her*; that ſhe is (n) *alienated from God, and her Brethren*; that a *Cloud of Devils come pouring upon her*, and that *the darkneſs of her own unclean actions cover her*, commands her Body to be caſt into a *Common-Sewer*, that (as ſhe is (o) *dragged into the places of dreadful puniſhments*) *the Dogs may eat her heart*; declares, that (p) *ſhe is delivered up to the Devils, who carry her away by violence to the bottom of* Hell; that ſhe *knows all have forgotten her*; that ſhe *ſhall remember God no more, ſince that in Hell there is no memory of the Lord*; that, *overwhelmed with darkneſs, ſhe expects the Reſurrection*; that, *examined by all men, ſhe ſhall be caſt into the fire*; that *neither* God, *nor his Angels, nor his Saints ſhall think of her*; for which reaſon ſhe calls upon the Virgin, Angels, and Men, Earth, nay Hell it ſelf, to which ſhe is delivered to be bitterly puniſhed, to bewail her Miſery.

(m) Pag. 737.
(n) Pag. 738.
(o) Pag. 739.
(p) Pag. 740.

What greater Impurity could the rage of a deſpairing *Judas* diſgorge? ſhall we ſay there could be any thing of *Chriſtianity*, in the apprehenſions of a ſinner, who (without any recourſe to the Mercy of God, and the Merit, and Interceſsion of his Saviour) numbers himſelf among the damned, not vouchſafing to conſider the aſſurances, which the Scripture gives all men, teſtifying unto them, that *Chriſt* is (q) *our peace*, and (r) *redemption*; that *his blood cleanſeth us from all ſins* that, (s) *if we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful, and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs*; Further, that (t) *he is ſtill living to make interceſſion for us*; and, ſince he vouchſafes to receive us among his Sheep, (u) *no man ſhall pluck us out of his hand*, and (w) *the wicked one ſhall not touch us?* When the ſame Divinely-inſpired Scripture hath loudly publiſhed, that all the righteous, that is to ſay, thoſe, who walk before God, (x) are *taken away from the evil to come*, that, being (y) *abſent from the body, they are preſent*

(q) Epheſ. ii. 14.
(r) 1 Cor. i. 30.
(s) 1 Joh. i. 7, 9.
(t) Heb. vii. 25.
(u) Joh. x. 28.
(w) 1 Joh. v. 8.
(x) Eſa. lvii. 1.
(y) 2 Cor. v. 8. Phil. i. 23.

ſent with him; that, even here upon Earth, (z) *they are of the Houſhold of God, and fellow-Citizens with the Saints*; that they (a) *ought to go boldly to the Throne of Grace*, where he himſelf gives them (b) *acceſs by the Spirit of his Son*; and that the Angels are now (c) *miniſtring Spirits*, to miniſter to their Salvation: ſhould we ever imagine ſo brutiſh a ſtupidity, and ſo prophane an excœcation in any of thoſe, who have any way contributed to the *Greek Ritual*, affirming (according to the Scripture) that the *Chriſtian*, who dies, does by death arrive *at the Port, goes to the Lord, reſts, is tranſlated from the corruption of life, exchanges death for divine life, and is at his death in the way to bliſs*; as that he ſhould preſume to ſay, that way is *bad*, and that he *knows not whether he is going, knows no body there, nor is known to any?* Can the way to bliſs be a *bad way?* Is he, who knows he is *going to God*, in a condition to complain truly, that he *knows not whether he goes?* Since he is retiring to his *Father*, and thoſe of the ſame *Houſhold* with him, hath he any cauſe to ſay, that he knows not *any of thoſe, to whom he is retiring*, and that they know not him? Being *called*, how can he imagine, that he, who calls him, ſhould be ſo far miſtaken, as to take his Childe for a Stranger? And ſince he gives him *acceſs* to himſelf by his own *Spirit*, is there any reaſon it ſhould be ſuppoſed, not onely that he ſtands in need of a *Guid*, but that he neither hath, nor can finde any? What occaſion have either the living, or the dying, to bemoan themſelves, that not any one *returns from the Dead*, to inform them of the ſtate of the World to come; ſince the Son of God himſelf gave us this advertiſement, that it is of greater advantage to us, to have (d) *Moſes, and the Prophets*, that is to ſay, the holy Scriptures, then if *one roſe from the Dead, to give us an accompt of their condition?*

(z) Epheſ. ii. 19.
(a) Heb. iv. 16.
(b) Epheſ. ii. 18.
(c) Heb. i. 14.
(d) Luc. xvi. 29, 31.

It were not haply much beſides our Purpoſe, to deſire thoſe, who entertain us with *Stories* of dark Priſons for thoſe Souls, which they pretend to be of a *Middle-condition*, to tell us, whether they hope to revive that ruined Party among the *Antients*, who, believing that *Angels*, and ſeparated Souls, were clad with a body ſubject (as ours) to be incommodated by Darkneſs, diſcovered, that they apprehended not any diſtinction between immortal Subſtances, and corporeal? As alſo whether (allowing them ſeparated from all matter, and aſſigning them for *Torment, Obſcurity*, and *Darkneſs*, taken in their Proper, and Primitive Signification) they think themſelves better grounded in Reaſon, then thoſe, who are perſwaded, that material *Fire*, whoſe activity can onely exerciſe it ſelf on *Bodies*, is, and eternally ſhall be, the Inſtrument of *Torment*, as well for *Devils*, as impious *Souls?* Turn which ſide they will, they ſhall not free themſelves from inconvenience. But, not to inſiſt further hereupon, and under pretenſe of putting them to yet a further loſs, how to make good their *Tenet*, to digreſs from our *Principal Subject*, we will keep cloſe to it; concluding from what hath been deduced, that the *common Opinion* of the Modern *Greeks* muſt neceſſarily be *New*, unknown to their *Forefathers*, who lived in the *Third, Fourth, Fifth*, and *Sixth Ages*; contrary to the Word of God, and to Reaſon; full of Inconveniences, and Suppoſitions, contradictory one to another; and conſequently, that it is with good Reaſon rejected, as well by thoſe of the *Roman* Communion, as by the *Proteſtants*, who can onely, in this Particular, allow them to have been circumſpect,

circumspect, and well-advised, that they forbear telling us determinately, where they think fit to place the *Prison*, to which they condemn the Souls, which they call the *Middle-conditioned*; for what *is not* at all, can neither be be *defined*, nor *found* any where.

CHAP. LIV.

The Conclusion *of the whole* Treatise.

WHereas then the *Opinion* of the *Greeks* is *new*, and *inconsistent*; whereas that of the *Church* of *Rome* (upon this very Score, that it goes beyond the other) is subject to more Inconveniences; and whereas all the *Christians* in the *East*, and *Southern* Parts of the World agree with the *Protestants*, in the rejection of it, as *particular*, *new*, and opposed by *Scripture*, *Reason*, the *Antiquity* of the first *Six Ages*, and by the *Formularies* of the *Latine Service*, which (through an extraordinary Happiness) hath been more favourably Treated, then the *Greek*, which is horridly disfigured by those busie Spirits, who have filled it with their bold alterations; it were no better, then to elude the Evidence of *Truth*, and wittingly to renounce common sence, to endeavour to make that, which is *particular*, and *impure* (notwithstanding so many defaults) pass for *Catholick*. The *Patrons* of *Purgatory* out-vie one another in their attempts to prove it by *Texts* of *Scripture:* as for Instance, these;

Genesis iii. 24. xv. 17.
1 *Samuel* ii. 6, 7, 8.
Job ix. 26. and xiv. 13.
Psalms vi. 1. xlix. 16. lxvi. 12. lxxxvi. 123.
Ecclesiastes xii. 16.
Esay iv. 4. ix. 17.
Daniel vii. 10.
Micah vii. 9.
Zachary ix. 11.
Malachy iii. 3.
Matthew iii. 12. v. 22, 25, 26. xii. 32.
Luke xii. 5, 48. xxiv. 42.
Acts ii. 24.
1 *Corinthians* iii. 12, 13, 14, 15. xv. 29.
2 *Corinthians* v. 10.
Philippians ii. 10.
Hebrews iv. 4. xii. 7.
1 *Peter* iv. 17.
Apocalyps v. 3, 13.

But one single *Answer* (pertinent even in the judgement of the *Church* of *Rome* her self, who of any makes the greatest ostentation of the *Antiquity*, and *Universality* of her Faith) suffices to pull down all this Pile; to wit, this; That the Application, which they make of these *Texts*, is so *new*, that it hath no Example in all the *Tradition* of the *Fathers*; and so *singular*, that, not agreeing among themselves, the more Ingenuous (as *John Fisher*, *Bishop* of *Rochester*, one of her *Cardinals*, nay, of her *Martyrs*) acknowledge, that (a) *Purgatory had for a long time been unknown:* and *Franciscus Sonnius*, first *Bishop* of *Bosleduc*, afterwards of *Antwerp*, grants, that the places out of the *New Testament*, and Saint *Paul*, about which the *Church* of *Rome* makes the greatest stir, (b) *do not demonstrate it of themselves, and are by some of the* Fathers *otherwise Interpreted.*

(a) Ad Art. 37. *Aliquandiu Purgatorium incognitum.*
(b) Demonst. *Per se quidem non demonstrāt, &c. aliam apud nonnullos Patres accipiunt interpretationem.*

The

The ſame thing may be ſaid of what the ſame *Church* produces, or cauſes to be produced, in defence of *Prayer for the Dead*, which is not found, either in the *Inſtructions*, and *Actions* of the *Saints* under the *Old Teſtament*, or the *Inſtitution* of the Son of God, giving his *Apoſtles*, and, by them, the *Church*, the perfect *Form*, and *Model* of *Prayer*, or yet in the Practice of the *Apoſtolical Church* under the *Goſpel*. For, if ſome, at this day (as with much earneſtneſs it is done) alledge theſe *Texts*:

Geneſis xxiv. 63. xlvii. 30.
Leviticus v. 20.
Ruth i. 8.
1 *Samuel* xxxi. 13.
2 *Samuel* i. 12. iii. 31.
Eſay viii. 16.
Luke xvi. 19.
Romans xii. 13.
1 *Corinthians* xv. 19.
1 *Timothy* ii. 1.
2 *Timothy* i. 18.
Hebrews v. 7. xiii. 16.
1 *John* v. 16.

Not omitting thoſe taken out of *Apocryphal* Writers, as
Tobit iv. 18.
Eccleſiaſticus vii. 34.
2 *Maccabees* xii. 43, &c.

It may be Anſwered, That *Antiquity*, which, as we have ſhewn, grounded its *Cuſtoms* onely on the not-written *Tradition*, hath, by its *Procedure*, declared, that it had not (no more then the *Proteſtants* at this, day) eyes to perceive, in thoſe *Texts*, the *Doctrine*, which ſome pretend to derive from them; it being onely *Intereſt*, which is vigilant upon all occaſions, ready to make advantage of all things, confident in feigning what is not, and ingenious in the dreſſing-up of fond Imaginations, that hath hitherto been capable of theſe fine Diſcoveries. The ſame *Church* of *Rome* prides it not a little, in that the ſame *Antiquity* hath (no leſs, then the Modern *Greeks*) even from the *firſt Ages* practiſed, and recommended *Prayers for the Dead*; but ſhe diſcovers not, that while ſhe condemns all the *Hypotheſes* of that *Antiquity*, and admits not any one of the *Motives*, which inclined it to that Devotion, ſhe is, in Effect, retreated further from its Belief, then the *Proteſtants*, who ſo forbear doing what the *Antients* did, as that they do all lies in their power, to excuſe it, and to ſhew, that, as their Intention, and Worſhip have been free from the Venome, which the Ignorant malice of later *Ages* hath ſince ſcattered all over the *Weſt*; ſo the end they aim at is, not either to diſhonour them, becauſe of the Weakneſſes they have been ſubject to, or to make an odious diſcovery of their ſhame, but onely take the remarks of their Discircumſpections, as ſo many Advertiſements to *Poſterity*, never to forget it ſelf through too much ſecurity, and a blindly-exceſſive reſpect for the great Names, that have preceded it. After Notice taken of the ſucceſs, which attended the Impious preſumption of thoſe *Impoſtours*, who (in the *Second Age* of *Chriſtianity*, even while the Blood of the *Apoſtles* was yet boyling, and the Memory of their Inſtructions, and Examples more lively) carried on their wicked Deſigns upon the ſimplicity, and ſincerity of *Apoſtolical-men*; as alſo how charming thoſe Deluſions proved, which incredibly dazzled many of thoſe, whom the Mercy of God honoured with the Crown of *Martyr-*

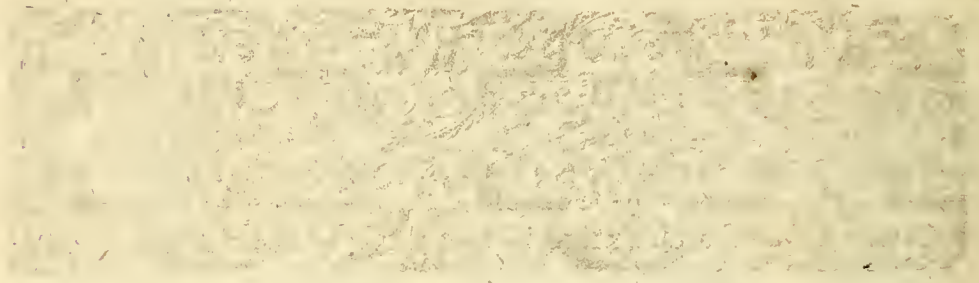
dom,

dom, and whose precedent conversation had been looked on in the Church, as a singular pattern of Piety, and Sanctity: after notice, I say, taken of these things, it is an Obligation lies on every *Christian* at this day, to bow down the head in humility, to implore, by continual addresses to Heaven, the assistance of the Spirit of Grace, that, efficaciously insinuating it self into their hearts, he may not onely divert them from the like Tryals, but fill them with light, assurance, and joy, and, instead of arming themselves (like Furies) with the Thunder-bolts, and Whirl-winds of a false Zeal, which ever inspires them with malice, and the utter ruine of those they think in an errour, that they would suffer themselves (as *Children of Peace*, Domesticks of the (c) *Prince of Peace*) to be won into thoughts of Compassion, and love for the Salvation of those who perish, and not be afraid (after the Example of our Saviour, who came from Heaven, and (d) descended into the lower parts of the Earth, to seek for the *Children of wrath*) to (e) *become* (*as* his Apostle) *all things to all men, that by all means he might save some*. When such a noble desire, shall once possess mens Spirits, inclining them, not to endeavour the Conquest of their own glory, but to procure (as far as lies in them) the Victory and Triumph of Truth, for the glory of God, it will be impossible, but that cruel and murthering animosities (the ordinary, but ever-fatall Consequences of Debates concerning Religion, which is thereby ruined) must vanish, as so many infernal shades, chaced away by the amiable raies of the (f) *Sun of Righteousness, who brings* life, and *healing in his Wings*: Nor ought we (whatever some *Earthly Souls* may conceive of their own carnal, and violent Counsels) hopeless, then that, in the extraordinary confusion of the last times, some change for the better may happen. Heretofore the Church, soon after the departure of the Apostles, had the misfortune, that *Hermas*, *Papias*, *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, St. *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, (in a word, all the most excellent Persons, of whom we have ought left) led away by the extravagances and fantastick Imaginations of the counterfeit *Sibyll*, believed themselves, and perswaded others, that the Souls of all men were, from the departure out of the Body, detained in Hell, till the Resurrection; that the just, rising again before the others, should reign with *Jesus Christ* upon Earth, and live a *thousand years in Jerusalem*, made glorious, and flowing with corporeal enjoyments, or at least, in the Terrestrial Paradise; and that the Bodies of the greatest Saints, should pass through the last conflagration of the World, as through a *Refiner*'s Furnace. The *Fathers* of the following Ages, happily shook off these unmaintainable conceits; but finding *Prayer for the Dead*, in the publick Service of the Church, they extended it as well to the blessed, as the damned. The Church of *Rome*, who approves not of praying for either of those two States, hath at last brought into credit her *Purgatory*, a thing not known before: why may we not hope it from the goodness of God, that he will dispel this last Imagination, as he hath done the precedent, and every where establish his Truth in its full lustre? Let therefore those, who at the present, quarrel at the simplicity of the *Protestants*, who neither maintain the *Hypotheses* of the *Fathers*, which the Opinion of *Purgatory* hath discredited, nor hold *Purgatory*,

(c) Esa. 9. 5.
(d) Ephes. 4. 9.
(e) 1 Cor. 9. 22.
(f) Malac. 4. 2.

gatory, which is made up of the rubbiſh of the precedent ſuppoſitions, for their diſcharge, conſider, that they have, on the one ſide, learnt from the inſtructions, as well of Scripture, as of the Fathers, and all the antient Liturgies, even that of the Church of *Rome*, that her *Purgatory* hath no ſound foundation; and, on the other, that the Church of *Rome* her ſelf, hath (by her example) given them the boldneſs to recede from the practiſe of the *Fathers*, which ſhe firſt relinquiſhed. And as I have made it my buſineſs (as much as lay in my power) to give an accompt of their demeanour, ſearching into the true cauſes of the differences, that have appeared in the Perſwaſions and Cuſtoms of the *Chriſtians*, who have paſſed through ſo long a revolution of Ages, and ſhewing thoſe who now live, how deeply it concerns them to build on the firm and unmoveable foundation of the *Scriptures*, and avoid the quick-Sands of humane apprehenſions; ſo ſhall I be the firſt to cenſure my ſelf, if (contrary to my intention) I may have chanced to be miſtaken, and ſo far from being diſpleaſed with thoſe who ſhall charitably advertiſe me thereof, that I ſhall highly celebrate their good Offices, and acknowledg upon all occaſions, that, as (g) *we can*, all of us, *do nothing againſt the truth*, ſo I ſhall never, as to my own particular, preſume to attempt any thing to its prejudice; but hold, with St. (h) *Cyprian*, that *we muſt not erre always, becauſe we have ſometimes erred*, and make it my chiefeſt addreſs, to the (i) *Father of Lights, from whom every good gift, and every perfect gift cometh down*, that he would (k) *lift up the light of his countenance upon all his Children*; give them the grace to (l) *underſtand their errours, and cleanſe them from thoſe which are yet ſecret, and make the words of their mouth and meditations of their hearts acceptable in his ſight*, and advantageous to their own, and their Neighbours ſalvation. *Amen*.

(g) 2 Cor. 13. 8.
(h) Epiſt. 73.
(i) Jam. 1. 17.
(k) Pſal. 4. 6.
(l) Pſal. 19. 12, 14.



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